

FOREIGN LANGUAGE UNITS OF KANSAS

VOLUME II

Account of Settlement and Settlements in Kansas

by

J. Neale Carman
and
Associates

Being a microfiche of the original manuscript
in the possession of the University of Kansas Library

The University Press of Kansas
Lawrence/Manhattan/Wichita

© Copyright 1974 by The University Press of Kansas
International Standard Book Number 0-7006-0115-5
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 62-9451

Filmed in the United States of America

Introduction to Volumes II and III

The principal aim of Volumes II and III of Foreign Language Units of Kansas is to trace the history of linguistic anglicization, herein called Engl-izing, in settlements of speakers of languages other than English in Kansas, and, less completely, in states furnishing population to Kansas. Foreign settlements in Kansas, and, in general throughout the United States have ceased to be foreign. These volumes discuss "most particularly how, why, and with what chronology they evolved" linguistically (Vol. I, 1).

Though any state in the United States could be chosen to illustrate the Engl-izing process and many other areas of the world, present and past, might provide examples of populations shifting from the use of one language to another, Volume II studies Kansas in the first century of its existence. The advantage of studying linguistic displacement in the United States is that few emotional fires are now burning, and yet the evidence is still copious and comparatively fresh. Among the states Kansas is appropriate if only because it is an average case; the numbers of nineteenth and twentieth century immigrants from Europe that it received were few as compared with the phenomenon in certain other states, great in relation to others. Its settlements have a wide range of origins for population. It would be difficult to study Mexicans in Minnesota or Scandinavians in New Mexico; both groups have settlements in Kansas. In it, among the peoples who have come in significant numbers to the United States, only the speakers of the Finnish, Magyar, and Oriental languages are not represented well enough for study; this work deals with a score of stocks.*

* The chief investigator and his sponsors live in Kansas, but the state would not have been chosen if the example were bad.

The first volume of this work presented an "Historical Atlas and Statistics." Statistics are not absent from Volumes II and III, but the general assumption is that those in Volume I are accessible to readers of these later volumes; enough appear, however, to provide within them a notion of quantities. Though few geographical locations are described in Volume II, readers without Volume I will find that any detailed map of the state of Kansas shows the foci of nearly all the settlements

Volume II contains accounts of the development of most of the for-ling (that is, foreign linguistic) settlements listed in Volume I. Preceding these accounts there is a section, Part I, devoted to presenting facts concerning Kansas that may serve as background, geographic, historical, and social, for understanding the phenomena in the various settlements. Part II, labeled Settlement Histories, selects a number of the accounts, some of which are no more extensive or searching than those placed under later headings. In part the settlements discussed in Part II are those of greatest importance, in part those displaying some particular feature or features. In Part III the accounts of Mexican settlements are isolated from others because unique circumstances affect their history, especially recent arrival and persistent segregation. Part IV, the County Survey, enables the reader to observe the behavior of settlements as compared with that of their neighbors.

No one method is employed in dealing with the various settlements. The treatment is varied, partly because materials available are much more extensive for certain settlements than for others, or richer for certain aspects of development, or because tendencies of general interest reveal themselves more clearly in some settlements than in others; partly also because, while it seems proper to provide detailed

substantiating evidence in a convincing number of cases, it may be of no great help to exhibit all procurable data in the totality of cases. A few illustrative examples of variations of treatment follow.

Case histories are numerous in Part III, the section dealing with Mexicans, because they could usually be made to include the immigrant generation; in other stocks the immigrants frequently appeared too long ago to permit inclusion of their individual Englishing in a study. The case histories are more complete for some families than for others; variability in the willingness of the informant and the diligence of the investigator explains the difference.

In the case of the history of language usage in church congregations documents contemporary to change and recording it, clearly the best source, are sometimes available, especially if preserved within the church building or in a rectory where the pastor is not overly busy. Sometimes, however, these records do not exist; often they are in the keeping of individuals who are suspicious of investigators or disinclined to searches or absent, nearly always unresponsive to letters. Church histories, congregational or synodical, almost always state the date of foundation of a congregation, speak of charter members, list the succession of pastors, the dates of building constructions and of extensive renovations with the names of committee members responsible, and give data on subsidiary organizations, young people's societies, women's circles, etc. A limited number of these facts are sometimes of interest in tracing linguistic history. This work utilizes more of them in some cases than in others. It may neglect them if no parish history is available. Some local historians also give dates concerning the introduction of English into services, perhaps precisely, perhaps vaguely, almost always to show how a congregation "progressed." If a congregational history

is silent on the matter of f-lang (that is, foreign language) services, and the account was written between 1910 and 1940, the omission likely occurred so as not to irritate church members who had been partisans in the acrimonious debates on the "language question." Only after those resistant to change are gone is it advisable to boast of "progress." In some early cases church histories were written in f-lang. This work records the fact if the f-lang version is extant or recorded, but such sketches may have completely disappeared. Appropriate data concerning the dates of shift in the language of services may be obtained by interview, but sometimes this source of information is vague or colored by a desire to make a favorable impression. While this work states as often as possible the dates of these linguistic shifts, the completeness and precision of the information varies much.

Data concerning cemetery inscriptions in f-lang are often detailed in this work. Concerning the development of the language of record they furnish irrefutable and remarkably consistent information. Sometimes, however, the data presented in this work are incomplete, sometimes lacking. The time at the investigator's disposal on the day of his visit to a settlement and the topographic accessibility of the cemetery affect the completeness of the data. So does the weather -- numbed fingers are poor recorders, rain wets paper, high winds render it unmanageable, oncoming darkness makes decipherment difficult. There are also unfavorable circumstances in which the investigator plays no part. Early settlers may have been too poor to erect monuments, or obliged to use local materials such as paint on wooden slabs, which fades, or scaling sand- or limestone blocks from which time peels off inscriptions along with the outer layers of the monument. But to understand what has happened

it is fortunately unnecessary to know what every cemetery contains; enough records are presented in this work so that their number finally gains statistical value.

In spite of the gaps in the information herein contained, a reader who is so conscientious as to peruse the accounts of all settlements will suffer from the monotony of the treatment of the same phenomena in settlement after settlement. As regards linguistic conclusions the technique is to convince by heaping up testimony. The repetition occurs also because this work pretends to a certain value in the field of local history. A local historian may be intensely interested in the example which his community offers of a phenomenon widespread in occurrence. While most of the historical facts are drawn from written, usually published, sources, their reliability becomes more definite when they are supported by each other, a subscription biography by a census record for instance. Their significance as part of a general development may here be understandable for the first time.

Inasmuch as this study is intended for consultation by a variety of readers -- linguists, historians, social scientists, and non-technical persons interested in the background of their community -- the style has deliberately been chosen so as not to conform to that customary in any of these fields. It is at once more colloquial than is usual among scholars and pervaded by technical terms either, in a few cases, invented for this work (Engl-izing, for-ling, and f-lang are almost the only examples) or carried over from works consulted, such as census reports and church yearbooks. There has, however, been an effort to eliminate jargon and avoid rhetorical ornament, to state facts as simply as possible. The effort to avoid hazardous conclusions has been conscientious.

Quotations from works in foreign languages have been translated into English without labeling them translations; if the title of a quoted work is not in English, the passage quoted has been translated.

Translations rather than quotations in the original languages are presented because it seemed probable that only a few readers would be acquainted with all the languages used in works quoted. It has been deemed unnecessary to reproduce the original as well as the translation because almost always the matter quoted is sufficiently straightforward so that the translator is seldom likely to be guilty of the "treason" which the Italians say is habitual with him. Volume III contains a larger number of translated quotations than Volume II, but there are also some in Volume II.

The materials for this work were collected over a period of twenty years. Interviews outside of Kansas took place in 1951 and in the 1960's. First interviews in Kansas occurred mostly between 1949 and 1953; for important settlements where repeated observations were proper and for smaller ones earlier passed over, field work went on through the years into the early part of 1968. When data from visits to settlements have been gathered over a period of years, the probability of inaccuracy automatically becomes low. It has, however, rarely been necessary to revise from later evidence conclusions drawn from a single visit to a settlement, usually reinforced by historical data from written sources and by testimony found elsewhere. The date at which evidence was gathered has been noted.

The emphasis in this work as compared with others of related character is neither social, lexical or phonetic, but historical. Written material, including cemetery inscriptions, has been the source for knowledge of the linguistic developments taking place earlier

than the memory of informants; for later periods it has supplemented their testimony. For phenomena taking place since 1948 direct observation by investigators has been utilized. Until about 1915 written testimony on Engl-izing is usually incidental or indirect except for the work done for Congress by investigators from the Immigration Commission of 1909 and 1910. Beginning shortly after the First World War, there were composed studies of immigrant groups that sometimes contained chapters on language usage. Many are unpublished theses; for Kansas their number decreased after the Second World War.

Whatever the sources, this work chronicles a process that was of great though frequently unrecognized significance in the history of the first century of Kansas, and Kansas is, as said before, and as demonstrated in Volume III, but a sample of what has been true in much of the United States. Foreign Language Units of Kansas chronicles how myriads of men and women, mostly humble in fortune though not in soul, turned away from a cherished feature of their inheritance, the language of their fathers, to assume as part of the American culture that they adopted the "language of the land," of the United States of America -- English.

For aid in preparing these volumes all those named in the preface of Volume I, including the hundreds of informants referred to only as a body, are important; important too are a score of investigators among whom are those whose reports (on subjects specified in parentheses below) appear in the text, in part unchanged, often with excisions and modifications such that the principal investigator must assume personal responsibility for them:

Vernon Chamberlin (Jews and Danes of Kansas City, many useful hints)

Peter Earle (Mexicans of Topeka and Kansas City)

Johnita Forsberg (settlements of Phillips, Rooks and Smith Counties)

Richard Mikulski (settlements of Douglas County)

Byron Palls (Mexicans, Greeks and Lebanese of Kansas and Oklahoma)

Domingo Ricart (Mexicans of central Kansas)

Jean Scammon (Slavs of Kansas City)

Rudolph Suarez (Mexicans of southern Kansas)

A number of persons have read critically certain sections of this work concerning settlements that they know well; they have provided very valuable comments and additions. For several reasons, among which for some are their own wishes, I do not designate them individually. Their help has been particularly important in the treatment of Volgans, Mennonites and Swedes and of the the settlements at Hanover, Leavenworth, and Osage City. All those connected with the administration of research funds at the University of Kansas, particularly in later stages Deans William Albrecht and William Argersinger, made this work possible. My gratitude and my thanks are great both to those whose names appear above and in the preface of Volume I and to those whose anonymity has been preserved.

J. Neale Carman

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

VOLUME II

Sections	Pages
.001-.002	General Bibliographies----- xix
	PART I -- Background to Kansas 2
1.00-2.4g	General Linguistic Considerations----- 3
3.00-4.9	Geographic Considerations----- 6
5.0- 8.9	For-lings and Kansas History to ca. 1880----- 21
9.0-9.7g	" " " " -- Later----- 50
10.0-14.1g	Characteristics of Foreign Settlers and Settle- ments----- 66
15.00-19.6g	Classification of Settlements----- 71
20.0g- 21.0g	Religion -- General Considerations----- 77
22.0- 24.4g	Catholic For-lings----- 78
25.0-29.0g	Protestant For-lings----- 94
30.0-32.3g	For-ling Schools and Societies----- 96
33.0-33.9	Written F-lang----- 104
34.0g-39.0g	Occupational Considerations----- 108
40.00	1930 Census on Year of For-ling Immigration----- 126
40.01-40.9	Ger-lings -- Varieties and Distribution in Kansas 127
41.00-41.29	Religion among Ger-lings----- 140
41.30- 41.6	Ger-ling Schools, Societies, Journalism, Business 159
41.7-41.91g	Engl-izing of Ger-lings --General Considerations- 164
42.00-42.08g	Dutch and Flemish----- 166
42.10- 42.16g	Scandinavians --Settlement and Distribution----- 168
42.20-42.7g	Swedes----- 174
42.80-42.93g	Danes and Norwegians----- 181

43.00	Slavs -- General Considerations-----	183
43.01-43.3	Czechs-----	184
43.40-43.9	Other Slavs and Baltic Peoples-----	194
44.0	Romance Peoples -- General Considerations-----	201
44.10-44.3	Italians-----	201
44.4-44.9	French from Europe and Canada-----	204
45.00-45.92g	Mexicans-----	215
46.0-46.3	Welsh-----	232
46.40-46.8	Greeks, Lebanese, and Others-----	235
46.90-46.91g	Mother Tongue Statistics-----	238
	PART II --Selected Settlement Histories --	240
47.01-47.02	Andale-Colwich Germans - Aurora-Clyde French----	241
	Primary Catholic Russian Germans	
47.03	The six Villages-----	262
47.04	Outlying Centers, Cemeteries, Education-----	274
47.05	Early Testimony on Linguistic Habits-----	287
47.06	Mid-Century Language Usage-----	290
	Crawford-Cherokee Mining Area	
47.07	Nationalities, Economic History, Geography-----	302
47.08	South Crawford Centers-----	311
47.09	Frontenac-----	317
47.10	Northernmost Centers-----	325
47.11	The Report of 1910-----	329
47.12	Three Later Reports - Religion-----	345
47.13	Mid-Century Language Survivance-----	363
47.14	Case Histories-----	370
47.15	Linguistic Conclusions-----	373
	Cuba Czechs	
47.16	History-----	376
47.17	Speech-----	387

47.18	Denmark Danes-----	394
	Emporia Welsh	
47.19	History-----	401
47.20	Speech-----	416
47.21	Everest-Willis Norwegians-----	419
	Garden City Russian Germans and Mexicans	
47.22	The Community and Beet Growing-----	426
47.23	Russian Germans-----	442
47.24	Mexicans-----	445
	Hanover Germans	
47.25	Beginnings-----	453
47.26	Development and Decline-----	461
47.27	Linguistic History-----	482
	Herndon Hungarian Germans	
47.28	History-----	492
47.29	Speech-----	501
	Kansas City	
47.30	Statistics and General History-----	507
47.31	The "Old" Immigration-----	512
47.32	Danes-----	518
47.33	Meat Packing-----	525
47.34	Early Slavs and Late North Slavs-----	539
47.35	South Slavs-----	546
47.36	Slav Linguistic Developments-----	551
47.37	Greeks and Yiddish-speaking Jews-----	566
	Lawrence Germans and Swedes	
47.38	Germans-----	574
47.39	Swedes-----	582

Leavenworth

47.40	Origins-----	584
47.41	French and Italians-----	585
47.42	Germans-----	589
47.43	Poles-----	605

Lindsborg-McPherson Swedes

47.44	Early Lindsborg-----	611
47.45	Religion at Lindsborg-----	616
47.46	Language and Nationalism-----	622
47.47	Secondary Centers-----	634
47.48	Mariadahl Swedes-----	644

Concentrated Mennonite District

47.49	General Considerations-----	656
47.50	Marion County-----	659
47.51	Western Area-----	670
47.52	General Linguistic-----	683
47.53	Milberger Russian Germans-----	690
47.54	Neuchatel French Swiss-----	704

Osage City Mining District and West Osage Swedes-----

47.55	Introductory-----	711
47.56	Swedes-----	720
47.57	Welsh-----	728
47.58	French and Italians-----	731

Linn-Palmer Germans

47.59	General History-----	749
47.60	Religious History-----	751
47.61	1917 and afterward-----	759
47.62	Linguistic History-----	762

47.63	Prairie View Dutch-----	774
47.64	Scandia Swedes and Norwegians-----	780
47.65	Scipio-Greeley Germans-----	797
47.66	St. Francis Russian Germans-----	807

Topeka Germans and Swedes

47.67	Reich Germans and Swedes-----	811
47.68	Russian Germans-----	813
47.69	Wilson and Palacky Czechs-----	823
47.70	Worden Germans-----	835

PART III - Mexican Settlements -- 850a

List by Counties----- 850b

47.71	Arkansas City----	851	47.86	Kansas City-----	891
47.72	Atchison-----	854	47.87	Larned-----	907
47.73	Chanute-----	856	47.88	Lawrence-----	908
47.74	Coffeyville-----	859	47.89	Lyons-----	911
47.75	Council Grove----	861	47.90	Manhattan-----	915
47.76	Dodge City-----	863	47.91	Newton-----	916
47.77	Emporia-----	868	47.92	Ottawa-----	920
47.78	Florence-----	873	47.93	Parsons-----	921
47.79	Garden City-----	875	47.94	Pratt-----	922
47.80	Goodland-----	876	47.95	Salina-----	923
47.81	Herington-----	878	47.96	Topeka-----	928
47.82	Horton-----	883	47.97	Wichita-----	940
47.83	Hutchinson-----	885	47.98	Wellington-----	948
47.84	Independence-----	888a	47.99	Winfield-----	953
47.85	Kanopolis-----	889			

PART IV - County Survey (For Far Southwest see #48.98)

48.00	General Considerations--	955	48.25	Elk-----	1113
48.01	Allen-----	956	48.26	Ellis-----	1113
48.02	Anderson-----	969	48.27	Ellsworth-----	1119
48.03	Atchison-----	977	48.28	Finney-----	1126a
48.04	Barber-----	987	48.29	Ford-----	1131
48.05	Barton-----	990	48.30	Franklin-----	1138
48.06	Bourbon-----	1002	48.31	Geary-----	1141
48.07	Brown-----	1002	48.32	Gove-----	1148
48.08	Butler-----	1006	48.33	Graham-----	1153
48.09	Chase-----	1009	48.34	Gray-----	1157
48.10	Chautauqua-----	1013	48.35	Greeley-----	1158
48.11	Cherokee-----	1013	48.36	Greenwood-----	1159
48.12	Cheyenne-----	1013	48.37	Harper-Sumner----	1159
48.13	Clark-----	1014	48.38	Harvey-----	1169
48.14	Clay-----	1014	48.39	Hodgeman-----	1179
48.15	Cloud-----	1018	48.40	Jackson-----	1180
48.16	Coffey-----	1022	48.41	Jefferson-----	1182
48.17	Comanche-----	1034	48.42	Jewell-----	1186
48.18	Cowley-----	1034	48.43	Johnson-----	1187b
48.19	Crawford-----	1034	48.44	Kearny-----	1189
48.20	Decatur-----	1042	48.45	Kingman-----	1189
48.21	Dickinson-----	1046	48.46	Kiowa-----	1194
48.22	Doniphan-----	1073	48.47	Labette-----	1194
48.23	Douglas-----	1079	48.48	Lane-----	1195
48.24	Edwards-----	1108	48.49	Leavenworth-----	1195

PART IV - County Survey (For Far Southwest see #48.98)

48.00	General Considerations--	955	48.25	Elk-----	1113
48.01	Allen-----	956	48.26	Ellis-----	1113
48.02	Anderson-----	969	48.27	Ellsworth-----	1119
48.03	Atchison-----	977	48.28	Finney-----	1126a
48.04	Barber-----	987	48.29	Ford-----	1131
48.05	Barton-----	990	48.30	Franklin-----	1138
48.06	Bourbon-----	1002	48.31	Geary-----	1141
48.07	Brown-----	1002	48.32	Gove-----	1148
48.08	Butler-----	1006	48.33	Graham-----	1153
48.09	Chase-----	1009	48.34	Gray-----	1157
48.10	Chautauqua-----	1013	48.35	Greeley-----	1158
48.11	Cherokee-----	1013	48.36	Greenwood-----	1159
48.12	Cheyenne-----	1013	48.37	Harper-Sumner----	1159
48.13	Clark-----	1014	48.38	Harvey-----	1169
48.14	Clay-----	1014	48.39	Hodgeman-----	1179
48.15	Cloud-----	1018	48.40	Jackson-----	1180
48.16	Coffey-----	1022	48.41	Jefferson-----	1182
48.17	Comanche-----	1034	48.42	Jewell-----	1186
48.18	Cowley-----	1034	48.43	Johnson-----	1187b
48.19	Crawford-----	1034	48.44	Kearny-----	1189
48.20	Decatur-----	1042	48.45	Kingman-----	1189
48.21	Dickinson-----	1046	48.46	Kiowa-----	1194
48.22	Doniphan-----	1073	48.47	Labette-----	1194
48.23	Douglas-----	1079	48.48	Lane-----	1195
48.24	Edwards-----	1108	48.49	Leavenworth-----	1195

48.50	Lincoln-----	1202		
48.51	Linn-----	1208	48.75	Republic----- 1428
48.52	Logan-----	1208	48.76	Rice----- 1433
48.53	Lyon-----	1210	48.77	Riley----- 1437
48.54	McPherson-----	1220	48.78	Rooks----- 1467
48.55	Marion-----	1228	48.79	Rush----- 1476
48.56	Marshall-----	1243	48.80	Russell----- 1487
48.57	Meade-----	1282	48.81	Saline----- 1495
48.58	Miami-----	1287	48.82	Scott----- 1502
48.59	Mitchell-----	1297	48.83	Sedgwick----- 1502
48.60	Montgomery-----	1306	48.84	Shawnee----- 1510
48.61	Morris-----	1309	48.85	Sheridan----- 1517a
48.62	Nemaha-----	1317	48.86	Sherman----- 1520
48.63	Neosho-----	1331	48.87	Smith----- 1521
48.64	Ness-----	1334	48.88	Stafford----- 1536
48.65	Norton-----	1343	48.89	Sumner----- 1540
48.66	Osage-----	1349	48.90	Thomas----- 1540
48.67	Osborne-----	1363	48.91	Trego----- 1541
48.68	Ottawa-----	1369	48.92	Wabaunsee----- 1550
48.69	Pawnee-----	1375	48.93	Wallace----- 1561
48.70	Phillips-----	1377	48.94	Washington----- 1564
48.71	Pottawatomie-----	1384	48.95	Wilson, Wichita--- 1602
48.72	Pratt-----	1399	48.96	Woodson----- 1604
48.73	Rawlins-----	1400	48.97	Wyandotte----- 1607
48.74	Reno-----	1415	48.98	Far Southwest---- 1619
			48.99	Duration of Engl- izing in Kansas 1620

General Bibliography of Volume II.

The General Bibliography of Vol. II contains all works cited in the chapters preceding the settlement Histories and works cited for more than one settlement in the rest of the volume. County histories or atlases are listed in a second section inasmuch as few of them are cited except for settlements within the county treated. The signum referring to them is explained below. Each work cited has an appropriate signum used to designate the

work at each point of citation. When cited, the signum is preceded by /; the numerals following the signum give volume (if necessary) and page references; however, the first numeral after ch and ag indicates the year of publication of the volume cited; after kc and kq it indicates the volume number.

The general bibliography has signa in lower case letters. The Settlement Histories and notices in the County Surveys are provided with special bibliographies in which the signa begin with capital letters.

When there are references to Volume I of this work, the page number is italicized, usually without further identification.

The signum /ch refers to all county histories and atlases. The numeral following is the year of publication. The history indicated by each reference treats the county in which the settlement under discussion is located.

The signa /kc and /kq refer to the Kansas Historical Collections and the Kansas Historical Quarterly. In the Bibliography all articles utilized from these journals are listed under the journal title; short entries of surnames of authors are cross references to the appropriate item listed under the journal title.

Section I -- Works other than County Histories and Atlases

Italicized numerals refer to pages in Vol. I of this work.

signum

see Abel
kc8

ag Agriculture, State Board of Kansas. Reports. Topeka.

[The first five volumes were published annually, later volumes biennially. In citations after the signum the volume is identified by the last two digits of one of the years reported on within it, as for example /ag78, /ag 85. Page references are rarely made; the facts cited are set forth in the report under the heading of the county where the settlement under discussion is located. The state census reports are in the volumes reporting for 1875, 1885, 1895, 1905, 1915, and 1925; these reports are identified only by naming the year of the census.]

al Albrecht, Abraham, Mennonite Settlements in Kansas, Unpublished master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1925.

a Andreas, A.T. (publisher) and Cutler, Wm. G. (editor). History of the State of Kansas. Chicago, 1883.

ba Baughman, Robt. W. Kansas Postoffices. Wichita, 1961.

b Beckman, Peter, O.S.B. The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier. Dissertation, Catholic University of America. Washington, 1943.

see
kc11 Bergin

bo Boeve, L. In H.S. Lucas, Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings, 2 vols. Seattle, 1955.

- kcl6 Bond
- br Bradley, G. D. The Story of the Santa Fe. Boston, 1920.
- cc Capek, Thomas. The Czechs in America. Boston, 1920.
- cf Capuchin Fathers. Some Early History of Pioneer Catholics at
 Herndon, Settlers and Parishes of Northwestern Kansas
 [Herndon], 1913.
- cb Carman, J. Neale. "The Unwilling Bishop," Kansas Magazine, 1952, 17-22.
- ci Carman, J. Neale, and Karl S. Pond, "The Replacement of the Indian
 Languages of Kansas by English," Transactions of the Kansas
 Academy of Science, LVIII (1955), 131-150.
- see also
kq and
tk Carman.
- ca Carruth, William Herbert, "Foreign Settlements in Kansas," Kansas
 University Quarterly, III (Oct., 1894), 159-163.
- c Census. The year of the census is indicated by the last two numerals
 in the number of that year.
- see
kcl7 Christensen
- cp Clarahan, Sister M. Augustine. Founding and Early Development of
 Pittsburg. Unpublished Master's thesis, Kansas State College
 of Pittsburg.
- cl Clark, Victor S., "Mexican Labor in the United States," Bulletin of
 the [United States] Bureau of Labor, XVII (1908), 466-522.

- co Connelley, Wm. E. History of Kansas, 5 vols. New York, 1928.
- co History of Kansas, 5 vols. New York, 1928.
- cn Connelley, Wm. E. History of Kansas Newspapers. Topeka, 1916
- con Conway, Alan. The Welsh in America. Minneapolis, 1961.
- ch County Histories and Atlases. See the second section of the bibliography. The numerals following the signum are the last two digits of the year of publication of the history or atlas. Page references follow a colon, but in case of an atlas are rare; the reference is then to the list of "patrons."
- cr Craik, Elmer L., A History of the Church of the Brethren in Kansas. McPherson, 1922.
- da Dahlberg, C. V., Settlement of the Blue Valley in the Vicinity of Randolph. no place [1923].
- di Diamond Anniversary Memoirs of the Midwest Regional Conference of the Evangelical Covenant Church of America, ed. Billie Hoy. Salina, 1961.
- kcll Douglas
- dr Dreiling, B.M. Golden Jubilee of the German-Russian Settlements of Ellis and Rush Counties, Kansas. Hays, 1926.

- dm Dreiling, Michael. True Story of My Life. no place, [1963].
- eb Ebbutt, Percy G. Emigrant Life in Kansas. London, 1886.
- ei Eisenach, George J. Das Religiöse Leben unter den Russlanddeutschen
in Russland und Amerika. Marburg, 1950.
- f Fishman, Joshua A. Language Loyalty in the United States. The
Hague, 1966.
- fr Franco, Hector. The Mexican People of the State of Kansas. Unpub-
lished typed thesis of Wichita University, 1950.
- fj Frederikson, Edna. John P. St. John, The Father of Constitutional
Prohibition. Unpublished dissertation, University of Kansas, 1930.
- fl Frederikson, Otto. The Liquor Question in Kansas. Unpublished dis-
sertation, University of Kansas, 1931.
- gm Garin, Joseph. Notices biographiques sur Monseigneur J.-B. Miège,
Moutiers, France, 1886.
- go Gonner, Nicholas. Die Luxemburger in der neuen Welt. Dubuque, 1889.
- ga Garraghan, G.J. The Jesuits of the Middle United States, 3 vols.
New York, 1938.
- gi Gingerich, Melvin. "M.S. Steiner visited Kansas Churches," Mennonite
Historical Bulletin, VI (1945), No. 4, pp. 1-2.

kc8 Greene

ja Janzen, Cornelius C. A Social Study of the Mennonite Settlement in the Counties of Marion, Harvey, Reno, and Butler, Kansas. Unpublished doctoral thesis of the University of Chicago, 1926.

ik Illustriana Kansas, ed. by Mrs. Sara A. Baldwin, Hebron, Neb., 1933.

Immigration Commissioner of the United States. Reports. No acknowledgment is made of the source of data derived from these Reports; they furnish all U.S. immigration statistics.

j Johannes, Sister Mary Eloise. A Study of the Russian-German Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas. A Catholic U. of America Dissertation. Washington, 1946.

kc Kansas Historical Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. The signum is followed by an identification of volume. The articles of interest in each volume are listed below.

Vol. VII

Staff. Origin of City Names, 475-486.

Vol. VIII (1903-04)

Abel, Anna H. (M. Henderson) Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title, 72-109.

Greene, Albert R. United States Land-Offices in Kansas, 2-13.

Vol. IX

Schmidt, C. B., Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas, 485-497.

Vol. X.

Ballard, David E. Biographies of members of the Legislature
of 1861, 238-254.

Vol. XI, 1909-10

Bergin, Alfred. The Swedish Settlements in Central Kansas, 19-46.

Douglas, R. A. A History of Manufactures in the Kansas
District, 81-215.

Laing, Francis S. German-Russian Settlements in Ellis
County, Kansas, 489-528.

Weichselbaum, Theodore. Statement of July 17, 1908, 561-571.

Vol. XIII, 1913-14

Swehla, F. J. Bohemians in Central Kansas, 469-512.

Ruppenthal, J.C. The German Element in Central Kansas, 513-533.

Vol. XIV, 1915-18

Shields, Clara M. Fengel. The Lyon Creek Settlement, 143-169.

Vol. XV, 1919-1922

Morgenstein, Wm. (tr. J. C. Ruppenthal) The Settlement of
Bessarabia, Russia, by the Germans, 579-589.

Vol. XVI, 1923-25

Bond, Helen G. Early Days of Elm Creek Settlement, 590-592.

Vol. XVII, 1926-28

Christensen, Thomas Peter. The Danish Settlements of
Kansas, 300-304.

The signum is followed by the volume number as for /kc.

Vol. IV (1935)

Olson, Marie A. The Swedish Settlement at Stotler, 155-163.

Vol. XIII (1944-5)

Pantle, Alberta. Settlement of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren at Gnadenau, 259 ff.

Vol. XVI (1947-8)

Möllhausen, H.B. Over the Santa Fe Trail through Kansas in 1858 (tr. J.A. Burzle), 337-380.

Vol. XIX (1951)

Pantle, Alberta. History of the French-Speaking Settlement in the Cottonwood Valley, 12-49, 174-206.

Lindquist, Emory. The Swedes in Kansas before the Civil War, 254-268.

Vol. XXIV (1958)

Carman, J. Neale. Foreigners of 1857-1865 at Schippel's Ferry, Saline County, 305-313.

Vol. XXVIII (1962)

[C.B. Schmidt](tr. and annotated by J. Neale Carman) German settlements along the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, 310-316.

Kansas Pacific Homestead. Occasional publication of the Kansas Pacific Railroad Co. 1878 ff.

kr Kansas, State of, Board of Railroad Commissioners. Annual Reports.

Beginning 1883- The signum is followed by two numerals that are

the last two digits of the year of the report.

- ki Kinsella, T. H. A Centenary of Catholocity in Kansas, 1822-1912.
Kansas City, Mo., 1921.
- ku Kuhls, A. A few Reminiscences of forty Years in Wyandotte County,
Kansas. Lane Printing Co., 1904.
- lp Leavenworth, Diocese of. Historical Sketches of Parishes and Churches,
2 vols. Unpublished typescript, Kansas State Historical Library,
Topeka, 1937.
- li Lindquist, Emory P. Smoky Valley People. Lindsborg, 1953.
- see also
kql9 Lindquist
- lv Lovene, P. History of the Swedish Baptist Churches of Kansas and
Missouri, 1869-1927 [place ?], 1955. (See also Boeve).
- ln Lucas, Henry S. Netherlanders in America.
- ma Malin, James G. Indian Policy and Western Expansion. University of
Kansas Humanistic Studies, Vol. II. no. 3, 1921.
- me Mennonite Encyclopedia (eds. Harold S. Bender, C. Henry Smith, Cornelius
Krahn, Melvin Gingerich). 4 vols. Scottdale, Penna, 1955-59.
- MI Mennonite Life, a quarterly. Volumes IV through VIII are particularly
rich. In those years, among other articles consulted are those
by Neufeld, Dyck, Burnays, Graber, Miller, Fretz, Classen, Krahn,
Wedel, Kuhn, Entz.

- mp Miller, Wallace E. Peopling of Kansas. Columbia University dissertation, 1906.
- mi see w
- mo Moeder, John M. Early Catholicity in Kansas and History of the Diocese of Wichita. Wichita, 1937.
- see
kcl5 Morgenstern
- mu Muecke, G. Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode. St. Louis, 1915.
- ne Nelson, E. G. The Company and the Community. Lawrence, Ks. 1956.
- n Nelson, Helge. The Swedes and Swedish Settlements in North America. I. Text. Lund, 1943.
- nm Nemcova, Bozena. People of Czech (Bohemian) Descent in Republic County, Kansas. Unpublished University of Kansas Master's thesis, 1950.
- ot Ott, H.A. A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Kansas. Topeka, 1907.
- pz Platz, M.C. Fifty Years in the Kansas Conference, 1864-1914. Cleveland, 1915. (a continuation carries the account to 1939--
Historian C.R. Findley)

re Redeker, A. The Catholic Churches of Anderson County. Garnett, 1901.

ri Ricart, Domingo. Just Across the Tracks. Typescript, 1950, on file
at University of Kansas Library and Kansas State Historical
Library.

r Roenigk, Adolph. Pioneer History of Kansas. 1933.

see
kcl3, 15 Ruppenthal

sa Sallet, Richard. Russland Deutsche Siedlungen in den Vereinigten
Staaten, Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen historischen
Gesellschaft von Illinois, XXXI (1931) 5-126. (Partial trans-
lation by J.C. Ruppenthal published in the Hays Daily News,
summer, 1932.)

see
kq28 Santa Fe Immigration Pamphlet

s Sixty-first Congress, Second Session (1909-10), Senate Documents
vols. LXVIII and LXIX, Immigrants in Industry; Part I: Bituminous
Coal Mining, (Published 1911). References marked s in our Volume
II are to Vol. LXIX if referring to coal.
Vol. LXXV Immigrants in Industry, Part XI: Slaughtering and
Meat Packing (published 1911) References marked s in our Volume
II are to Vol. LXXV if referring to meat packing. (This report
is sometimes credited in works citing it to the Immigration
Commissioner; the Immigration Commission, an ad hoc committee

reporting to Congress, was in charge of the investigation. To avoid confusion with the annual reports of the Immigration Commissioner, it is in this study credited to the publisher of its report, the United States Senate, and the field workers are referred to either as "Senate investigators" or "1909 investigators"; 1909 was the year of the survey.)

see
kcl4

Shields

sk

Sklenar, John M. Golden Jubilee, 1941.

sc

Smith, C. Henry, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites. Berne, Ind., 1927

ss

Smith, C. Henry. The Story of the Mennonites. Third edition, revised and enlarged by Cornelius Krahn. Newton, 1950.

sd

Strödda Drag. Published by the Kansas Swedish Evangelical Mission Conference, secretary of committee in charge, A.E. Rundquist. Topeka, 1917.

see
kcl3

Swehla.

tk

Territorial Kansas, published by the Committee on Social Science Studies, University of Kansas. W. Stitt Robinson, chairman. Lawrence, 1954. Particularly: Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas, 1854-1861; pp. 164-196.

- USO8 United States Secretary of the Interior. Land Grants Made by
Congress. Washington, 1908.
- w Waldron, Nell Blythe. Colonization in Kansas from 1861 to 1890.
Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston,
Ill., 1932.
- wa Warne, F. J. "Union Movement among Coal Miners" Bulletin of the
United States Department of Labor, IX (1904) No. 51
- ws Waters, L.L. Steel Trails to Santa Fe. Lawrence, 1950.
- we Werling, J.W. History of the Kansas District, Evangelical Lutheran
Synod of Missouri, Golden Anniversary 1888-1938. Newton, 1938.
- wi Wilder, D.C. Annals of Kansas. Topeka, 1886.
- wms Williams, Daniel Jenkins. 100 Years of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism
in America. Philadelphia, 1937.
- w Wolff, Lorin J. Story of the Midwest Synod, 1890-1950. No place
or date named.
- ya Young and Allen. Kansas Coal. Lawrence, 1925.

Section II -- County Histories and Atlases

The signum of reference for all is /ch as explained in the introduction to the General Bibliography, page xix.

ALLEN

DUNCAN, LEW WALLACE, and CHARLES F. SCOTT, eds., *History of Allen and Woodson Counties, Kansas*. Iola, Iola Register, 1901. 894p.

ANDERSON

JOHNSON, HARRY, *A History of Anderson County, Kansas*. Garnett, The Garnett Review Company, 1936. 383p.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *The History of Anderson County, Kansas, From Its First Settlement to the Fourth of July, 1876*. Garnett, Kauffman & Iler, 1877. 289p.

ATCHISON

INGALLS, SHEFFIELD, *History of Atchison County, Kansas*. Lawrence, Standard Publishing Company, 1916. 887p.

BARTON

GREAT BEND TRIBUNE, comp., *Biographical History of Barton County, Kansas*. Great Bend, 1912. 318p.

CHEYENNE

BROCK AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Cheyenne County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1923. 57p.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Cheyenne County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1907. 81p.

CLOUD

BURCH, C. S., PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Hand-Book of Concordia and Cloud County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1888. 81p. Cover title.

COFFEY

EDWARDS BROTHERS, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Coffey County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1878. 58p. Contains Burton L. Kingsbury's "History of Coffey County, Kansas," pp. 9-11.

DICKINSON

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Dickinson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 101p.

—, *Standard Atlas of Dickinson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 73p.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Dickinson, Saline, McPherson and Marion Counties, Kansas . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1893. 614p.

DONIPHAN

GRAY, PATRICK L., *Gray's Doniphan County History. A Record of the Happenings of Half a Hundred Years*. Bendena, The Roycroft Press, 1905. 84, 166p.

ELLSWORTH

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Ellsworth County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 59p.

GREENWOOD

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Greenwood County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1922. 67p.

HODGEMAN

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Hodgeman County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1907. 77p.

GOVE

HARRINGTON, WYNNE P., *History of Gove County, Kansas, to the Organization of the County in 1886*. Gove City, Republican-Gazette Office, 1920. [32]p. Cover title.

JEFFERSON

mod11

Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson, Jefferson and Pottawatomie Counties, Kansas. Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890. 782p.

JEWELL

WINSOR, M., and JAMES A. SCARBROUGH, *History of Jewell County, Kansas, With a Full Account of Its Early Settlements and the Indian Atrocities Committed Within Its Borders* . . . Jewell City Diamond Printing Office, 1878. 36p.

JOHNSON

BLAIR, ED, *History of Johnson County, Kansas.* Lawrence, Standard Publishing Company, 1915. 469p.

LANE

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Lane County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1920. 49p.

LEAVENWORTH

HALL, JESSE A., and LEROY T. HAND, *History of Leavenworth County, Kansas.* Topeka, Historical Publishing Company, 1921. 680p.

MOORE, HENRY MILES, *Early History of Leavenworth, City and County* . . . Leavenworth, Sam'l Dodsworth Book Co., 1906. 359p.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas and Franklin Counties, Kansas . . . Chicago, Chapman Publishing Company, 1899. 845p.

LYON

FRENCH, LAURA M., *History of Emporia and Lyon County.* Emporia, Emporia Gazette Print, 1929. 292p.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Lyon County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 99p. KU.

—, *Standard Atlas of Lyon County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 77p.

STOTLER, JACOB, *Annals of Emporia and Lyon County. Historical Incidents of the First Quarter of a Century, 1857 to 1882.* Emporia [1898?] 100p.

MARION

DAVY MAP AND ATLAS COMPANY, *Atlas of Marion County, Kansas* . . . Chicago, 1885. 87p.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Dickinson, Saline, McPherson and Marion Counties, Kansas . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1893. 614p.

MARSHALL

PORTER, EMMA E., *History of Marshall County, Kansas, Its People, Industries and Institutions* . . . Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen & Company, Inc., 1917. 1041p.

Portrait and Biographical Album of Marshall County, Kansas . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1889. 740p.

MONTGOMERY

EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Montgomery County, Kansas.* Philadelphia, 1881. 45p. Contains Ebenezer E. Wilson's "History of Montgomery County, Kansas," pp. 7-9.

MORRIS

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Morris County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 76p. KHi. NN.

NEMAHIA

CREVECOEUR, FERDINAND F., *Old Settlers' Tales. Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Early Settlement and Settlers of Northeastern Pottawatomie and Southwestern Nemaha Counties, Kansas, From Earliest Settlement to the Year 1877.* [Onaga, Republican, 1902.] 162p.

TENNAL, RALPH, *History of Nemaha County, Kansas.* Lawrence, Standard Publishing Company, 1916. 816p.

NESS

- MILLBROOK, MINNIE (DUBBS), *Ness, Western County, Kansas*. Detroit, Mich., Millbrook Printing Company [1955]. 319p.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Ness County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 93p.

NORTON

- BOWERS, DARIUS N., *Seventy Years in Norton County, Kansas, 1872-1942*. Norton, *The Norton County Champion*, 1942. 238p.
- LOCKARD, F. M., *The History of the Early Settlement of Norton County, Kansas*. [Norton] *Norton Champion*, 1894. 294p.

OSAGE

- EDWARDS BROTHERS, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Osage County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1879. 64p. Contains James Rogers' "History of Osage County, Kansas," pp. 7-10.

OSBORNE

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Osborne County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1917. 69p.

POTTAWATOMIE

- CREVECOEUR, FERDINAND F., *Old Settlers' Tales. Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Early Settlement and Settlers of Northeastern Pottawatomie and Southwestern Nemaha Counties, Kansas, From Earliest Settlement to the Year 1877*. [Onaga, *Republican*, 1902.] 162p.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Pottawatomie County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 93p.
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson, Jefferson and Pottawatomie Counties, Kansas*. Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890. 782p.

RENO

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Reno County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 101p.
- PLoucHE, SHERIDAN, *History of Reno County, Kansas, Its People, Industries and Institutions*. Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen & Company, Inc., 1917. 2v.

REPUBLIC

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Republic County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1904.
- SAVAGE, ISAAC O., *A History of Republic County . From Its First Settlement Down to June 1, '01* . . . Beloit, Jones & Chubbie, 1901. 321p.

RILEY

- BIRD AND MICKLE MAP COMPANY, *Historical Plat Book of Riley County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1881. 80p. Contains "History of Riley County," pp. 15-34.
- OGDEN CENTENNIAL, INC., *Ogden Centennial, 1854-1954, July 3, 4, 5*. N. p. [1954]. 40p. Cover title.
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Washington, Clay and Riley Counties, Kansas* . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890. 1231p.

ROOKS

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Rooks County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1904-5.

SALINE

- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Edwards' Atlas of Saline Co., Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1884. 67p. Contains William Bishop's "History of Saline County, Kansas," pp. 7-9.
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Dickinson, Saline, McPherson and Marion Counties, Kansas* . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1893. 614p.

SEDGWICK

- Biographical Record* . . . of Sedgwick County, Kansas. Chicago, Biographical Publishing Company, 1901. 474p.
- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Sedgwick County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1882. 61p. Contains D. B. Emmert's "History of Sedgwick County, Kansas," pp. 7-11.
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Sedgwick County, Kan.* Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1888. 1123p.

SMITH

XXXV

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Smith County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1917. 71p.
 SMITH COUNTY OLD SETTLERS HOMECOMING ASSOCIATION, *Souvenir*. Smith Centre, 1912. [66]p.

TREGO

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Trego County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1903. 79p.

WABAUNSEE

- MAGEE, R. SORREN, *History of Wabaunsee County* . . . Winchester, Argus Job Printing Office, 1885. 15p.
 OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1902. 81p.
 ———, *Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1919. 83p.
 THOMSON, MATT, *Early History of Wabaunsee County* . . . Alma, 1901. 368p.

WALLACE

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Wallace County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1903. 71p.

WASHINGTON

- BIRD, J. S., *Historical Plat Book of Washington County, Kansas*. Chicago. 1882. 90p. Contains "History of Washington County," pp. 19-42.

WILSON

- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Wilson County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1881. 55p. Contains John S. Gilmore's "History of Wilson County, Kansas," pp. 7-10.

WOODSON

- DUNCAN, LEW WALLACE, and CHARLES F. SCOTT, eds., *History of Allen and Woodson Counties, Kansas*. Iola, Iola Register, 1901. 894p.

WYANDOTTE

- MORGAN, PERL W., *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas, and Its People*. Chicago, The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911. 2v.
Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas, Historical and Biographical. Chicago, The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1890. 895p.

Note on Numbering of Sections. The decimal numbering system used in Volumes II and III of Foreign Language Units of Kansas has been adopted as providing an elasticity not permitted by a system of consecutive whole numbers and avoiding the awkward combinations (such as 8.1.2.1) found at times in the point system employed by many linguists and by scholars in the social sciences. Though decimal numbering is often not rigidly logical, it does provide guidance to the organization and subordination of the matters treated.

The use of g (standing for gap) at the end of some section numbers is intended to guide the reader as to what to expect for the next number. After g, the following number, instead of continuing the series of the last digit before g, continues the series of the next-to-the-last digit; examples: 98.2g is followed by 99.0 or 99.00; 76.54g is followed by 76.6 or 76.60.

In cross references the symbol for Section is #; example, #85.47.

Italicized arabic numerals refer to pages in Vol. I.

Part I

Background to Kansas

1.0g Content of this Volume. This volume contains material, relative to Kansas only, explaining the shift by settlers from Europe arriving in America from the use of whatever f-lang (foreign language) they spoke originally to the practically exclusive use of English.

The variations in the progress of this linguistic assimilation in the for-ling (foreign linguistic) settlements of Kansas are in part functions of the geography, and of the political and economic history of the state; for example, the date of settlement for each for-ling unit is important to an understanding of its future development; so also are its physical accessibility and the accidents of its terrain.

The peculiarities of the rate of shift from f-lang to English depend furthermore on a number of social factors. That most closely related to political history is the development of the Kansas educational system. The nature of a settlement's religious life is of primordial importance. Less important but still of great interest are the activities of other social organizations, lodges and the like. In studying linguistic development, the characteristics of newspapers and of other forms of the written word are significant as symptoms, but are not negligible either as formative forces. The two matters of urban as opposed to rural environments and of industrial and commercial as opposed to agricultural occupations are intertwined. Obviously size and density of population are important factors which must be considered in studying any particular settlement.

The variations in the linguistic assimilation pattern depend also upon the character and condition of settlers upon their arrival, that is, upon the character of the language they had used formerly, upon their history in Europe,

and sometimes, too, upon their history in other parts of the United States. But matters not relating to Kansas will be considered only incidentally in this volume. After the general observations applying to the state, there will come an extended study of individual settlements.

- 2.0 Acquisition and Abandonment of Language. The history of linguistic assimilation in Kansas (and in general in the United States) might be regarded as two histories not necessarily related. One would tell of the acquisition of English and the other of the abandonment of f-lang. Bilingualism might theoretically continue indefinitely. But almost everywhere in Kansas as elsewhere in the United States, bilingualism has never been a static condition. English once acquired has tended to drive out f-lang. Still the problem of its initial acquisition for some purposes can often profitably be distinguished from that of the establishment of its monopoly.

The character of the immigrant language has little to do with its abandonment but something to do with the way in which English is acquired.

- 2.1 Axiomatic Assumptions. In discussing the problems of immigrants learning English, the following propositions will be regarded as axiomatic. cursory observation by anyone will verify the first two and little study is necessary to establish the third and the fourth.

1. A small child entirely surrounded by proficient Eng-lings (speakers of English) learns English quickly no matter what his parents' language, be it German, French, Arabic, or Choctaw.
2. A small child largely surrounded by persons speaking imperfect English learns the imperfect English he hears as easily as he does any other language.

3. A small child largely surrounded by proficient Eng-lings but in intimate contact with a minority speaking imperfect English may absorb some of the imperfections, but is likely to reject the majority of them.
4. An adult speaker of a f-láng related to English will learn English with comparative rapidity, but he is less conscious of small differences between his language and English than a for-ling speaking a language unrelated or only distantly related to English. Consequently, he preserves imperfections that others never have. In other words, the English vocabulary of a Syrian or Czech who learns English after he is grown is smaller and purer than that of a German or Scandinavian; to a lesser degree, a similar statement is true of his "brogue".

2.2 Immigrants and the Kinship of Their F-langs to English. The great majority of the for-lings in Kansas have come from countries speaking languages in the same group as English, namely the Germanic languages of the Indo-European family, in which are included German and the Scandinavian languages. In 1920 out of 90,000 foreign-born for-lings, 60,000 came from Germanic countries. In 1895 out of 190,000 of for-ling stock, 130,000 came from Germanic countries.

In other words, two-thirds of the for-lings in Kansas certainly belonged to the category, described in 4. above, of those who acquire imperfect English readily. It is perhaps not going too far to add to this category the speakers of Romance languages, the linguistic group next most closely allied to English. Some 8,000 for-lings spoke Romance languages in 1895, bringing the ready-learner category to approximately three-fourths of all the for-lings. With the influx of Mexicans and Italians, Romance speakers in 1920 rose to 20,000 foreign-born. Thus, the proportion of for-ling foreign-born who fall into the adult easy-learning group became nearly eight-ninths. Therefore, any generalities

made regarding acquisition of English by foreigners in Kansas must be founded primarily on the Germanic group and secondarily upon the Romance.

- 2.3 Stocks Speaking F-langs unlike English. Almost all the for-lings speaking languages only remotely related to English were in 1895 Czechs (speaking a Slavic language) and Welsh (speaking a Celtic language); later a number of other Slavic languages gained some importance: Polish, Croatian, Slovenian. Greek in a smaller amount was present, Arabic as rarely.
- 2.4g Kinship of F-langs to English and Speed of Assimilation. Whether the lack of close relationship of an immigrant f-lang to English has delayed the acquisition of the latter in a Kansas settlement is an open question. Czech colonies have conserved the use of Czech a relatively long time but several factors can be adduced as reasons, most notably the Czech tradition of resistance to cultural absorption. The other Slavs and the Welsh also have special factors other than the character of their language affecting their linguistic history in Kansas.
- 3.0 Kansas as a Geographical Entity. For the physical geographer, Kansas, part High Plains and part Trans-Mississippi Prairie Lands, is not a unit. Its only natural boundary is the Missouri River in the northeastern corner. It contains few features not shared by surrounding states. As regards people, however, Kansas is much more definitely an entity. Missouri, Oklahoma and Colorado have demographic characteristics appreciably different from those of Kansas. If Kansas and Nebraska are more alike, they are certainly aware of their separateness; except for perhaps thirty miles on each side of their border, they have little to do with each other. These facts are at least as true for for-ling settlements as they are for the general population.
- 3.1 The Borders. In spite of the arbitrary character of the boundaries of Kansas, they are to the East, South, and West real frontiers for for-lings. Missouri

Germans contributed to Kansas population but, with exceptions in the northeast, not from settlements near the border. Even in Kansas City many for-ling nationalities do not have groups in both Kansas and Missouri. Oklahoma was settled later than Kansas, and contains a number of daughter for-ling settlements with whom there has been interchange of population, but parent and daughter settlements are not in territorial contact over the border. To a lesser degree the same statement may be made for Colorado. With Nebraska, for-ling contacts, while not stretching deep into Kansas, are more complicated and important. Topography is in large part responsible for these relations. Above the eastern and central longitudes of Kansas the north-south drainage leads several rivers across the border into Nebraska--the Nemaha, the Big and Little Blue, the Republican. German settlements were established on either side of the border near these streams, and with the tendencies of Germans to spread up and down valleys overflowed more or less into neighboring states. On the Big Blue in particular continuity of settlement is important. At about the 98th meridian the Republican River not only enters Nebraska; it turns west and flows near the border. Its valley is narrow above the Near West and no settlements on it or its tributaries reach into Kansas. Above the Far West, however, its basin broadens and its tributaries drain the Far Northwest. Railroads from Nebraska entered Kansas along these watercourses. Therefore settlement and general economic orientation link Kansas and Nebraska closely together in this region. Only in Cheyenne County are settlements in direct contact, but Nebraska cultural factors must be taken into consideration in studying the region.

- 3.2 Rivers and Kansas Settlement. Within Kansas the geographical feature perhaps most important in determining the character of settlement is the drainage system. In this respect Kansas may be divided into two parts. In the Near West and the

Far West all large streams flow very nearly east. In the Pre-West and the East major streams flow nearly south with the important exception in the Inner Zone of the Kaw-Smoky Hill river system and the rivers in the trough paralleling it thirty or forty miles to the south, the Cottonwood in the Inner Pre-West and farther east the Marais des Cygnes, which however turns south before it reaches the Missouri border. Thus most of the valleys of the eastern half of the state run counter to the advance of settlers. The Kaw Valley, which does not and is immediately accessible from the eastern border, was therefore settled earlier than other valleys. For-ling settlements along it are very nearly as old as those along the Missouri. In the West railroad construction followed the valleys. Valley and railroads together guided settlement westward in nearly parallel lines. Communications did not stretch far to the north and south. Thus until about 1920 Goodland had more contact with Phillipsburg 150 miles to the east than with Tribune 60 miles to the south, although conditions of living should have bound it rather to Tribune. Daughter foreign colonies were established almost straight west of a parent settlement rather than northwest or southwest. The automobile, aided by aridity and flat topography, changed these relations. (See #35.4)

- 3.3 Topography, Rainfall, and Kansas Settlement. Kansas is by no means without hills, but except for a few minor buttes, the hills are all the result of valley erosion, and unless the valleys are close together, the hilltops stretch out into plains. The valleys are sometimes deep and narrow as along the Missouri River and in the Flint Hills, sometimes so shallow as to cause "rises" rather than hills. There is more of the country of "rises" in the west than in the east, but the west's reputation for flatness and monotony is perhaps the result of its treelessness, caused by restricted rainfall, rather than of its lack of valleys.

For people coming from the great area of which Chicago is the metropolis eastern Kansas seems normal in vegetation. To the west of the 96th meridian trees become progressively rarer and shorter, and disappear in the Far West except for a few where the water table is near the surface and for tortured examples in favored locations elsewhere. In the east settlers could apply the familiar technique of pioneering that took advantage of growing wood and running water, and settlements were stable from the beginning. Farther west new procedures became necessary, and in bad years the streams of wagons going east balanced those going west.

Along the Arkansas River Basin in the west part of southern Kansas the flat country is also for long stretches sandy. Elsewhere, typically, the soil is black, sometimes deep and rich as in the valleys of the east, sometimes distressingly thin as in the Flint Hills and the bastion near the 98th meridian. The thin-soiled areas are hilly, grazing country, and settlement within them was from the beginning spotty.

- 3.4 Topography and For-ling Demography. After this brief survey of the topography of Kansas, we may profit by general observations as to its effect on for-ling settlement, for sometimes topography rather definitely affected the choice of sites of settlement. Russian Germans, whether Volgan or Mennonite, would accept only very flat country, not sandy. Germans from the flat stretches of the Baltic plain had the same tastes. Germans from farther south had a preference for country with defined valleys. South Germans liked high land, usually flat. Scandinavians liked their nuclei in valleys, but they, the Swedes especially, readily established themselves upon upland, if flat. The Swiss are to be found in rolling uplands. Czechs accepted all types of country. We find the major settlements of for-lings in Kansas located in accordance with these tastes.

3.5 The Twelve Regions of Kansas. Longitudinally Kansas may be divided into four belts: the East, the Pre-West, the Near West, and the Far West. The division is based upon three facts concerning Kansas of which the reader has been repeatedly reminded in preceding sections. They are, as you proceed west through the state: (1) the altitude becomes gradually higher, (2) the climate becomes progressively drier, and (3) the population becomes more and more sparse. For this reason statistical surveys dividing Kansas into sections make such divisions by lines running rather consistently north and south. The western frontier of the East is generally recognized as the comparatively lightly populated band of the Flint Hills, more flatteringly called the Blue Stem Pastures. This band two counties wide is excluded from or included in the East depending on the purposes of the statistician. In this work it is excluded and the boundary line thus happens to fall near the 96th meridian. Other division lines are set up approximately at the 98th and 100th meridian, where demographic considerations --to some extent other reasons also--make them logical. No settlements of foreign origin of high importance are split by such divisions except for one corner clipped from the Mennonite district; among settlements of medium importance only Gridley-Lamont and Caldwell are affected. On the other hand, these artificial lines well delimit certain areas. For instance, there are very few Swedes between the 98th and 100th meridians; there are very few rural Volgans east of the 98th and none near it. Similar demographic facts make valid the choice of lines approximating the 38th and 39th parallels for dividing the state into Northern, Inner and Southern zones. As the Missouri River towns, Kansas City almost exclusively after 1870, were for European immigrants the ports of entry into most of Kansas, the Southern Zone, the southern third of Kansas, which is farthest from this source has comparatively few for-lings. A variety of considerations, particularly climate, drainage, topography, and relations with

Nebraska, further justify the separation of a Northern from an Inner Zone. The latitudinal and longitudinal lines explained above by their intersection divide Kansas into twelve regions. The first of the maps in Vol. I (30) sets forth the names of the regions and delimits their boundaries more accurately.

- 3.6 The East in General. Since all settlers in the East of Kansas became adjusted to their new homes by using familiar pioneering techniques, the for-lings could not in the early days much increase their land holdings at the expense of their neighbors. Their rather numerous settlements persisted with population increases but did not come to cover large areas. Later, settlements of special nature grew up because of the development of the coal fields which occurred in the East only: Leavenworth (North), Osage County (Inner), Crawford County (South). Urban industry also took root (Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita, in early times Atchison and Leavenworth).
- 3.7 The Northeast. The cities on the Missouri River, particularly Leavenworth and Kansas City, were from the beginning the most important for-ling urban centers in the state, because of both commerce and industry; and the immediate hinterland of these towns, (among the towns St. Joseph on the east side of the river should be included) became the seat of early rural settlements. In the northern counties where, because of the divide between the Kaw and Nemaha basins, the valleys to be crossed on the way westward were shallow, other early settlements developed, including many of for-ling origin--especially, on the border of the Pre-West, the Seneca-St. Benedict Germans who became of Ultra-Hi importance. Contrary to what was usual in the East, they spread their holdings and joined with other Ger-ling colonies to make northern Nemaha County solidly for-ling. The remaining part of the Northeast, that is, most of Jefferson County and southern Jackson County, did not receive many for-lings. The Pottawatomie Indian Reservation

is in this part of the Northeast, and the Kickapoo Reservation somewhat further north. They were not diminished to their present size until about 1868, and the late beginnings of certain for-ling settlements were determined thereby.

- 3.8 The Inner East possessed on the Kaw from very early two cities, Lawrence and Topeka, both of which became important for-ling centers, primarily German, secondarily Swedish. Especially in the case of Lawrence, their hinterland attracted sturdy rural for-ling settlements. Another urban center, Emporia,

on the plain that breaches the Flint Hills because of the confluence of the Cottonwood and the Neosho, was founded shortly after the cities on the Kaw. It too had its for-ling element from the beginning, primarily Welsh, secondarily Germans and Scandinavians, and these people began settlements in the vicinity of the town. The Santa Fe Trail was a high road (that is, a road routed to avoid crossing major watercourses), which ran along the divide between the Kaw and Arkansas Basins through the East and Pre-West. It attracted Swedes and Germans to what became northern Osage County even before the territory of Kansas was opened. After the extinguishment of the Sac and Fox Reservation to the south of them, compatriots moved into much of that area, to be joined soon by other stocks when the Osage County coal field developed. The southern counties of the Inner East except for the Scipio Germans received few early for-ling groups, partly because of Indian holdings along the Marais des Cygnes River, partly in all probability because of the anarchy created at the eastern end of the valley by John Brown and his opponents. The settlements that ultimately developed were not particularly important, except for Block, which is of Hi importance. Indeed, Linn County and the area adjoining is singularly free of for-lings.

3.9 The Southeast was largely Indian Country until after the Civil War. A few German settlements (Humboldt and the neighboring Woodson County units) began early on the Neosho above the Osage Reservation and a number of very interesting, though not extremely important, German and Swedish settlements grew up later, but the Southeast would be no more characterized by for-ling settlements than the rest of the south if the coal fields in Crawford and Cherokee Counties had not developed, bringing an influx of several nationalities into a limited area within the region.

4.0 The Pre-West in General. The Pre-West, and this statement might also have been made of Emporia, attracted a number of for-lings who were interested in avoiding

the Free-State struggle taking place in the East during the first Territorial years, and the groups which they formed persisted. Later when general settlement began, newcomers found themselves in an area where ready wood and water were not always at hand. The difficulties of adjustment to this strange condition discouraged many of Colonial American stock to the point that they abandoned their land and returned East. For-lings who came with the tide to many places had usually no haven to return to. They clung to their landholdings and acquired many of those left by "shiftless Americans." Thus the Pre-West contains a great number of the most important for-ling settlements in Kansas.

- 4.1 The Northern Pre-West. The southeastern third of the Northern Pre-West is Flint Hills country, which, however, is so little characterized by abrupt valleys and ravines that the designation is rarely applied to this area. Here there were early settlements along the streams. Especially a little farther west, the fertile narrow valley of the Blue River contrasting with bleak uplands to either side attracted Germans and Swedes in the Territorial period, and the more level country to the north of the point where Marysville was founded also secured some very early settlers. The Swedish settlement on the Blue in Riley and Pottawatomie Counties and the German groups in the district in Marshall and Washington Counties bounded by the Big and Little Blue and by the Nebraska border became settlements of Ultra-Hi importance. So also did the settlements in Republic County which began a decade later farther west along the Nebraska line in the Republican River Basin. To the south and west of these groups, principally in the lower Republican basin but partly in the Solomon and Blue valleys, there arose many other settlements, several of Hi importance. One was in the Ultra-Hi class, the French Canadians of Cloud County, just south of the Republican River, founded in the early years after the Civil War. The many-rivered northern Pre-West thus contains a great number of for-ling settlements mostly of considerable importance. The

variety as well as the multiplicity of the colonies is remarkable. Germans, Scandinavians of all types, French, Czechs, Welsh appear in close juxtaposition and in several settlements each. In this region is even the one rural settlement of Poles to be found in Kansas.

- 4.2 The Inner Pre-West. Aside from the Kaw-Smoky Hill system on its northern edge, the Inner Pre-West has no major streams. But in Territorial times its Flint Hill valleys, with creeks draining into the Kaw, were important, for they received Germans who developed major settlements. The one along Mill Creek in Wabaunsee County became of Ultra-Hi importance and together the two Lyons Creek settlements are of no less significance. The Wabaunsee settlement was in its first years forced to stay west of the Pottawatomie Reservation. When the reserve was diminished toward 1868 the Germans could spread. The two other settlements of Ultra-Hi importance in the Inner Pre-West are definitely beyond the Flint Hills in flat country. One belongs to the Lindsborg Swedes who came (1868) with the Kansas Pacific Railroad to the Smoky Valley country in McPherson and Saline Counties on the west edge of the Pre-West. Here the valley had some initial importance in drawing settlers, but the Swedes spread gladly over the flat uplands to the South. The other Inner Pre-West settlement of Ultra-Hi importance must probably be considered the most important for-ling settlement of any kind in Kansas. It is the great Mennonite colony that came in 1874 to southwestern counties of the Region (Marion, McPherson, Harvey, also one corner of Reno farther on). Good black soil in level country is what attracted these Russian Germans. Other types of Russian Germans and the Pilsen Czechs assembled on the northeast edge of the Mennonites, but the southeastern Inner Pre-West has relatively few settlements, except that in western Morris County the Swedes found flat uplands where, later than their compatriots at Lindsborg, they founded two settlements of Hi importance (Dwight, Burdick). All other east-edge settlements in the Inner Pre-West were small.

4.3 The Southern Pre-West. Sedgwick County in the northwest part of the Southern Pre-West contains the only for-ling settlement of Ultra-Hi importance in the region: the Andale-St. Mark Germans. That county and the northern fringe of the Region contain most of the other for-ling settlements in it. The coming of the Santa Fe railroad into the fertile area near the Arkansas River explains the founding of St. Mark in 1872 and the settlement of Danzig Prussian Mennonites in 1876 in northwestern Butler County. The Flint Hills country has almost nothing of much importance, though the Eureka Norwegians came very early. The counties on the Oklahoma border have only the Caldwell Czechs among settlements that reach Mid-importance.

4.4 The Near West in General. The Near West has definitely the character of dryness and treelessness that marks western Kansas. For-ling settlements are numerous in it but, except on the eastern edge and to a lesser extent on the Nebraska border, the important settlements are those of the Russian Germans who found themselves thoroughly at home here. Physically, the boundary between the Near West and the Pre-West in the south is unmarked, but it follows a bastion of hills across the Inner Region and to a lesser degree across the North, a barrier of sterility rather than of difficult travel. The river valleys penetrate the barrier. These valleys are well defined through about half of the Near West. The valley of the Saline River follows approximately the boundary between the Northern and Inner Regions. The upland near it is frequently not of the best and the valley is narrow across the middle half of the Near West. Thus, in these parts it furnishes a natural border area. At the east end in Lincoln County the valley is good, and it is the high country on the northern edge of the county that continues the boundary. Between the Inner and Southern Region the boundary is marked physically only inside the great bend of the Arkansas by the sandy area there. This barrier effectively contained the complex of for-ling settlements that the Santa Fe Railroad established

on the north side of the great bend. Farther west the border land between the Inner Region and the South was in the early days the no man's land between country influenced by the Santa Fe to the south and the Kansas Pacific to the north. The three regions of the Near West have then a certain separateness and also perhaps in each case more internal unity of character than the Regions of the Pre-West.

4.5 The Northern Near West was settled before the coming of the railroads rather than in their wake. No great propaganda forces were at work to bring people into this region. The for-ling settlers were therefore individuals and small groups, largely sent forward by groups farther east, who had already adjusted to conditions somewhat similar. They eventually never solidly covered great areas. The settlements are frequently of great interest, though there are none of Ultra-Hi importance and only three of Hi importance. Among them figure the only two Dutch colonies of the state, and the French Canadians of Rooks County.

4.6 The Inner Near West is the region where settlement was most under control of the railroads. The Kansas Pacific was built through the northern counties of the Region in 1867 just before demand for land became active in the region. The Santa Fe entered the southern edge five years later. Both lines had land grants which in Rice, Barton and part of Rush County abutted each other; that is, the two railroads owned half the land in these counties and the Kansas Pacific owned much of Russell, Ellis and Trego Counties and some of Lincoln, Rush and Ness Counties. Their efforts to find settlers were therefore great, and the Santa Fe is responsible for many for-lings in Barton County and the Kansas Pacific for the great Volgan settlements and a number of others. Of course the immigrants took land to their taste; the Volgans were at home on the bare, flat stretches of the middle section of the region. The solid Primary Catholic Russian German (Volgan) settlement of Ellis County is with the Mennonite at the top in the class of Ultra-Hi

importance, and the several settlements of the adjacent Protestant Volgans together are almost as important. The groups from the old Austro-Hungarian empire also preferred the region. The Czechs at Wilson near the east end and the Bukovinan Germans to the northwest of the Volgans are of Ultra-Hi importance, and the importance of the two settlements of Moravian Germans in Barton County on the south edge is Hi. Barton County and also its eastern neighbor Ellsworth County and Lincoln County to the north have a multiplicity of Reich German settlements, some quite important. Lincoln County also gives the Near West the most important Danish settlement in the state.

4.7g The Southern Near West has no for-ling settlements of Ultra-Hi importance and only two of Hi importance, but there are German settlements of interesting character all along the Arkansas Valley and on the eastern border of the Region. Except on the east edge in Reno County these are all Reich Germans. Outside of the land along the Arkansas, the sand and the dry country, much of it grazing land, attracted only scattered settlements.

4.80 The Far West in General. Even in proportion to its population, the for-ling element in the Far West is less important than in the other belts. In all but the Northwest only small and quite scattered settlements are to be found in it, though Russian Germans, both Mennonite and Volgan, tend to spread into it and prosper in its aridity. This is mostly gambling wheat country, except for the sugar beet area on the Arkansas just west of Garden City. The advent of irrigation from wells came too late to affect foreign settlement greatly. As regards the Inner Far West and the Far Southwest we need only say that foreign linguistic groups are few.

4.81g The Far Northwest, but in the northern tier of counties only, is an exception to what has just been said. Although there is but one settlement of Hi importance there, the Herndon Hungarian Germans, the land is held in such large units that the various for-ling settlements have common frontiers in much of the

district. The colonies are of great variety. The most important non-Mennonite Black Sea German group in the state is in the farthest northwest corner. They and the Hungarians do not furnish all the Ger-lings; there are Reich Germans too and a few Luxemburgers. The several Scandinavian and Czech groups are, taken together, as important as the Ger-lings. Because this territory was almost all settled after 1886, the critical date of its for-ling settlements is generally quite recent. This tier of counties is definitely oriented toward Nebraska. The streams and the railroads run out to the northeast, and the population came from Nebraska sources, insofar as the settlers were not immigrants directly from Europe.

4.9 General Characteristics of the Northern, Inner, and Southern Zones.

As a whole in the Northern zone of Kansas, crop conditions are more favorable than farther south, especially for varied agricultural production. Consequently that zone has appealed to a great variety of for-ling stocks; almost every type represented in Kansas has its most important or some of its most important representatives in this zone. The foremost exception is the Russian German stock.

The two central regions of the Inner Zone also attracted large settlements of various stocks, though not so varied as in the North. The regions of the Inner Zone by the state borders are less occupied by for-lings. The relative importance of the two central regions is largely to be explained by historical reasons, if we may include among such reasons the Russian Germans' discovery that here was good wheat country.

The Southern Zone received fewer foreign settlements than those to the north; the farther south one goes in the Zone, the fewer the settlements. In the tier of counties along the Oklahoma border, only two settlements reach Mid-importance, the Caldwell Czechs and the Independence Germans, and settlements of Low importance

are few. This is, however, the Zone of most importance for Mexican settlements. The eastern part of the Inner Zone also received them in quantity. The reason for the limitation of for-ling settlement in the south is largely the distance from the Missouri River ports of entry, but the greater heat, which in the western sections exhausts the soil of the little moisture it receives, also plays a part.

5.0 For-lings and Kansas History--Introductory. As a number of allusions in preceding paragraphs have already indicated, for-ling settlements in Kansas can be better understood with a background of the history of the state. The paragraphs that follow will treat pertinent features of that history, including certain American national developments as they apply to Kansas. The Free-State struggle, 1854 to about 1858, had its effect upon for-ling settlers and was in part determined by them. For instance, seizure of "Old Kickapoo" in 1858 was carried out by Germans from Leavenworth. But that struggle will not occupy us at length because it has been thoroughly studied in many accessible publications. The desire of certain for-lings to find homes west of the disturbed area has been mentioned. The majority were, however, undeterred by the fight. They were almost to a man Free-Staters, and their influx was an important element in the victory of their party, especially in Atchison and Leavenworth. Certain other facts concerning the history of Kansas before it became a state in 1861 demand more of our attention.

5.1 Indians--General. (Material primarily from /ma and /kc8:72-109) Kansas was practically devoid of white settlements until the opening of the territory in 1854 after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, because it was part of the "Indian Country", the large area at one time planned for exclusive Indian occupancy. Into it on specific reservations (see Map in Volume I, 54) in the years following 1830 the government moved many tribes whose presence was disagreeable elsewhere. By the Manypenny treaties negotiated in 1854, the recently established reservations were greatly diminished in the Northeast and the Inner East. By another series of negotiations, culminating in the Omnibus Treaty of 1868, Kansas lost most of its Indians. Three reserves remain, those of the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos (see below), also the very small one occupied by the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri. The execution of the treaties of 1868 affected as follows tribes and settlements not discussed below: Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi (Osage

Mining, Arvonias Welsh), Miamis (Block Germans), Kaws (South Bushong) Americus) -- see end of #5.6 for Otoes. Thus by the year 1871 Kansas became almost free of Indian reservations. (See /ci for Indian languages in Kansas.) After 1868, except for a crisis a decade later, Indians scarcely affected the Kansas settler. When the territory of Kansas was opened, the Delaware trust lands, north of the Kaw as far as Leavenworth, were disposed of by sale under confused and irregular conditions. For-lings participated in the incidents, and settlement in the western part of Leavenworth County appears to have been somewhat slowed down by the confusion, but the Germans and French were no more impeded than others. South of the Kaw, part of the Shawnees received their land in severalty. The Black Bob Band resisted distribution of tribal holdings. Southeastern Johnson County received few for-lings on their account. The sales of land in severalty went on over a number of years. The founding of Eudora by a German company in 1857 was the result of such a sale. The early history, diminishment and extinction of several other reservations directly affecting the foundation or expansion of for-ling settlements on the land that they had occupied demand more detailed attention.

- 5.2 The Pottawatomies in 1847-1848 acquired lands 30 miles square lying on both sides of the Kaw River. The eastern limit on the river was just west of the present junction of Highways 24 and 75 at Topeka and the western limit five miles east of Wamego. The tribe established its most important village on the Kaw approximately in the center of this reservation, and the Jesuits located there St. Mary's Mission, the present St. Marys. The missionaries were themselves for-lings, and for-lings gathered around them.* St. Marys remains the most complex

*Probably the first German to become a resident of Kansas was Mary Knofflock (d. ca. 1892) who married in 1842 Abram Burnett (1811-1870), Pottawatomie Chief. She came to the United States at age 8, and was in Kansas 1846-1879 /kc13:371.

polyglot center of its size (ca. 1200 inhabitants) in Kansas. After the Pottawatomies gave up in 1862 their title to all but something like their present holdings in Jackson County in the northeastern corner of the 30-mile square, the Leavenworth Pawnee and Western Railroad secured the right to purchase the vacated lands at \$1 an acre if the company acted before 1867. The option expired and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, roughly speaking, succeeded to it; this railroad company acted promptly and sold the lands in 1869 and 1870. Pottawatomie history affects, besides St. Marys, the history of the settlements of the Czechs at Delia and of the Great Wabaunsee German settlement.

- 5.3 The Cherokee Neutral Lands, never occupied by the Cherokees, covered approximately the present Crawford and Cherokee Counties in the extreme Southeast. Squatters of the Territorial period left during the anarchy of the Civil War. The towns of Humboldt and Fort Scott remained, though disturbed. In 1866 the government took over the title from the absent Cherokees. In the years that followed settlers began to move in, but settlement became legal only in 1872. The beginning of the four agricultural for-ling settlements of Crawford County took place between 1866 and 1868; coal mining first developed commercially in 1873.
- 5.4 The Osage Lands. The Osage reservation which from 1825 ran westward to the Arkansas from the western frontier of the Cherokee neutral lands limited settlement of the Neosho Valley in Territorial days. There were no settlements farther south than Humboldt. However, in 1847, the Jesuits who here were for-lings, too,

established for this tribe Osage Mission, now called St. Paul. After the Osages left, the spot remained a Catholic center. It became the seat of the Osage Mission Germans. Squatting on the eastern part of the Osage reservations (now Labette and Neosho Counties) became common at the end of the Civil War, and in 1867 a treaty separated this section, called "the Osage Ceded Lands," from the rest, though the western part was also taken over by the government. The Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad and the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad competed with the settlers for title to the "ceded lands." The settlers won by 1876. The history, particularly the foundation date, of various for-ling settlements of the Southeast, including Vilas, Chanute, and Savonburg Swedes, are affected by Osage history.

5.5 The Kickapoo Lands. The Manypenny Treaty of 1854 limited the Kickapoos to 150,000 acres lying half in present Brown County and almost all the rest in Jackson County. Four-fifths of this diminished reserve, by negotiations extending from 1863 to 1865, fell into the hands of the Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad Company (the Central Branch), which quickly sold it to settlers. The Powhattan-Mercier Germans, the Netawaka Germans, and the Whiting Danes are in this area.

5.6g The Indian Troubles. most affecting settlements, including some of for-lings, were those of 1865-1869, involving Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches. In the middle of this period, the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 gave immigrants assurance that the Indians had withdrawn to what is now Oklahoma. But delays in Washington in putting the treaty into execution irritated the Indians, and they returned to Kansas. Settlers were already establishing themselves there in recently acquired holdings. Indian raiders were responsible for deaths, and settlements were under repeated alerts, particularly in a double band

of counties north from Salina to the Nebraska line. Listing from south to north along the eastern boundary of the Near West, the Lincoln-Westfall Germans, the Denmark Danes, some Germans and Swedes near Asherville, the Jamestown Danes, the Scandia Swedes and Norwegians, the Reubens Norwegians, and the Harrison Germans were particularly affected. In 1878, the forerunners of the Ludell Germans in the Far Northwest lost their lives in the last Indian troubles. The latest Indian movement to affect for-ling settlement was the extinction in 1881 of the Otoe Reserve on the Nebraska border above Marysville. The Otoes were succeeded by the State Line East Frisian Germans and the Lanham Germans.

6.0 The Military Posts in Kansas were nuclei around which early settlers tended to collect either because the protection of the fort was attractive or because the roads maintained for military purposes made the posts more easily accessible than other points. Of most interest to us, with dates of establishment are:

Ft. Leavenworth	1827
Ft. Scott	1843
Ft. Riley	1853
Ft. Dodge	1864
Ft. Ellsworth	1864
Ft. Zarah (Great Bend)	1864
Ft. Hays	1865

The important for-ling settlements which were established early near these posts are of greatest interest in the case of Fort Riley, 1853, as the following table shows:

<u>Name of Settlement</u>	<u>Miles from Riley</u>	<u>Year of for-ling establishment</u>
Wabaunsee Germans	30	1853
Flush Germans	25	1854
Mariadahl Swedes	30	1855
Fancy Creek Germans	30	1856
Milford Germans	10	1857
East Clay County Germans	15	1857
Clark's Creek Germans	10	1857
Lower Lyon Creek Germans	15	1856
Upper Lyon Creek Germans	25	1859
Enterprise Swedes	20	1858
New Basel and Banner Township Germans	30	1860

Certain of the early for-lings of Kansas first saw the area where they were to settle as soldiers or as teamsters hauling supplies to military posts.

6.1 Early Trails and Roads. The Santa Fe and Oregon Trails and the military roads furnished the principal routes taken westward by the earliest settlers who penetrated more than a few miles beyond the Missouri border. The trails made by the Indians from their reservations to their hunting grounds were also of some importance. These trails followed the ridges. The settlers chose land where the roads had to leave the highlands to cross a valley or they went a few miles to right or left to seek other valleys, for timber and water were important. The newcomers then spread up and down these valleys. The settlements along the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails illustrate these facts.

6.2 The Santa Fe Trail was established in the first half of the decade that began in 1820 when Mexico's independence from Spain made trading with Santa Fe possible. The road was surveyed and marked by the United States Government in 1825-1827. The part of its course which interests us is a high road running as much as possible along divides from Westport in the Kansas City of the present to the southeast corner of the Inner Near West, some twenty miles north of Hutchinson. At that point the Stone Corral was located near the crossing of the Little Arkansas. In this neighborhood the first of the New Andover Swedes took claims in 1870. To the east shortly thereafter came the Penn Germans of McPherson County (Southwest McPherson and Spring Valley). At the eastern end of the Trail in Kansas, it was doubtless used by all the early for-ling settlers in Johnson County as they crossed the Missouri border. The location of the various settlements in southern Douglas County (French, German, and Penn German) was affected by the repair and supply points at Palmyra (Baldwin) and Willow Springs (near Worden). The pre-territorial beginnings (1848, 1849) of the Scranton Swedes and Carbondale

Germans in Osage County resulted from the establishment of a similar point at 110-mile Creek near Burlingame. In Morris County just east of Council Grove, the Little John Creek Germans got their start several years before the other settlements of the county because of the Trail. In the same county in 1873 the location of the Russian German Mennonites who sold out to the Burdick Swedes was near the Diamond Spring station on the Trail, and the course of the road had some bearing on the for-ling settlements of northern Marion County, particularly at Durham Park.

- 6.3g The Kansas Branches of the Oregon Trail. At various Missouri River towns originated roads that ultimately joined together along the Platte River valley to make one great Trail leading to the Northwest Pacific area , the Oregon Trail. The trail began early without survey and was a well-traveled road even before the gold strike in California in 1849. The most southern of the points of origin was Westport and Kansas City. What the people of this region regarded as the California Road or Oregon Trail was identical with the Santa Fe Trail almost to the southwest corner of Johnson County. Thence it passed through or near what later became Lawrence, Topeka, Louisville, Westmoreland (Grutzmacher, Zabel /co3:1444). Bigelow on the Black Vermilion, and Hanover on the Little Blue to leave the state south of the present Fairbury, Nebraska. Its presence helped determine the location of all the Kansas towns named and consequently of the for-ling settlements in or near the The

earliest settlement was that near Topeka. The French Canadian Pappan brothers with their half-breed Kaw wives settled there in 1840 and set up a ferry in 1842 which prospered for many years. Indianola, a village of Canadians, half-breeds and Indians, grew up nearby. Their scandalous behavior greatly exercised Bishop Miège in 1852 /gm67. Near Louisville the military road from Ft. Leavenworth to Ft. Riley, which had come into the Oregon Trail at Indianola, left it. One of the earliest settlers (1854) near here was the German Andrew Noll /a978. The Flush Germans are influenced by both the military road and the Oregon Trail. The German Gert Henry Hollenberg located a store in 1853 near future Bigelow. In 1858 he moved it to a location near the spot where he was later to found Hanover, seat of the Hanover Germans and important to the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans. Besides settlements in the towns mentioned, the following for-ling groups were affected by this main Oregon Trail: Clearfield Germans and neighboring Penn-Germans, Stull Germans, Tecumseh Germans, St. Marys Polyglot, Marysville Germans. The first of Hollenberg's stores was at the point where the Leavenworth branch of the Oregon Trail came into the road already described; the second near the junction with the St. Joseph branch. On or near the Leavenworth branch for-ling settlements early came into being, the Easton-Potter Germans, the St. Joseph-of-the-Valley French, the Nortonville-Mooney Creek Germans, the Valley Falls Germans, the Neuchatel Swiss French, the Duluth-Wheaton Germans, and the Frankfort Germans. The St. Joseph branch, a little later often called the Overland Trail, ran through the present county seats of the northern tier of counties and the many settlements along this line were affected by its presence, notably the Seneca-St. Benedict Germans.

7.0 For-lings and the Public Lands. Theoretically, before the Manypenny treaties all land in Kansas was owned by Indian tribes. In most of the area the United States Government gained title from the Indians. In certain cases, however, the treaties established "trust lands" which the government disposed of for the Indians, and in certain others individual Indians become the owners of farm-sized tracts (ownership in severalty). Most of these cases of Indian title have been sufficiently discussed in speaking of the tribes. When the government held title, it transferred it, in all cases that interest us, either to individual settlers or to railroads. ("School sections" and holdings of "land-grant" colleges are not important to this work: public and railroad lands show on maps in /ag75.)

For-lings were very frequently the first settlers in an area and became landowners in Kansas by taking government land or by purchasing from railroads. The constitution of their settlements is consequently closely bound up with the system of land distribution.

7.1 The Public Lands--Pre-emption. The Pre-emption Act of 1841 was designed to champion the squatter against the speculator. To "squat" on land, that is, to dwell on and to cultivate the public lands without formalities was no crime but occupancy did not give title. The Pre-emption Act provided the machinery for acquiring title at what was regarded as low cost. An adult male citizen or-- and this for our purposes is very important--a prospective citizen--or a widow-- could register at a federal land office a claim to a tract of from 40 to 160 acres, usually 80 in Kansas before 1862, on which he was a bona fide resident and purchase that tract for a minimum price, generally, of \$1.25 an acre at the expiration of a set period--usually determined by the date fixed for public sale of land in a given stretch of territory. The act partially accomplished its

purpose, particularly in giving respectable status to the settler. During the Territorial period, settlers, and for-lings with the others, acquired land through the pre-emption system except on the old Delaware and Shawnee reserves, that is, in the counties nearest Leavenworth and Kansas City. When the homestead system was established, pre-emption was still possible, but rather infrequently used.

- 7.2 The Public Lands--Homesteads and Timber Claims. In 1862, after many years of agitation, Congress passed the homestead law. The Act as adopted defined homesteaders as it had pre-emptors. It allowed claim-holders to acquire title to eighty acres or a quarter section, depending on the value of the land, by five years' residence and cultivation. Closeness to a railroad was the only factor usually regarded as making land more valuable. The terms "residence" and "cultivation" were rather liberally interpreted by those administering the law, but the efforts necessary to "hold a claim" affected the behavior of for-ling settlers, particularly those like the Russian Germans, who wished to imitate village organization. In Ellis County a house in town and a shack on the land provided a solution for a while. By practically doing away with the purchase price, homesteading removed many complaints and abuses; previously, the poverty-stricken pioneers who had legally filed claims had frequently been unable to find the \$1.25 an acre necessary for completing pre-emption titles. Thus homesteading became very popular. Homesteaders filed claims in Kansas up to 1880 as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of entries</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of entries</u>
1863	1149	1872	9093
1864	678	1873	5956

1865	383	1874	6116
1866	1212	1875	2728
1867	1326	1876	3232
1868	1496	1877	3385
1869	1900	1878	7915
1870	5024	1879	11337
1871	9456	1880	7575

This table shows two peaks of settlement in the seventies, 1871-2 and 1878-9. There was another peak in 1884-5. Compare data under railroad land.

Civil War veterans had special homestead rights which led some German veterans westward, but to the present work the veteran's privileges are more important as explaining why the advantageous homestead lands which were opened up immediately after the Civil War, notably in a broad band stretching northward from southeastern Kansas to the lower valley of the Smoky Hill, contain few foreign settlements.

Homesteaders could not be major speculators, but many, like speculators, did not become permanent holders of the land; they were frequently persons unwilling or unable to settle down, or individuals who, while filling technical requirements of residence set up by the land offices, had their roots elsewhere. If foreign settlers secured a foothold in a region, particularly when they dominated it with a strange culture, the Americans, restless or easily discouraged, possessed of a distaste for these strange neighbors, frequently departed, and relinquishments to homestead claims already taken in the area could usually be procured at a modest outlay. The Mennonites, for instance, took over many claims of those whom they regarded as "shiftless" migrants.

In 1873 a law was passed granting title to from 40 to 160 acres of land to claimholders who would keep one-fourth of the land planted to trees for eight

years. These timber claims might be held along with homesteads. The surface of Kansas did not thereby become forested, but in 1880 three million acres had been claimed for timber lands as against something under eleven million for homesteads.

- 7.3 The Public Lands--Land Offices. (Data from /kc8:3-13.) Land offices where claims might be filed were opened up or moved into territory just opened as new settlement required. Their dates of establishment and extinction represent the progress of the frontier. The founding of new foreign settlements took place primarily on the frontier. They are listed below by meridians:

East--94°-96°

Northeast

Lecompton 1856-1861

Doniphan, Kickapoo, Atchison 1857-1863

Topeka 1861-later than 1904 (The Topeka office took over
business from other closing offices.)

Southeast

Fort Scott 1857-1861

Humboldt 1861-1870

Neodesha, Independence 1870-1889

Pre-West

96°-97°

Ogden 1857-1859

Junction City 1859-1871

Augusta 1870-1872

97°-98°

Concordia 1870-1889

Salina 1871-1893

Wichita 1872-1889

Near West

98°-99°

Cawker City 1872-1875

99°-100°

Larned 1875-1894

Hays 1874-1879

Kirwin 1875-1893

Wakeeney 1879 till after 1904

Far West

100°-101°

Oberlin 1881-1894

Garden City 1883-1894

Dodge City 1894 till after 1904

101°-102°

Colby 1894 till after 1904

- 7.4 The Public Lands--railroad Grants. In order to encourage the construction of railroads, the federal government made gifts or quasi-gifts of great stretches of territory to the railroads. In the early years, out of reverence for states rights, land was turned over to a state with the proviso that it be conveyed to the railroad; later the companies received the land directly. In a case or two solid tracts were conveyed, but more usually a checkerboard of alternate land sections (surveyed square miles) lying in a band stretching ten miles to either side of a right of way was granted. In the case of the Santa Fe and the Kansas Pacific the railroads passed, for part of their route, through territory already settled and entered virgin areas beyond. To compensate them for the loss of land through the eastern region, additional land beyond the ten-mile limit for

another ten miles, still in the checkerboard pattern, was added in the more western stretches of the grant. Thus part of the Menmonites who settled on Santa Fe land in Kansas were twenty miles from the railway. The grants to the other railroads were reduced by prior settlement without compensation elsewhere. In the eastern part of the state, railroads treated their lands much like other speculators and clashed with squatters. In the west, where their activities will be described elsewhere, they became promotionists, and brought many foreign colonies.

7.5g The size of the railroad grants are shown in the accompanying table.

<u>Name of Railroad</u>	<u>No. on R. R. Map of Vol. I, 38</u>	<u>Grant Made</u>	<u>Size of Grant in acres to nearest thousand</u>
Kansas Pacific (U. P.)	4	1862	3,942,000 /kr88
Central Branch (after 1880 Mo. P.) (excludes Kickapoo lands)	2	1862	187,000 /kr84
Lawrence, Leavenworth, and Galveston (later part of the S. F.) (includes state grant; excludes forfeited lands)	3	1863	249,000 /US08
Santa Fe (A. T. and S. F.)	5	1863	2,945,000 /US08
Missouri, Kansas and Texas (includes state grant; excludes forfeited lands)	7	1863	663,000 /kr88
St. Joseph and Denver City (U. P.)	1	1866	125,000 /kr83
Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf (Mo. P.) (excludes for- feited lands)	6	1866	90,000 /kr84

The names are those most frequently used in the period of settlement. Additions in parenthesis may be of help in later identification.

- 8.0 Building Railroads to 1872. The building of the railroads was clearly of importance to the settling of Kansas, not only because they had land to dispose of, but also because their advent meant improved communications. This statement is of even greater importance for for-ling settlers than for other newcomers to Kansas. On railroads immigrants could come directly from Atlantic seaports with the hindrances from not understanding English greatly reduced as compared with travel by the means of transport available in earlier years.

Political and financial intrigues for railways, resulting in laws and corporations, began with the opening of Kansas for settlement, but, except for a very few miles of track, actual construction did not take place until after the Civil War. By 1872 the seven land-grant roads had been built in Kansas; two stretched from the east to the west of Kansas, the Kansas Pacific and the Santa Fe; three more from points on the Kaw River to the southern boundary, the MK+T, the L. L. and G., and the Fort Scott and Gulf; two reached deep into Kansas along the northern border, the Central Branch and the St. Joe and Denver City. The S. J. and D. C., now part of the Union Pacific, did not penetrate territory still unsettled in 1872. It ran out of Kansas into Nebraska in the middle of the Pre-West northwest of Hanover. The history of that city was greatly affected by it. Otherwise it will not concern us farther.

- 8.1 Railroads and the Location of Settlements. In the Northeast, the Inner East, and immediately contiguous counties to the west and south, the first railroads did not cause the beginnings of many settlements, whether of for-ling or early American stock. Elsewhere, the location of important foreign settlements was determined by the railways. Particularly in the Near and Far West the railroads

came before settlement and were a dominant force in deciding town sites everywhere and also the distribution of much of the rural population. The railroads promoted settlement by issuing "literature," by leading conducted tours through their lands, and by providing settlers with very advantageous rates (example /kc 11:22) or even free transportation.

8.2 The three early railroads running to the south boundary, the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf (to Baxter Springs in 1870), the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston (to Coffeyville in 1871), and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas (to Parsons from Junction City in 1871) were all involved in land scandals. Congress made land grants to the last two from the Cherokee Neutral Lands and in the Osage Country. By the time the railroads gained title, the land was already settled. Congress revoked the railroad grants, and the Supreme Court in 1878 upheld the settlers' rights. Farther west and north the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, however, continued to dispose of its small remaining grant till 1884. Foreign settlements of early origin are less numerous than elsewhere in the areas where the land titles were under dispute, for foreigners were at a disadvantage in dealing with courts and Congressmen.

8.3 The Central Branch. The Central Branch began as the Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad Company (incorporated 1859). To advertise its eligibility to the land grant laws it became the Central Branch Union Pacific Railroad in 1866 and continued to use that name until 1899. Some 20 years before, its operation had been taken over by the Missouri Pacific; after 1899 it was in every respect part of that system. The line to Waterville was completed in January, 1868. The motivation for its construction is told in its name, the Land Grant Division. The Western Division was not built for another ten years, so belatedly that settlement outstripped it. The schedule of construction westward was:

Waterville	January 1868
Concordia	January 1878
Beloit	end, 1878
Kirwin	end, 1879
Lenora	before 1883

Because of the pause in construction, Waterville was for a decade the railhead for all the immigrants journeying to the important for-ling settlements that were being established in the two counties to the west. The complex character of settlement in its neighborhood is also to be explained by its importance as a terminus. In disposing of its congressional land, the Central Branch did not speed settlement. In 1875, practically all land in Washington and Republic Counties beyond its grant were occupied, so too in the three miles of Marshall County west of Waterville; in the rest of that county most of the railroad grant, half of all the land, was still unoccupied /ag75:329. This fact is particularly important for the Marysville Germans, Axtell Swedes and Irving Czechs. The for-ling settlements in this area for that reason received new accretions over a longer period than most rural settlements. Besides the grant from Congress, the company also disposed of 123,832 acres acquired "by purchase" from the Kickapoo. The lands were all sold before May, 1882 /kr84:117.

- 8.4 The Kansas Pacific--Construction. The Kansas Pacific, in an early day called the Union Pacific Co., Eastern Division, has since 1880 been the Union Pacific's main line through Kansas. It earned its land grant by starting at Wyandotte and building to Denver. Roughly it follows the Kaw and Smoky Hill valleys through Kansas. Chronologically it reached points as noted below:

Lawrence	1865
Junction City	November, 1866
Abilene	August, 1867
Hays	October, 1867
Sheridan (405 miles from eastern state line)	August 22, 1868 /kr84:148

It was built during the period most troubled by Indian wars, and new settlement along it from Salina westward waited for pacification toward 1870. Through the Inner and Northern Near and Far West there was no railroad for another ten years. The Kansas Pacific land grant, as we have seen, amounted to almost 4 million acres in Kansas. The railroad disposed of its land rather gradually over a period of some 30 years. The following table shows what amounts of the total land grant had been sold in the year designated for each case.

December 1870	700,000 acres /wi540
October 1875	*1,021,000 acres /ag75:869
March 1879	*1,304,000 acres /kp no.14
June 1884	1,501,000 acres /kr84:148
June 1888	2,100,000 acres /kr88:397
1893	*3,240,000 acres /ag92

* The amounts preceded by an asterisk were found by subtracting from the total grant the amount yet for sale at the time indicated.

Until July, 1869, Russell County, through which the road ran, had no inhabitants. Land west of Ellis County, that is, all the Kansas Pacific grant in the Far West and in the tier of counties just east of it, was still unpriced in August, 1878, /ag78:608 and the land in the two western tiers of counties was "for sale January, 1887, for the first time and for actual settlement only." /ag85:II,127

The railroad official most continuously connected with land sales was Samuel J. Gilmore. He was secretary to John J. Devereux, the Land Commissioner for a number of years, and was himself Land Commissioner by 1875. In 1882, two years after the Union Pacific took over, he was replaced by B. McAllaster. A few years later the Union Pacific handled all lands from its main office in Omaha. The only regular employee of the road capable of using anything but English seems to have been the German, A. Roedelheimer. The publications calculated to attract settlers to the Kansas Pacific lands show two primary periods of activity in land promotion, one from 1868 to 1872, the other from 1876 to 1879. One of the first accomplishments was the sale of land to the Lindsborg Swedes in 1868. The English colony at Wakefield was established the next year and the Bala Welsh bought their land in 1870. The company's maps inserted in /kp78,79 take notice of these settlements but of no others in the Pre-West. Neither of these colonies came into being because of Kansas Pacific activities in Europe. Indeed, the settlers were first attracted to Kansas by other agencies. The first Welsh were a few who were dissatisfied with their Osage County holdings.

The very first Swede found his way to the Lindsborg area in 1864 before the railroad came, and in 1868, J. B. McAfee, who as adjutant-general of the State, interested himself in immigration problems, particularly, it may be guessed, among fellow Lutherans, first approached the railroad requesting rates for the Swedish group forming in Chicago. Later in 1877 the Kansas Pacific published literature in Swedish and Dano-Norwegian, but appears to have sent no agents abroad since the pamphlets refer inquiries to the agents of the White Star Line in Sweden and Norway. The propaganda doubtless contributed to the

founding in 1879 of the O'Gallah Swedish community in Trego County at the western extremity of the Near West. In the Far West, the Swedes at Page City first came by wagon in 1886, but the next year the railroad encouraged them by giving them land for a church. Stockholm on the Colorado border, founded at nearly the same time, seems to have received no more encouragement. In Ellsworth County the promotion maps note "Bohemian Colony" (the Wilson Czechs) and a "German Colony" (the Lorraine Germans), overlooking the North Ellsworth Germans and the Holyrood Germans. The Kansas Pacific apparently did little to promote the "Bohemian Colony", though it granted rates "through the assistance of the city authorities" according to Francis Swehla /kc13:479. The Kansas Pacific promoted the "German Colony" more actively, and in 1878 gave 80 acres for a German Baptist Church (now North American Baptist). This promotion did not require activity outside North America, for the first settlers came from Will County south of Chicago. In Russell County, the Kansas Pacific immigration maps show a "Pennsylvania Colony" at Dorrance, just west of Ellsworth County. This group was made up of Penn-Germans who were in part speaking Dutch at the time of their arrival in 1872. Penn-Germans in the area of Kansas Pacific lines are important elsewhere, particularly near Abilene. Here two carloads of River Brethren arrived in 1879. The Kansas Pacific took no cognizance of the large Russian German groups already strong in the south part of Russell County when the map of 1879 was issued. The Russians began coming in 1876 and a great number arrived in 1878. Some bought Kansas Pacific land, among others the Bes-sarabians /kc15:588. The Kansas Pacific Homestead, April, 1878, recognized the importance of the Russian Germans as individuals by making Jacob Krug report a crop of 32 bushels of wheat to the acre in 1877. It comments: "The German

Russian above named bought in 1876, 1758 acres in Twp. 15 Range 14 west at \$3.50 per acre" /kp78.

The greatest triumph of the Kansas Pacific in the way of land promotion among for-lings was the establishment of the Catholic Volgans in Ellis County west of the other Russian Germans. Here again no efforts outside of Kansas were necessary. C. B. Schmidt of the Santa Fe welcomed the Volgan prospecting company at Baltimore, and showed them lands belonging to his company in Kansas. After he had been unable to make a sale, A. Roedelheimer took over for the Kansas Pacific and eventually in 1876 persuaded the immigrants to settle by his road /kc11:494. The coming of various types of Germans to the town of Ellis was caused by the railway, but not in its land-owning capacity. Ellis was early established as a Kansas Pacific division point and like all other railroad towns in Kansas, it had its quota of foreign laborers.

In summary, the Kansas Pacific made little effort in Europe to sell its land except to Scandinavians and there through the written word rather than personal contacts. For-lings already in the United States received the line's attention, particularly if some of them happened to come to Kansas, but it seems to have ignored important groups like the Milberger Russian Germans of Russell County already mentioned, and the Germans of North Ellsworth and Lincoln Counties.

8.5 The Santa Fe, that is, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (see in general /br and ws), and the Santa Fe Trail do not follow the same route toward the southwest until beyond the top of the great bend of the Arkansas. The railroad started from Topeka and was constructed directly south to the coal fields of Osage County. The for-ling settlements of that area owe their existence in part to the Santa Fe's need to exploit this fuel supply. Thus it reached the

Russian above named bought in 1876, 1758 acres in Twp. 15 Range 14 west at \$3.50 per acre" /kp78.

The greatest triumph of the Kansas Pacific in the way of land promotion among for-lings was the establishment of the Catholic Volgans in Ellis County west of the other Russian Germans. Here again no efforts outside of Kansas were necessary. C. B. Schmidt of the Santa Fe welcomed the Volgan prospecting company at Baltimore, and showed them lands belonging to his company in Kansas. After he had been unable to make a sale, A. Roedelheimer took over for the Kansas Pacific and eventually in 1876 persuaded the immigrants to settle by his road /kc11:494. The coming of various types of Germans to the town of Ellis was caused by the railway, but not in its land-owning capacity. Ellis was early established as a Kansas Pacific division point and like all other railroad towns in Kansas, it had its quota of foreign laborers.

In summary, the Kansas Pacific made little effort in Europe to sell its land except to Scandinavians and there through the written word rather than personal contacts. For-lings already in the United States received the line's attention, particularly if some of them happened to come to Kansas, but it seems to have ignored important groups like the Milberger Russian Germans of Russell County already mentioned, and the Germans of North Ellsworth and Lincoln Counties.

8.5 The Santa Fe, that is, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (see in general /br and ws), and the Santa Fe Trail do not follow the same route toward the southwest until beyond the top of the great bend of the Arkansas. The railroad started from Topeka and was constructed directly south to the coal fields of Osage County. The for-ling settlements of that area owe their existence in part to the Santa Fe's need to exploit this fuel supply. Thus it reached the

Russian above named bought in 1876, 1758 acres in Twp. 15 Range 14 west at \$3.50 per acre" /kp78.

The greatest triumph of the Kansas Pacific in the way of land promotion among for-lings was the establishment of the Catholic Volgans in Ellis County west of the other Russian Germans. Here again no efforts outside of Kansas were necessary. C. B. Schmidt of the Santa Fe welcomed the Volgan prospecting company at Baltimore, and showed them lands belonging to his company in Kansas. After he had been unable to make a sale, A. Roedelheimer took over for the Kansas Pacific and eventually in 1876 persuaded the immigrants to settle by his road /kell:494. The coming of various types of Germans to the town of Ellis was caused by the railway, but not in its land-owning capacity. Ellis was early established as a Kansas Pacific division point and like all other railroad towns in Kansas, it had its quota of foreign laborers.

In summary, the Kansas Pacific made little effort in Europe to sell its land except to Scandinavians and there through the written word rather than personal contacts. For-lings already in the United States received the line's attention, particularly if some of them happened to come to Kansas, but it seems to have ignored important groups like the Milberger Russian Germans of Russell County already mentioned, and the Germans of North Ellsworth and Lincoln Counties.

8.5 The Santa Fe, that is, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (see in general /br and ws), and the Santa Fe Trail do not follow the same route toward the southwest until beyond the top of the great bend of the Arkansas. The railroad started from Topeka and was constructed directly south to the coal fields of Osage County. The for-ling settlements of that area owe their existence in part to the Santa Fe's need to exploit this fuel supply. Thus it reached the

Trail at Burlingame, but its builders did not want to follow that road, and construct a line on the top of the divides. The land along the Cottonwood gap through the Flint Hills was agriculturally better, construction was cheaper, and Emporia was already flourishing. So the line was taken south to that town and thence up along the Cottonwood until it reached the flat country where construction was cheap, no matter where the rails were laid. So it was carried very nearly west to nascent Hutchinson and thence it was made to follow the windings of the Arkansas, for that river's water and its valley held the best prospects in western Kansas for a rich territory contributory to a railroad.

8.6 . The Santa Fe--Construction of the Main Line. The main line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company starting from Topeka reached:

Carbondale	July 1869
Emporia	July 1870
Newton	July 1871
Wichita (from Newton)	May 1872
Dodge City (from Newton)	September 1872
Western State Line	December 1872

The line from Topeka to Atchison was completed in May, 1872, from Topeka to Kansas City in 1875. As we have seen, the Santa Fe land grant amounted in all to something less than three million acres. Sales began in March, 1871; by 1887 none was left; it had been disposed of rather rapidly. The following table shows what amounts of the total land grant had been sold in the year designated for each case.

December 1871	72,000 /ag74:325
December 1873	250,000 /same
October 1875	505,000 /ag75:665

8.70

July 1878	771,000 /ag78:
June 1884	1,319,000 /kr84:54
July 1887	2,928,000 /kr85:209

That part of the grant which was forty miles wide extended almost all the way across the Pre-West and the Near West. There were no lands east of Saffordville in eastern Chase County. For a few miles west of there the Santa Fe lands were reduced in number by the nearness of the lands of the Kaws and the "Katy" grant; then they spread out to their maximum width and so continued to Dodge City. Beyond, the narrower swath began. No attempt was made to sell lands in this narrower western section before 1880, but the sales effort for the wider section extended early over its whole length. At the end of 1873, 6000 acres had already been sold in Pawnee County on the western side of the great bend of the Arkansas /ag74:324 (19000 by October 1875).

8.70 The Santa Fe Land Commissioners numbered four, Lakin, Touzalin, Johnson, Frost. The first two served as organizers, both effectively. Touzalin, when he left the Santa Fe for the Burlington in 1874, had already trained his two successors. Alex S. Johnson (1832-1904), a Civil War colonel, Land Commissioner for the Fort Scott and Gulf, 1866-1870, in 1870 joined the Santa Fe Land Department staff as surveyor and appraiser. Thus he became familiar with the topography of every mile of the territory. He was commissioner from 1874-1890. His successor, John E. Frost, entered the department as a salesman and colonizer in 1872. Thus is explained the homogeneity and continuity of Santa Fe land policy. To care for the Europeans coming to Kansas, these men maintained a Foreign Immigration Department.

8.71 C. B. Schmidt, as the foreign immigration commissioner of the Santa Fe, is important in the history of the foreign settlement of Kansas. His activities

were typical land-selling ventures, and we know more of him than of others because of an article he wrote for the Kansas Historical Collections /kc9:485-497. Other sources verify his data in most respects. For a promoter he is sober in his statements, though his chronology has faults and he overstates results. His biography is also of interest to this work, as that of a typical "immixed" for-ling, that is, a man of foreign birth who became part of no settlement and who entered almost at once into the current of English-speaking American affairs. Carl Schmidt (1843-after 1906) was born in Saxony, the son of an architect. He was educated for a commercial career in Dresden, and in 1863 worked for eight months in foreign trade at Hamburg. Next year, aged 21, he came to St. Louis and was a music teacher and a clerk. His marriage there in 1866 to a girl with an English or at least anglicized name, Mattie Fraim from Kentucky, indicates that his Americanization was rapid. In 1868 he came to Lawrence and by 1873 had his own grocery business. In January of that year, the Santa Fe took him, at the age of thirty, to Topeka as Commissioner of Immigration. Touzalin already knew him. "Schmidt was of excellent address, a native of Germany, was at the time correspondent for several newspapers in Germany and hence was in fairly close touch with conditions in Europe" /br117. In the summer of that year the Mennonites were spying out the land. In Kansas Schmidt was at their side. In 1874 the main colonies arrived in Kansas. Many were housed, presumably by Schmidt's arrangement, in the King Bridge shops in Topeka as also were the Catholic Volgans /kc11:494 the next year by Schmidt's arrangement. In August C. B. Schmidt drove Pastor Wiebe out over Kansas as far as Great Bend, blistering his hands where they held the lines. And he sold Wiebe's people land in considerable quantities. The immigrants regarded C. B. Schmidt as a friend and provided him with letters to persons still in Russia. In February, 1875,

he left New York, visited the Prussian Mennonites near Danzig (a fruitful contact) and continued on into South Russia where he worked agreeably. But the Czar's forces soon made his stay dangerous; indeed, they cut down the stream of later immigration to a comparative trickle. "I spent two months more," Schmidt says, "in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, appointing agents for my immigration department" /kc9:495. This was the first of 36 trips to Europe. In December 1874, Schmidt or some co-worker took a party of Volgans to Larned, but could sell them no land /kc11:491. In 1878 Schmidt was secretary of the German Immigration Convention in Topeka. In 1880 the Santa Fe established a London office, and for three years Schmidt was in charge of it. He worked with Germans in the United States as well as abroad. The founders of Windthorst in Ford County speak of him gratefully. His principal Kansas office in these years was at Newton. He regarded prohibition, which was adopted in Kansas during his stay abroad, as a great impediment to his work, principally, he said, because prospective immigrants thought life must be very wild in Kansas to require such a law /wa241. In 1884 he published for the Santa Fe: Official Facts about Kansas. When the Santa Fe lands "were practically all sold," /kc9:485 he left Kansas for first Nebraska and then Colorado, but his work with immigrants was remembered. In 1906 the Rock Island sent him abroad to promote sales along its line in the Southwest. Schmidt in 1875 on his trip to Europe, which he had left only a decade before, already regarded himself as a typical American.

- 8.72 Santa Fe Pamphlet in German. In 1881 Schmidt prepared in German an immigration pamphlet (essential parts translated in /kq28:310-316) which located in detail all the German colonies in the section of the Santa Fe lands that was forty miles wide, and gave the names of local agents who would promote sales for each group. He makes no serious omissions and includes data on two or three groups

which later dissolved or at least lost their identity. Here are the groups as the pamphlet lists them, together with the designation for the same groups used in this work.

Chase County

Woodhull (not shown in Atlas, since it did not grow. As the pamphlet says, this is cattle country and few immigrants were prepared to become cattlemen.)

10 to 20 miles north of Florence (Elk-Immanuel Germans)

Butler County

St. Francis Colony at Burns (Burns Germans)

West Prussians (Elbing Whitewater Germans)

Marion County

Youngstown (see Marion IV)

Lincolnville (Lincolnville Germans)

Pilsen (Pilsen Czechs)

Mennonites from South Russia (Concentrated Mennonite District)

Lehigh (Enclave in above)

Harvey County

Goldschar and Newton (Newton and Vicinity Germans)

Halstead (Halstead Germans)

Sedgwick County

Wichita (Wichita Germans and others)

St. Mark's Colony (Andale-Colwich Germans)

Barton County

Germania (Ellinwood Germans)

Tribenz (Olmitz Germans)

Pawnee Rock (Pawnee Rock Russian Germans)

Rush County

Gnadenenthal (Shaffer-Otis Germans)

Hodgeman County

St. Joseph's Colony (Old St. Joe Germans and Czechs)

Ford County

Aurora Colony (Greater Windthorst Germans)

Lutheran Saxon Colony (South Offerle Germans)

8.73g Santa Fe methods of promotion are thus summarized by C. Henry Smith. The railroad ". . . had a representative as did the other companies in New York to meet the immigrant ships when they arrived. Immigrant sheds were erected upon the prairies for the temporary needs of the settlers. Passes over the road were granted a limited number of Mennonite leaders. Such as were especially influential among their people were sometimes offered the gift of a choice quarter or half section. A few fell for it; most of them resisted the temptation. Large congregations . . . which bought large compact areas were presented with several sections in addition to the amount they purchased for either church or school purposes. Santa Fe lands were sold the first year on easy terms, and at the reduced rate of from two and one-half to five dollars per acre, depending upon the fertility of the soil and the distance from the railroad. For several years, freight rates were reduced ten per cent, or more, a reduction which the company said wiped out all the profit. In some cases, freight was carried for a limited time without any cost to the settler " /sc115. Smith is speaking particularly of the Santa Fe's dealing with Mennonites, but the company's policy was similar elsewhere, though the Mennonites drove a harder bargain than some others. C. B. Schmidt extracted ten dollars an acre from the Windthorst settlers.

The efforts of the Santa Fe because of the appointment of C. B. Schmidt as Immigrant Commissioner were necessarily centered on the Germans; Penn-Germans in large numbers as well as European Germans came to the railroad's lands, particularly in McPherson County and the third of Reno County nearest Hutchinson. The company was less successful with other groups. A number of Scandinavian groups were founded (Burns Danes, New Andover Swedes, Hutchinson Swedes, Walnut Township Swedes, Garfield Swedes, South Hodgeman Danes). None grew to be of large size. This phenomenon may in part be explained by the reluctance of the Scandinavians to go farther south, but is likely also the result of less effective propaganda among them than among the Germans. The Czech groups at Pilsen and Timken also remained small as compared with the Wilson Czechs on the Kansas Pacific and the Cuba Czechs on unmixed homestead land.

- 8.8 The Missouri Pacific and the Rock Island. After the Kansas Pacific and the Santa Fe no other lines were built across Kansas for 15 years. The Missouri Pacific through minor lines became a factor in Kansas in the late seventies but it was not until 1886 that the line through Ottawa, Council Grove, Hoisington, and Tribune was built. The next year, 1887, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific suddenly installed practically all its Kansas system. The Rock Island lines tapping the most unserved country were the Topeka-Herington-Hutchinson-Liberal line, the Belleville-Phillipsburg-Goodland line. Very few foreign colonies, none of major importance, are to be explained as having been brought into existence by these lines. The railroads have, however, influenced development of settlements already founded, the Rock Island particularly in the Inner Pre-West and Northern Near West, and the Missouri Pacific in the Inner Near West.

8.9 Other Railroads and Branch Lines. Among western lines in Kansas the Union Pacific branch running from Salina through Lincoln to Colby, built in 1887 and 1888, and certain Santa Fe branches constructed with primary east-west orientation at about the same time also influenced the settlement of foreigners. The branch lines farther east, after a pause in railroad activity following the panic of 1873, were built so as to form a network during the late seventies and early eighties. Some of the branch lines even in the East affected foreign settlements. For instance, Westphalia (German Catholic) was founded after the Missouri Pacific Branch from Paola to Leroy was built in 1879. The Burlington branches running up the valleys from Nebraska into the Far Northwest came in soon enough to affect the early history of foreign settlements. One originating in Republican City, Nebraska, reached Oberlin in October 1885. The Beaver Valley branch reached Blakeman near Atwood in November 1887 and was extended to St. Francis in July 1889 /kr88 and 89. The Burlington had land grants in Nebraska, and the competition between it and the Kansas lines affected settlement in both states.

Among the Mennonites was a German of C. B. Schmidt's type, Cornelius Jansen, whose "wander years" had taken him to Berdiansk, Russia, on the Black Sea where he was a merchant and Prussian consul. He was driven out in 1873 for alarming his co-religionaries as to the intentions of the Czar concerning them. Schmidt's salesmanship almost brought him to Kansas, but the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy offers in Nebraska were better. Soon he was decrying Kansas and drawing Mennonites to Nebraska lands of the Burlington /sc115. Touzalin left the Santa Fe for the Burlington at this time. He also (or some Burlington agent) drew Volgans to Nebraska for inspection in 1874 /sc65.

9.0 Progress in Settlement. New foreign settlements were from the beginning established as soon as any others along the frontier. In the Territorial period they reached the western edge of the Pre-West. They extended as far as Salina /kq 24:305; the western limit of permanent settlement during those times. Very nearly all those in the Northeast and Inner East and also most of those in the eastern half of the Pre-West were established before 1861 /tkl64-196.

The drouth of 1860 inhibited settlement, but new home seekers began to arrive the next year. The current increased gradually during the War, and with its close became very great and continued to augment through 1873. The grasshopper plague of 1874 gave immigrants pause, calling all the more attention from the newspapers of the time to the Mennonites arriving in that year. By now the Pre-West had almost all its first settlements, both native and for-ling, and areas in the Near West were receiving newcomers. Through the rest of the seventies and until 1887 settling went on very rapidly. Toward 1880, the Near West had been well covered, and in the next seven years practically all population units in the Far West received their nucleus. This is as true for for-lings as for others. On the Colorado line Black-seamen were at the north end in 1885, Swedes were in the center two years later, and at the same time Germans pushed up the Arkansas to within 3 miles of the border, a high point in settling. Two comparatively bad years followed by the drouth of 1880-1881 caused a sort of pause, but the mid-eighties were boom days in Kansas and in general in the Trans-Mississippi West. Real estate and particularly town promotion was frankly the object of speculative gambling. In 1886, the boom cracked, and by 1888 Kansas was suffering the after-effects.

The national economic crisis following the Panic of 1873 had not hampered settlement; rather the contrary, for it was a time when the jobless headed for the free lands. But in the hard times of the 1890's, little homesteading land

of value was available and crops were bad. No one came. In the Far West great areas were practically abandoned though almost all foreign settlements stubbornly held their ground. During the resettlement that began at the turn of the century, there was room for a few new units, particularly of Russian Germans. In general, however, after 1885 any new settlements or large accretions of for-lings in Kansas were urban in character, and, except for the Mexicans, very largely restricted to Kansas City and the Pittsburg Mining district. The progress westward is reflected in the chronology of land offices and railroads already set forth. It is also reflected in the reports by the State Board of Agriculture (summarized in 1947-8) for total acreage of wheat and corn (see #95.00) Between 1864 and 1893, the acreage rose steadily year after year with only one recession in the year 1890; it passed from 200,000 in 1862 to more than 11 million in 1893. The greatest rise was in 1879 from 3 million to 5 million. After 1893 there were fluctuations, though, with a general tendency to rise to a maximum of 20 million in 1930.

- 9.1 For-lings and Partisan Politics in Kansas. From its beginning Kansas was a "normally Republican" state. Republicanism was not hostile to the foreign-born, and, foreign language settlements in general followed the majority of other citizens. As a rule each settlement has been as homogeneous in its party affiliations as in its religion. Mennonites, Lutherans, and Protestants as a body, including all Scandinavians and the majority of the Germans have in most elections been firmly linked with Republicanism. Faithful, like the Catholic Volgans and the Kansas City Slavs, Catholic settlements, however, have been regularly Democratic. Less religiously convinced, the Bohemian settlements have had a more floating allegiance. And, the Crawford-Cherokee miners were once a field for the growth of political heresy; about 1913 Crawford County

had a Socialist majority. Any interest in politics, particularly where settlements are small, has tended to spread the use of English, since it has been necessarily the language of public communication. However, bilingual candidates for office -- in local and county contests they have been numerous from very early in the state's history -- have always sought to create a community of feeling with those speaking the foreign language that they knew by using at least a few phrases in campaigning.

9.2 Prohibition Beginnings. One force tending to set for-lings off from others in the state during the early decades of Kansas history was their attitude toward drinking. They almost all regarded restrictions on the consumption of alcoholic beverages as absurd. Most Americans of colonial origin thought differently; the struggle over prohibition dramatized the social dichotomy. The cleavage was quite evidently a force for the preservation of f-lang, because it meant isolation of groups. Great sections of the English-speaking population would have no social relations with drinkers, and the for-lings had little desire to attend parties which they were sure were dull for lack of stimulants. A counter-acting force is however worth citation. As a reaction to the stigma against drinking that was general among those of Colonial origin their wilder elements were driven into closer sympathy with for-lings.* From 1855 on, "dram shop laws" existed in Kansas, and pressure for

*Something of the same sort may be said of other "Puritanical" taboos, such as those against dancing and lotteries. Disapproval of card playing probably threw the dissidents less together. The games favored were often not the same among for-lings as among "wilder" Americans.

change in them was constantly active. Through the sixties general sentiment

in favor of temperance grew, and in 1867 brought about the strengthening of the dram shop law. The Germans of the cities opposed the measure not merely as citizens but as Germans. They held conventions in 1867 at Leavenworth and Topeka and declared that unanimity of opinion existed among them in opposition to Sunday laws and temperance laws /f1261. They aroused in the Republicans such fear of defections among them that the law was weakened in the next legislature. Temperance forces were again pressing upon the legislature in 1872, and their opponents to the number of 119 (60 from Leavenworth) gathered in convention at Topeka. The following excerpts from the newspapers of the time as quoted in Otto Frederikson's thesis on the Liquor Question in Kansas /f1 show the importance of Germans and German in this convention.

The trains unloaded strangers with "unmistakable German appearance and accent." "It required . . . only needle guns and spiked helmets to make them seem a detachment of the Emperor Wilhelm's solid infantry." When the proceedings began, Mr. Haberlein stated that the convention was "in the German interest, and principally composed of Germans, and strongly urge[d] the adoption of their native tongue" /f1273. A motion for English won, but the language question came up again the next day. Both a German and an English secretary were appointed. German born Theodore Poehler of Lawrence, wholesale grocer and a man of distinction, was president. Colonel Jennison, commander during the Civil War of Jennison's Jayhawks and at this time partner in a flourishing saloon at Leavenworth, "eulogized the Germans and their methods of amusement" /f1276. The work of the convention members as lobbyists was reflected on the floor of the legislature where E. Sells declared "that Kansas could not expect to get German immigrants if they were forbidden their

national drink" /f1282.

- 9.3 Against prohibition after 1872 the Germans were no less ardent in their attacks, but their allies evidently concluded that it was bad policy to make spokesmen of them before the state at large. The anti-prohibitionists who received notice in the press over the state did not bear German names. But there was a German language press in the Missouri River towns where the urban German element was largest and which were from the beginning most hostile to prohibition. In Leavenworth The Freie Presse, published in German, was always eloquent in its scorn of Wassernarren, and regarded the "brewing industry as one of the most efficacious apostles of real mässigkeit." /f1486. Abstinence was declared to be restrictive of trade.

Voting records are perhaps better proof of the German attitude than journalistic outbursts. In the election of 1878, St. John, Republican candidate for governor, made no issue of prohibition, but was, nevertheless well-known for his convictions in its favor. Consider the vote in three German townships in Wabaunsee County in the election of that year.

	For Governor		For Secy. of State	
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
Kaw (German Catholic)	32	47	35	44
Alma (mixed)	84	84	94	58
Farmer (German Lutheran)	12	33	28	17

--Biennial Report of the Secy. of State, 1878-9.*

*St. John over the state as a whole ran 3,700 votes, or 5%, behind the Republican candidate for Secy. of State. Most of this loss occurred in the towns. This Wabaunsee County rural example shows St. John tailing his ticket by 10% to 60%. Similar phenomena are found elsewhere in

9.4

German Catholic or Lutheran communities. In Methodist and allied pietistic communities the tendency appears rather exceptionally. It does not appear in Scandinavian communities. The Mennonites and Volgans had arrived so recently that few were voting. The same thing was probably true of the Bohemians. In their part of Republic County the Republican ticket won evenly and overwhelmingly. In Ellsworth County, however, the vote in Wilson Township was

For Governor		For Secy. of State	
Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
108	69	137	42

The French Canadians in Cloud County do not seem to have affected the vote much.

Because of his Prohibitionist tendencies, Germans, normally Republican, were evidently voting heavily against St. John.

The most vociferous anti-prohibitionists among the Ger-lings were two elements otherwise discordant, the Catholics and the descendants of the godless liberals of 1848. These election results show that most Protestant Germans were quietly with them.

- 9.4 In 1879, to their own surprise, prohibitionists put through the legislature a bill for submitting a constitutional amendment on the subject to popular vote, and in 1880 the amendment was adopted. In this election McPherson County, heavily for-ling, voted for prohibition by one of the large majorities in the state (1220). The for-lings were Mennonites, who, unlike most Germans, had a tradition of abstemiousness, and Swedes, who publicly (not always privately /H) were "dry." For example C. A. Wiengreen of Salina, editor of Svenska Herolden, spoke and wrote in favor of prohibition. Prohibition was implemented by law in 1881. The prophecy was that German immigration would cease. In the

years immediately following adoption reports were circulated that the prophecy had come to pass /fj147 and even thirty years later the legend persisted, but the facts belied the assertion.

The first prohibition statute certainly should have had no effect on immigration, for it was practically inoperative in districts where public sentiment ran counter.* Toward the end of the first decade of the present

*The number of dealers paying Federal liquor taxes in Kansas would seem to be some evidence. For the crucial years they are:

1877	1,131	1881	1,132
1878	1,038	1882	1,460
1879	1,650	1883	1,898
1880	1,821	1884	1,948

The count during the eighties included many "druggists."

century the law was tightened and, until national prohibition merged the problem in Kansas with that of the nation, enforcement became comparatively effective. In 1910 recently arrived immigrants were important only in Kansas City and the Pittsburg region. Both these districts as well as the Missouri river area in general paid little attention to the law even as strengthened. Under national prohibition, the Pittsburg area, where Italians and Slovenians predominated, was rather famous for its bootleg products. When public sentiment finally renounced prohibition, the attitude of the originally for-ling element became indistinguishable from that of other citizens. But as long as the struggle lasted, a mental conviction that segregated foreigners in a way in which they wanted to be segregated was a force for the preservation of foreign language.

- 9.5 Populism and F-lang. No other political issue has influenced for-lings in Kansas like prohibition. Populism however, by its alliance with industrial workers, needs attention. The partial victory of 1892 and the more complete one of 1896, which placed in power both a Populist governor and legislature, provided sympathetic government background while the unions were organizing in the for-ling centers of Kansas City and Pittsburg. Consequently the Amalgamated Meat Workers and the United Mine Workers became strong in Kansas before they did farther east. As demonstrated elsewhere, unions have been a force for linguistic Anglicization; indirectly then, Populism contributed to the same aim.
- 9.6g The First World War and F-lang. Before the entry of the United States into the conflict that began in 1914, the effect of the First World War was noticeable in Kansas, just as in every other part of the United States. Communication with an immigrant's country of origin was either cut off or rendered difficult. Visiting and new immigration were stopped. The resulting American isolation meant that the conservative influence on language from abroad temporarily ceased. In Kansas, as elsewhere in the United States immigrants from warring countries in general sympathized with the cause of the land of their birth. Germans were at first almost all pro-German, Scandinavians were generally pro-German, though the Danes were bitterly divided. Citizens from subjugated populations naturally had little sympathy with their former masters, but a general conviction existed that they were strong and superior to the effete peoples on the opposite side. Pacifistic groups like the Mennonites were rendered more thoroughly pacifistic by the immediacy of the problem. In every case the existence of war called public attention to the immigrant groups, and marked them off more sharply from their neighbors. As the war progressed and the alignment of the United States with the Allies became more and more evident,

the pro-Germans found their position difficult. After the declaration of war against the Central Powers in 1917, almost all came around to publicly correct and in most cases sincere support of the United States government. The general public in Kansas as elsewhere was not content with correctness. It insisted upon desistence by former pro-Germans from all behavior that identified them with their country of origin. In the realm of language this demand meant practically a ban upon the use of German in public and a great discouragement to the use of Swedish. The fanaticism was not such that it prevented a discreet use of the languages of allied countries, but even speakers of these tongues were given to understand that any linguistic evidence that they were "hyphenated Americans" was disagreeable and a sign of inferiority, especially if the listening "hundred-per-cent Americans" could not distinguish the difference between Czech, Italian and German. The useless hostility to foreign languages throughout the United States was such that President Wilson endeavored to palliate the position of for-lings by declaring that American civilization could exist in many languages, that our system of government was not indissolubly bound up with the English language. No other official efforts were made to halt popular feeling in this respect. The most charitable attitude toward use of f-lang in those days is expressed in the following paragraph from a statement of the General War-time Commission of the Churches:

"We emphasize the necessity of the use of the English language thruout the country as the language of commerce, social intercourse and religious worship, and we believe that every effort should be made to stimulate the study and use of English by the foreign-born who make their home among us. This we regard as an essential feature of any policy of Americanization. The education given in all schools in the United States should be in the English language.

At the same time, we recognize that allowances must be made for those who have not yet acquired our language and for some who by reasons of age and community segregation, can never be expected to command a knowledge of English. We deprecate measures which aim absolutely to prohibit the use of any foreign tongue, especially for the religious or political direction of non-English speaking adults, realizing that this would deprive many persons of the benefit of social intercourse, prevent them from gaining an adequate knowledge of our institutions and ideals, and deny them the comfort and help of the public worship of God."

The sort of condescension implicit in the last half of this paragraph was as persuasive toward the abandonment of f-lang as actual persecution could have been. In the settlement histories in the latter part of this volume there are repeated allusions to the difficult years of the First World War, stories of pastors forced to preach in English when neither they or their people were accustomed to think in religious terms in that language, stories of old people almost without knowledge of English unable to appear in public, stories of tar and feathers, of incendiary activities, of daubed yellow paint and tyrannical pressure to buy Liberty bonds, of youngsters convinced that the language of their forefathers was evil, scornful of their grandparents, often of their father and mother.

Aggressive hostility to f-lang continued for several years after the war sustained by the ardent patriotism of the American Legion and the passions inflamed by the Ku Klux Klan. In communities where the use of f-lang was already tottering, the blow dealt was mortal. In others, while f-lang weathered the storm, it was permanently weakened by the habit of using English established among the young, by the disappearance of f-lang trading opportunities outside of the immediate settlement, by persisting laws against the use of f-lang in

schools (see below) and by the induced victory of policies of linguistic Anglicization in governing church bodies. The effects of this period of hostility were of course greatest for German, and will be discussed in detail in the sections on Ger-lings (see Section 000); additional information on the effect as it curtailed the use of Swedish will be found in Section 000.

9.7g More Recent Attitudes toward F-lang. After the subsidence of the hostility toward f-lang brought on by the First World War the general public became indifferent to and ignorant of its existence in the state of Kansas. It drew little attention to itself because it was little used in public except in communities where every one was descended from for-lings. For-lings in contact with the outside world were all bilingual. Occasionally teachers were exasperated when children came to school unable to speak English, but there were few other irritating manifestations. Later, indifference became benevolence toward the quaint and powerless relic of a by-gone day. During the Second World War no public hysteria developed against the use of f-lang. But the older members of for-ling communities remembered their experiences twenty-five years before, and to insure tranquillity for themselves voluntarily dropped the public use of f-lang, particularly in religious services, in many of the settlements where it still persisted. In the latter part of the 1950's the public came to have some admiration for a polyglot, and in a few communities a bilingual child might be paraded before others as especially endowed.

10.0 Settlements and Isolated Individual For-lings.

For-lings are found inmixed in the general population as well as grouped in settlements. This study is concerned primarily with settlements, but inmixed for-lings have contributed to the general character of Kansas speech.

10.1g Inmixed Individuals.

For-lings found separated from fellow nationals are of two types, either those culturally very near colonial American stock, Germans and Scandinavians, or those whom some commerical interest has driven to towns offering them opportunities already restricted in cities where their fellows are to be found, Greek restanrant keepers for instance.

Immigrants of the latter type have tended to use English for business but socially to seek out their co-nationals and never reject their f-lang. Their children, however, are converted to the use of English, and absorbed into the community. Individual Germans and Scandinavian immigrants plunged into an overwhelmingly English speaking environment have been likely to marry among the preponderant stock and to be completely abosrbed linguisti- cally within a few years - except for their "brogue" perhaps.

A number of case histories of inmixed for-lings may be found elsewhere in this work. (C. B. Schmidt #9.3)

11.0 Settlements rather than individuals are, however, of primary interest to this study. Important factors that determine variations in the character of settlements are nationality, religion, date of settlement, length of im- migration period, and degree of isolation. Here are certain characteristics most usual in a foreign settlement. Such settlements in Kansas, if typical, are rural or quasi-rural units isolated from other communities of like origin. They were settled by immigrants either directly arrived from Europe

or by those only briefly experienced in American life. The settlements were originally compact at least at their center.

- 11.1 Most immigrants reached them within a comparatively short period, but there were late arriving stragglers. The immigration at its most important moment was by groups of families, sometimes organized, sometimes gathering fortuitously; single families had usually been forerunners. After the group movements single families and individuals who did not delay in forming families arrived in numbers.
- 11.2 The settlements varied greatly in size, but were typically not so large (200 to 1000) but that from the very beginning every family had some contact with active English usage.
- 11.3 Usually each settlement began as soon as the country in its part of Kansas was settled. This fact allowed territorial compactness because land about was not already appropriated by others. It also allowed the for-ling settlers, who on arrival were at once bound by firm bonds, to achieve developed community life more rapidly than their neighbors of heterogeneous background.
- 11.4 The for-ling settlers were ordinarily not well-to-do on arrival, but in this respect were under no disadvantage as compared with their non-for-ling neighbors. They usually prospered at least as well as their neighbors, frequently resisted better times of stress; at any rate very few for-ling settlements were broken up by economic pressure or even penetrated often by other population elements replacing those who had lost farms.
- 11.5g The for-lings normally had large families and population increased so rapidly as to overflow. There are a number of cases of territorial spread as a result, but more usually excess population has gone elsewhere, partly to daughter colonies, partly, as individuals, to towns or cities which are usually comparatively near-by.

12.1 The typical for-ling settlements have a unified and very active religious life; they frequently tended in the first decades of their existence to be small theocracies. A later decrease of authority by the churches in non-religious domains has been usual.

12.2 In education many for-ling settlements have during their careers had parochial schools giving instruction in f-lang, but more usually financial considerations have made them depend upon public schools. The parochial schools often still persist, but all instruction is in English; this has been true almost everywhere since the First World War. Whether or not there are parochial schools, the education of for-lings has been much influenced by the public school system.

12.3 A typical for-ling settlement is almost always considered by its neighbors "clannish", but this tendency is never so great as to prevent a certain amount of intermarriage, at least after the first decades, with elements outside the settlement. Intermarriages have always become more numerous as the settlements have grown older.

Politically the f-lang settlements tend to be unified, but politics has played no very important part in their life.

12.4 In the linguistic development of "mid" communities, English entered business life somewhat more rapidly than in larger settlements. The usual rural isolation of the early years, however, retarded the growth of the use of English for other purposes somewhat. The retardation was, however, not great, unless the church maintained a parochial school, since small communities did not usually occupy the whole of any one school district and the young from the very beginning came into contact with English speakers.

12.5g When the for-lings reached retirement age in a strictly rural settlement in general they moved to a neighboring village and members of the second or more commonly the third generation established themselves commercially in the village so that ultimately the village population was partly of the for-ling stock of the neighboring settlement. As excess population spread into the village the previous retardation was compensated for by the English speaking habits brought back by the for-ling villagers and by the removal of the older element moving to the village from close contact with the younger farmers. The result was sometimes a village with a partial population more persistent in using f-lang than the original settlement. An example is furnished by two Norwegian settlements near Eureka and Everest where religious services in Norwegian persisted longer in town than in the country.

13.0 Not uncommonly, as at Westphalia and Savonburg, a for-ling settlement made up primarily of farmers included within its area a village to which from very early days it furnished a certain proportion of the population. The English speaking element in the village acted as a leaven and sensibly advanced the rate of conversion from f-lang to English. Community organization was sometimes complicated, as at Savonburg, by the existence of a rural for-ling church so that the two foci existed with conflicting influence. In such cases homogeneity of language usage during the middle years of development was less than usual.

13.1g Sometimes though rarely, the village linked to a small rural settlement was made up entirely or quite preponderantly of for-lings. Saint Peter and Pilsen are examples. Villages of this type were so isolated that only half were served by railroads; none was directly served by national highways, some were several miles from any highway. The largest village that can safely be

classified in this group is Saint Peter (193) Russ. Ger.-Cath. The isolated character of the villages and their homogeneity with the surrounding settlement made all these settlements tend to be very conservative in their use of f-lang.

14.0 If a settlement were scattered, this characteristic was sometimes occasioned by late settlement which made it difficult to acquire solid blocks of territory as in the case of the Flemings near Kansas City, sometimes by early competition for land near rail heads or prospective rail heads as in various settlements near Waterville, sometimes by the abortion of a settlement that began as typical as in the case of the German settlement near Americus, sometimes because the immigrant stocks were so near in culture to the rest of the population of a district that it felt no need for coagulation as in the case of German elements near Cawker City.

14.1g In scattered for-ling settlements, if its members had no nucleus where their population held solid blocks of territory, its linguistic development was almost always very rapid, partly because the numbers comprising such a settlement were almost always small, partly of course because of necessary early contacts with speakers of English.

15.00 Volume I of this work classified settlements according to importance as:

Lowest (185 settlements), Low (208), Mid (119), High (58), Ultra-High (14), and Super (7). The characteristics of settlements vary with their importance.

15.01g The settlements of Lowest Importance did not preserve the use of f-lang beyond the immigrant generation unless they were daughter settlements, examples of daughter settlements: the Mingo Mennonites, the Sharon Catholic Germans from other Kansas settlements; the Yoder Amish from settlements outside of Kansas. Frequently these groups qualify as settlements because held together by religious as well as national origins. The three above are examples; also: the Ulysses Mennonites, the Fidelity Catholic Germans, the St. Theresa Catholic Germans, the Bluff City Evangelical Germans, Lane County Russian Germans, the Palmer Greenleaf French, the Greenbush French, the St. Marys Flemish. They are then usually Catholic communities where the churches have been maintained partly by other stocks, Irish or German. In Western Kansas the very small groups may often be called settlements because other population is also scarce, examples: Coolidge Germans, East White Woman Germans, South Achilles Danes. Or elsewhere they may have established themselves as frontier elements before many others arrived without growing further, examples: the Star Township French, the Shady Bend Germans, the Painterhood Swedes. Sometimes they were outlying groups near major settlements too far away to be counted as part of the main settlement, examples: the Lancaster Scandinavians, the Fidelity Germans, the Lucas Germans. Often there were combinations of these circumstances, or combinations with others less noteworthy.

15.1g The settlements of Low Importance did not generally use f-lang longer than those of Lowest Importance, but they used it more vigorously, more evidently to their neighbors. The existence of a great many of them can be ascribed to

considerations similar to those of Lowest Importance. With a few exceptions for daughter settlements, examples of exceptions: Page Monument Swedes, Odee Germans, Montezuma Mennonites. They did not come into being or grow because of any concerted effort by any individual or group. Often religious unity, though it might exist, was not fervent. There were, however, cases in which religion was important, but limited territory prevented the group from becoming larger, examples: State Line East Frisians, Ransom Germans, Vesper Germans. Sometimes the smallness of the group speaking their f-lang in Kansas in part explains their lack of growth, examples: Wichita Syrians, Randall Norwegians, Belleville Poles. The settlements of Low Importance are more defined territorially than those of Lowest Importance. They usually had full consciousness of their identity, though they might exist as only a part of a larger community. Those of Lowest Importance were almost exclusively rural; those of Low Importance were most often rural but often also formed part of the population of neighboring towns, examples: Coffeyville Germans, Sharon Springs Swedes, Padonia Welsh.

16.0g The settlements of Mid Importance provided the norm among foreign settlements, where the characteristics set forth in #10.0 to 13.1 above are most likely to apply. They are most nearly typical in size. In "Mid" settlements the sons and daughters of adult immigrants learned f-lang, sometimes well, sometimes poorly, but they almost always gave up its use later and sometimes forgot - or claimed to have forgotten it entirely. By 1960 f-lang was only a reminiscence in most of them; in many this stage had been reached by 1940.

These "Mid" settlements were, like those smaller, predominately rural but very frequently part of the for-lings took over all or most of a neighboring town, Duluth, Park, Pawnee Rock, Lorraine, Stuttgart, Timken, etc. Perhaps the town was still-born or perished sooner or later, Windthorst, Stockholm,

Enne, Neuchatel, Trego Center, etc. Moribund are Arvonja, Denmark, Pilsen, Dispatch, etc. Perhaps the town retained its non-for-ling character though generally identified with the settlement, Pretty Prairie, Savonburg, Axtell, Timken, etc. Perhaps it overshadowed the neighboring settlement, and was only secondarily occupied by the for-lings, Albert, Alida, Jamestown, Parsons, McPherson, etc. In any case there was a hamlet or town almost always in its history. Almost always the settlement had a church or perhaps two churches and several square miles of territory solidly held. Sometimes this area lay between two towns so that both were identified with it. The Marion Hill Swedes are sometimes described as living at White City, sometimes at Dwight. The Palacky Czechs are referred sometimes to Holyrood, sometimes to Wilson. The Hepler-Brazilton Germans were originally between the two towns. Two of these settlements, Herington Russian Germans and Osage City French and Italians were not rural at all; their whole population was in the towns. This fact only emphasizes the general rural character. In drawing conclusions at the end of this work, these settlements furnish most of the basis for generalizations. In spite of the number of settlements of Low and Mid Importance, the population in the whole state contained in them was less in 1895 than the total population in each of several more important settlements.

- 17.0g Settlements of High Importance show slightly more urban character but even the Wichita Germans and the Topeka Swedes, while fundamentally urban, have close relations with neighboring for-lings. The typical "High" settlement is rural but even more closely allied with a town than the "Mid" settlements, Bazine, Bern, Bison, Burdick, Elbing, Eudora, Halstead, etc. Again some of the villages have practically disappeared or even completely, Block, Brantford, Swedesburg, etc. The territory that they occupy is usually larger.

Linguistically certain individuals who are grandchildren of immigrants may still know more or less f-lang, but in general language displacement is about as among "Mid" settlements.

- 18.0g The settlements of the Ultra-High Importance occupy wider stretches of land and all have more than one focus, sometimes two or more towns, as in the case of the Cuba Czechs (Cuba, Munden, Narka), sometimes a town and a rural focus at church or hamlets, as in the case of the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans (Bremen is a village; the churches, except at Herkimer, are all rural). In them f-lang was definitely alive until the Second World War, though children were not fluent speakers in some.
- 19.0 Settlements of Super Importance are the most important urban settlements, Kansas City, Leavenworth, Topeka, the most important coal mining district, Crawford-Cherokee, and the county-sized rural settlements of the Mennonites, Catholic Volgans, and Lindsborg Swedes. Each of them is the object of special studies later in this volume. A generalization that may apply to all is: Even in the most resistant environments the Engl-izing forces have been so strong that by 1960 the habitual use of English was virtually universal in Kansas among all people born after 1918. Among Mennonites and Volgans, bilingualism was however common.
- 19.1 Inasmuch as the settlements of "Super" importance contain the important urban cases, certain remarks on urban developments are here appropriate. In the beginning urban for-lings belonged almost always to social strata regarded as inferior for both economic and folk-way reasons. They lived together in low rent districts; they attended little churches different from those of the general population; most them worked at occupations disdained by Eng-lings. As time went on, these frugal and acquisitive groups began to discharge members

into the better residential districts, some individuals apostated to socially acceptable churches, but more usually they built larger churches as they grew richer, and this practical piety gained them respect in the eyes of their fellow citizens. This second generation became too numerous to be restricted to the disdained occupations and found places in the general business structure of their city. Thus today they have very often been so thoroughly assimilated that "nobody thinks any more what anybody is," but if the immigrants arrived late, if they did not prosper economically, if they persist in social behavior different from the ordinary "way of life," if, like the Mexicans, they may be easily distinguished by physical characteristics, they are still subject to a certain degree of segregation, voluntary or involuntary. These partially segregated classes are naturally those in which the use of f-lang is still most wide-spread.

- 19.2 Early Urban Settlements. The picture drawn in the preceding paragraph represents a state of segregation not quite possible in the for-ling urban settlements established in territorial days. Economically these for-lings were at no disadvantage as compared with other citizens. The original settlers flourished and grew to old age, however, at a period when some men were nationalistically proud both of ~~their~~ for-ling and ~~their~~ American heritage. They, therefore---the Germans particularly---maintained with brio lodges and societies and expected the community to be as interested in these organizations where f-lang was featured as it was in any other lodge or society. They maintained that bilingualism was respectable and tended only slowly toward a status exclusively Eng-ling, until the First World War awakened antagonisms and destroyed the benevolent attitude toward f-lang.

- 19.3 Characteristics of Urban Linguistic Evolution. In the cities in the last half of the evolution toward English monolingualism, f-lang tends to go underground. The community as a whole scarcely perceives that it is being used at all. In these stages the use of f-lang becomes so private a matter that sometimes children belonging to a family where f-lang is used have no knowledge that other children with whom they associate frequently live in families where the same condition is true. This condition implies of course that in cities f-lang phrases persist less long than in rural communities as a badge of "belonging." This phenomenon came about because the laboring classes of the first generation were almost always partially segregated, whereas the second generation first by schooling and then by rise in the economic scale were accepted by the community.
- 19.4 Settlements at Railway Termini. Settlements in towns and cities sometimes developed at the railway termini of immigration to rural areas. Incoming for-lings, unable to establish themselves immediately on farms, worked in town so as to better their financial situation; a certain proportion of them remained permanently and attracted others. Such settlements are mostly to be found on the periphery of areas of heavy settlement as at Newton and Hays, but occasionally they are found as adjuncts to less imposing settlements as at Concordia. Topeka as a way station for Volgans, presents a special case. Usually the immigrants became workers in whatever industry the community maintained, most frequently railway workers, for example at Newton. When the overflow from an adjacent rural settlement into town occurred, something of a rift existed between the older town for-lings and the newcomers. Merchants of the same national origins tended to constitute still another group. Linguistically, this state of division promoted evolution toward the use of English. In the final development descendants of all three groups are mixed together.

19.5 Urban Complexes. Several towns or cities have received each more than one settlement of for-lings. Kansas City, where nine or ten nationalities live in rather well defined colonies, is the most significant example. At a smaller population level, Osage City with French, Italians, and Swedes, and St. Mary's with small doses of Swedes, Germans, Russian Germans, Flemings, and Czechs are other examples.

Each of these towns or cities presents a case that has peculiarities of its own. Everywhere one nationality would look down on some other. Emulation in advancing toward Americanization is the most frequent ultimate result, and ultimately intermarriage occurred as original patterns of life were abandoned. But in the earlier stages of linguistic development, segregating jealousies tended to make of a f-lang a badge for rallying in combat.

19.6g Second Generation in Distant Cities. The sons and daughters of immigrants who left settlements because they found no room on farms often went to cities of the State rather distant from the foreign colonies where they grew up. They congregated in Wichita, Topeka, and Kansas City, and other centers to the extent that they overwhelmed the original settlers, either usurping their churches or forming new congregations where they provided most of the membership together with people of non-for-ling background resident in the neighborhood. Complete Engl-izing is the result.

20.0g Linguistic Influence of Religion--General. Most immigrant stocks have been devoutly Christian. The influence of religion on linguistic development is in the immigrating generation extremely conservative of f-lang. A person who has learned a devotional vocabulary and devotional exercises in one language tends to feel that he loses something if he worships in any other language, even that others worshipping in another language cannot be truly worshipping. In the interplay of generations, however, religion is a means by which the

young through a threat of secession can force the old to take new linguistic habits. Pastors as a class, at first allies of the old, eventually become allies of the young because their own power---or to state it from another point of view, the salvation of many souls---is at stake.

Shifts in the choice of language in a congregation or parish can be more easily dated than similar shifts in families or in business. The progressive abandonment of a f-lang can thus be recorded with some accuracy, though various factors, such as the character of the denomination and of the pastors, need to be considered in interpreting the data thus provided.

- 21.0g Religious Affiliations of For-lings--General. Immigrant Christians to Kansas except for a few Serbs, Russians, and Greeks have been either Roman Catholics or Protestants. The history of the Roman Catholic Church in the State has affected several nationalities. It occupies our attention for some time. Protestant religious bodies have often been identified with single linguistic stocks. Detailed consideration of each Protestant denomination is usually best placed with for-ling stock furnishing members. The denomination, as is true for the several Lutheran bodies, may derive from a source that it has common with several other denominations, and bear a name indicating this origin. After matter on the Catholics, follows a brief consideration of these larger groupings.
- 22.0 Roman Catholic Influence on Language--General. The Catholic Church very naturally tends to give all the unity possible to its people. Diversity of language is a source of disunity, though perhaps a minor one. The Church therefore in the long run encouraged Engl-izing in America. Its policy, however, was not in Kansas unpleasantly insistent on this score---God understands all languages. Brusque measures were taken only when an impossible situation existed as when Father Grootaers at Waterville about 1870 found that his sheep hungered, some for instruction in French, others for German, others for Czech, and a

minority for English; his decision after two Sundays that English should be the language of his sermons is understandable.

Individual pastors, or even monastic organizations might be nationalistically minded as regards some particular f-lang, and if the people served were not injured, the Catholic Church respected this characteristic as part of a general desirable zeal. Certainly as long as a parish could profit by a pastor acquainted with its f-lang, it was, nearly always, provided with such a priest.

Priests recruited from the second or third generation of for-lings, even though bilingual, have been prone, like the rest of their generation, to regard as reactionary any insistence on continued use of f-lang, and they have been true Americans in believing in social progress. The Kansas bishops were likely to replace by such men the priests who served old immigrants.

- 23.00 Catholicism Among For-lings--The National Parish and Other Parishes. There exist or have existed among the Catholic churches of Kansas a number of national parishes, particularly but not exclusively in Kansas City. A parish is called national if its boundaries are not territorial, but if its people are limited to a stock of a given national origin; thus in Leavenworth St. Joseph's has been German and St. Casimir's Polish. A great many other parishes are for practical purposes national since the parish is inhabited exclusively by some for-ling stock, as for instance the Germans at St. Mark in Sedgwick County. Such parishes have been served by priests of appropriate national origins. On the other hand, there are also a large number of parishes where Eng-lings are mixed with a for-ling stock or stocks in a parish, as at St. Mary's. The national parish is not a sempiternal institution, and they have been converted to ordinary parishes whenever good was accomplished thereby; for instance when it has seemed wise to accept into the parish faithful of other origins who had

come in numbers to live near the church as among the Flemings at Sacred Heart in Kansas City.

23.01g Linguistic Influence of the National Parish. The national parishes are clearly in themselves a force for linguistic conservatism. They provide isolation in the midst of urban surroundings, and they guarantee attention from the hierarchy to a parish's specific linguistic needs. They also provide entrenchments for pastors whose nationalistic zeal leads them to struggle against the Engl-izing currents of the times. The duration of a national parish, however, is likely to be little longer than the usual period of linguistic evolution. And sometimes, even early, they are served by pastors who are anxious to show that their charges are not backward and who will do their best to speed linguistic development.

23.1 For-ling stocks containing Roman Catholic elements in Kansas came from all the countries of Europe except Scandinavia and Greece, and remarks on their religion accompany the descriptions of the stocks. The most important stock spoke German. The number and fervor together of Catholics from the Volga area in Russia and from several parts of Germany and the old Austrian empire exceeds that of others. The Czechs must be put at the other end of the scale in spite of the ardent Catholics at Pilsen in Marion County and in the Burntwood-Driftwood section of Rawlins County. The other Slavic peoples and the French Canadians have not been as dynamic as the Germans, but the influence of the church and their faithfulness to it have been great. The Italians have been faithful as a matter of course. Zeal has been important linguistically in part because ardent nationalism has accompanied ardent religious practice, and stocks possessing this trait have demanded priests of their own background and provided them from their own ranks. The number of vocations among the Volgans much more than takes care of their spiritual personnel, while the priests at Wilson

and at Munden where the people are Czech bear Irish names.

- 23.2 The Jesuit Missions in Kansas. The Jesuits established themselves at Florissant, Missouri, in 1823 in order to become missionaries to the Indians. They entered Kansas among the Osage as early as 1827, and in 1836 founded an unsuccessful mission among the Kickapoos (it ended in 1840). Another mission among the Pottawatomies, founded in 1838 and moved with that tribe to the reservation on the Kaw, built St. Mary's Mission 1848. In 1847 Osage Mission was founded on the present site of St. Paul in Neosho County. Until the Indian reservations were moved, the Jesuits served primarily the tribes resident around the missions; afterward they remained in Kansas to continue work which they had already begun among the newly arriving whites. The early Jesuits were mostly Belgians; another group came from a region centered about Turin, Italy. The linguistic influence of those from the Low Countries was exerted mostly in the two mission towns (see St. Marys and St. Paul). Even the immigrant fathers, however, used English widely. Father Duerinck, at St. Mary's Mission in pre-territorial days, might make an occasional slip in the English of his letters /ga2:655 but he kept his accounts in English.

The influence from the Alpine region was broader. Father Paul Mary Ponziglione (1818-1900; Kansas, 1851-1889) was a humble and indefatigable worker, but in origin he was a Piedmontese aristocrat. He served stations all over southeastern Kansas from the Marais des Cygnes to the Arkansas. He was an accomplished linguist and has left records of visits to sundry French and German settlements. Father Dumortier (1810-1867, b. near Lille, France; Kansas 1859) similarly served new communities many for-ling in a great arc running over one hundred miles to the west of St. Mary's. He died of cholera contracted in line of duty at Fort Harker near Ellsworth. An important suc-

cessor was Father Joseph Rimmele, at first a secular priest, after 1872 a Jesuit.

- 23.3 The Vicariate Established. The Jesuits also provided Kansas with its first bishop, Jean-Baptiste Miège, a Savoyard of peasant stock (1815-1874). He came to the United States in 1848, a refugee from revolutionists along with other Jesuits who were mostly Swiss German. In 1850 he was made titular Bishop of Messene and put in charge of the just established vicariate which included Kansas. The vicariate, designed for the control of Indian Missions, was continued so as to look after white settlements. Until 1855 Bishop Miège lived at St. Mary's Mission, and then established himself at Leavenworth. Already in 1855 Miège was worried because of the number of German and Irish Catholics who were arriving without pastors to look after them /ga3:12. As their numbers increased, the Bishop's greatest problem was the recruitment of priests. His brother Jesuits were not disposed to station more of their numbers in the region. His call to his native Savoy in 1856 brought Father Defouri (1829-1901) "big, fat and well padded" who in a few months "was beginning to chatter [English] well enough for a newcomer " /b29. Defouri served as the bishop's assistant for a while, and after a visit to Europe in 1866 brought back three secular recruits: Eugène Bononcini (1835-1907, b. Modena, Italy), Joseph Perrier (b. Savoy, 1839-1917), and Felix Swembergh (a French Fleming, b. Cassel, 1845-). Louis Mollier (b. Savoy, 1846) followed in 1869. Bononcini worked in southeast Kansas eventually establishing himself at Scammon before any of his compatriots arrived there. Later he served them both in Pittsburg and Osage City. Perrier eventually spent long years serving those who spoke his language, the French Canadians at Concordia, whom Mollier also served in nearby St. Jo.

The first German secular priest in Kansas was Theo. Heimann (1815-1893; U. S., 1837) who was born in Bavaria. He was teaching at Osage Mission in 1851; eventually he became a Carmelite (see next section). Germans soon prevailed numerically in the clergy both regular and secular. Of fourteen in 1859, ten were Germans. "Father Heimann asserted that the bishop was eager to secure the services of German-speaking priests, for they would learn English but the others could not be persuaded to learn German, and there were many Germans in the vicariate" /b35,n.56. Among the secular clergy were Anton Kuhls (1839-1923, b. Westphalia, U. S. 1859, ordained in Kans. 1863; author of /ku), Ivo Schacht (b. Holland, d. 1874, Kansas, 1859-1861 Scipio and Lawrence), Aloysius Mayer (b. Bavaria, ord. 1859 in Kansas, served Scipio and Eudora till after 1867, d. St. L., 1875), and Wm. Fisch (b. Germany, U. S. 1851-1864). Father Fisch, stationed at Weston 1855, served Leavenworth in the summer of that year.

Though many settlers were Irish, Irish priests did not appear permanently in Kansas till toward 1866. They speedily became an important element in the clergy.

- 23.4 Coming of the Benedictines and Carmelites. Bavarian Benedictines came with Father (later Abbot) Wimmer to St. Vincent, Pa., in 1846. There seven years later, Henry Lemke, born in easy circumstances in Germany in 1797, became a Benedictine. He was zealous, but an individualist, and he wandered out to Kansas at the end of 1855 where the Bishop recruited him, though his stay was not long. The Benedictine foundations at Doniphan and Atchison were the result of this contact. Like Lemke, the other Benedictines were Germans -- Bavarians -- and served their fellow countrymen in their native tongue over northeast Kansas; notably they were in the German settlements in Nemaha County

in 1859 and in Marshall County the next year. They also attended many Irish and one Czech settlement (see Everest). Their most important missionary was Father Thomas Bartl (b. Bavaria, 1830-1885, Kansas, 1862).

Bishop Miège's search for personnel brought the Carmelites to Kansas in 1864 almost directly from Germany. They were Bavarians and the German churches of Leavenworth and Scipio were put into their charge. They had a number of missionary stations near Scipio, but their history in Kansas is primarily local.

- 23.5 The End of Miège's Episcopate. Bishop Miège from the beginning held his post reluctantly. He was, however, a good bishop for the needs of his time -- a good petitioner of aid, tolerant of individualists and willing to use the instruments at hand. Though no ascetic, he was not afraid of manual labor nor of long, wracking journeys. On occasion he was a very witty grumbler, a shrewd though not infallible judge of men and conditions, who honestly accepted the consequences of his mistakes. He was in short an able peasant opportunist with a humble view of his own capacities. He shared his most serious error with thousands of others; he regarded Leavenworth as the city of the future. He sank too much money in a new cathedral, which was completed in 1868 just when Leavenworth's prosperity crashed. The Bishop struggled beneath the debt of \$100,000, and sought to resign. In the spring of 1871 a coadjutor was appointed, but the General of the Jesuits gave Miège to understand that he must labor on till the debt was of reasonable proportions. In autumn 1871, he departed for South America to ask help, survived yellow fever and a blindfolded ride on mule back across the high Andes to bring back \$42,000 in 1874. His resignation was then accepted and toward Christmas he stole away to tranquillity.
- 23.6 The coadjutor and successor to the Jesuit Miège from Savoy was the Bavarian

Benedictine, Louis M. Fink (1834-1904), who had become prior at Atchison in 1868 when the finances there were in distressing condition. He was an apostle of order and method. Under him correctness soon reigned in both priory and vicariate. The priory became an abbey in 1876 and the following year the vicariate became a regular diocese. Bishop Miège had done without rules; Bishop Fink promulgated statutes in 1876. The old individualists were res-
tative, particularly as the new bishop spoke sharply. Newcomers were perplexed. Finally, however, "Leavenworth became one of the best organized dioceses in the West" /kill14. Along with rules definite policies were established to re-
place the old opportunism; one of them is of particular interest to the pres-
ent work.

- 23.7 The Policy of Colonies. Early settlement very frequently led to the isolation or near isolation of individual families, to the loosening of all cultural roots and the formation of new ties of a most heterogeneous nature. The Catholics in such surroundings sometimes came to regard themselves as "just another sect" and link up with church organizations in the neighborhood, or more frequently they simply became indifferent religiously. Men like Father Ponziglione attempted to visit even the most isolated families once or twice a year, but such service was costly as well as ineffective. Bishop Fink undertook to put an end to this state of affairs. He "devoted much time and effort to induce Catholics coming to the state to settle in established parishes or in compact colonies. Concentration of the Catholics in colonies had always been the hope of the overworked missionaries. Bishop Fink considered this a solution to his principal difficulties. Scattered, as they usually were, the Catholics could only form small, widely separated congregations,

so that the missionary's time was spent in travel. Under such circumstances many churches were needed; each of which was built with difficulty by a small number of poor settlers who found difficulty in supporting the missionary. Furthermore, living as a minority among Protestants and unbelievers, Catholics were deprived of the moral support derived from larger numbers. Bishop Fink also favored national colonies, which would give cohesion and make a knowledge of several languages unnecessary for satisfactory pastors" /b134. The Bishop "was instrumental in getting immigrant documents printed in English and German" /j79,n.131. The establishment of the policy outlined above led to action reflected in the press as follows: "The bishop and several of the clergy wrote letters to various newspapers in 1877, urging immigrants to concentrate at particular points. . . . An announcement to immigrants was printed along with an account of the Catholic church in Kansas in the Catholic Directory of 1878. Herein it was stated that an Irish colony had selected lands, and that German Catholics were making similar efforts. For the benefit of potential settlers pastors were listed in whose districts large acreage was open to settlement and from whom reliable information would be obtained. The publication of the names of pastors from whom immigrants might obtain information was also carried out in letters to Catholic newspapers which were interested in aiding immigrants to settle near established churches. Knowing that associations for the establishment of colonies not infrequently failed, the bishop advised settlers to come immediately rather than await the slow formation of a colony. Another argument in favor of quick action was the depressed price of mortgaged land after the panic." Thus much settlement could be made in northeastern Kansas /b137.

23.80 Bishop Fink and the Personnel Problem. The problems of recruitment were

hardly less difficult for Bishop Fink than for his predecessor. Exhausting American resources "he sought out theological students in the various schools of Europe" /kill4. Frequently they did not fit into frontier environment, and the "saintly bishop", as Kinsella terms him, lacked the qualities of sympathetic guidance. He shuffled his priests from one parish to another "to satisfy the people of various nationalities rather than the priests themselves" /kill4. It is not strange that his newcomers frequently departed.

23.8lg Catholics in the Forefront of Settlement. The records of missionary station service show that Catholic immigrants were an important element everywhere at the moment of first settlement. The priests, who attended track laborers, frequently preceded actual settlement and were able to give guidance to immigrants. During the boom of the 1880's therefore, the Leavenworth diocese came to cover in fact as well as on paper all parts of Kansas.

23.9 Coming of the Capuchins. Bavarian Capuchins "had come to Pittsburgh, Pa. in 1873, because of the 'Kulturkampf', then at its height in Germany" /kc11:504. Bishop Fink naturally sought to increase his recruitments by enlisting their services. Furnishing spiritual guidance for the Volgans (Russian Germans from the Volga Region) who had settled in the neighborhood of Hays beginning in 1876 offered a very specific and isolated problem which newly arrived German priests might well undertake. In January, 1878, the Capuchin commissary visited the Volgans with the Bishop and afterward his order undertook the task of serving them. With the Volgans the Capuchins spread over much of Western Kansas. Until 1905 they did not go south of Ellis County. In that year they went to Marienthal and neighboring missions /mol55. They also drew the Hungarian Germans at Herndon into their fold. They are treated further under the discussion of the Volgans.

24.0 The Erection of the Dioceses of Wichita and Concordia. In 1887 Kansas was divided into three dioceses, Leavenworth, Wichita and Concordia. Moeder /mo60, gives the apostolic letter of creation. The geographic boundaries are expressed confusedly, which may have been an excuse for bringing the matter again to the attention of the Vatican ten years later. However, the intent of the original letter is clear. Bishop Fink had recommended the division two or three years before. The promptness with which his recommendation was carried out shows, among other things, that the hierarchy thought well of the future of Kansas during its boom days. Four years later came a tacit acknowledgment that the division into three was premature. Bishop Scannell of Concordia was transferred to the See of Omaha in 1891, and for six years thereafter Bishop Hennessy of Wichita administered the diocese of Concordia along with his own. In 1897 the

Map of Diocese Missing

boundaries of the dioceses were rearranged, and the following year the vacant see of Concordia was filled. The boundary alterations of 1897 halved the Leavenworth diocese, trimming the west and lopping off the south. Bishop Hennessy's diocese of Wichita received the lion's share of the spoils. Indeed the enlarged diocese had a much greater population than the two dioceses

which the bishop had been administering. This was true for total and for Catholic population. A census of the new territory in 1897 showed 18,000 Catholics; the whole Wichita diocese had contained in 1889 8,000 Catholics and in 1912 32,000 Catholics /mo72,88. Wichita became thereby the richest and most powerful diocese in the state; Leavenworth was still a close second at the time in population and riches, though territorially it could not compete. Bishop Fink had intended, as the Diocesan Council recommended to the Vatican, to give up only a band of counties along the western edge of his diocese. The transfer of the fourteen additional southern counties to Wichita was arranged at Rome. The diocese of Concordia with no bishop to defend its interests received only enough territory from Leavenworth to make it somewhat more attractive for new bishops than it had been.

- 24.1 The Diocese of Wichita in its first years contained 8,000 Catholics. These were in large part Germans, 800 out of a total of 1100 families outside of the city of Wichita. In Wichita itself, the German church (St. Boniface's, later St. Anthony's) was attended by nearly a third of the city's Catholics (150 out of 540 families). Irish born Bishop Hennessy obviously needed personnel who could pay special attention to this element; he therefore immediately replaced his fellow countryman, Father M. J. Casey, as pastor of the pro-cathedral by a second generation German from Indiana, J. Henry Tihen (1861-1940, ordained 1886). Father Tihen's relatives became established among the Andale-Colwich Germans in Sedgwick County. His own influence grew. From secretary to the bishop in the early years, he became chancellor of the diocese in 1902, ultimately (1911) Bishop of Lincoln, Neb., then (1917) of Denver. As another evidence of German influence, the Franciscan pastor of the Wichita German church became vicar general of the diocese in 1890.

During the early years, Bishop Hennessy doubtless left many things

to these men, for, besides the demand upon him from the diocese of Concordia, he was frequently in the East soliciting funds to bolster up the finances hit by the collapse of the Kansas boom and the hard times of the nineties. During this period priests were shifted frequently from place to place. Between 1889 and 1899 Liebenthal had five pastors; Windthorst had six between 1887 and 1906. Father John M. Sklenar from his ordination in 1891 until 1898 was moved five times, and from his movements it is clear that Olmitz had at least four pastors in the same period. Linguistically the effect of all this movement in the foreign settlements must have made for the introduction of Engl-izing influences at a period when the population was highly resistant.

- 24.2 The Diocese of Wichita after 1897 was much less predominantly German. The annexed territory included the Pittsburg coal fields where the Catholics were numerous but of confused origins, and where the population tended to shift from camp to camp. Churches were set up in most of the camps, but during the depression of the thirties many of them were abandoned. The new area also contained Osage Mission, now Saint Paul. The Jesuits had recently withdrawn, and had been replaced by the Passionists, who attempted no widespread missionary work. The bishop at Wichita, therefore, fell heir to the fruits of the Jesuits' labors. Their services had given to a large territory some consciousness of unity, but this territory contains only a few communities of interest to the present study -- the Irish element predominated among the Catholics.

The German settlements continued to exert a very important influence. From 1911 until his death, a pioneer pastor among the Sedgwick County Germans, Bernard Schmiehausen (1856-1923), who had been dean for many years, was vicar general. Upon Bishop Hennessy's death, Schmiehausen became administrator under Bishop Tihen's guidance (1920-1).

Bishop John J. Hennessy (1847-1920, b. Ireland, to St. Louis as a child,

that diocese till Bishop of Wichita, 1888) was a skillful manipulator of men and affairs. His direct influence upon all the activities in his diocese became very great after 1900. Until then his energies were dispersed by pleadings in the East and at the provincial see in St. Louis for funds and for other goals. When his diocese was definitively established and it became evident that prosperity was to follow the hard times, he began vigorously to build up a charge which he now felt to be worthy of his life's work.

After Bishop Hennessy came an Austrian Ohioan, August J. Schwertner (1870-1939) to occupy the see at Wichita. His successor, Bishop Winkelmann (1883-1946) was also of German origin. They provided understanding witnesses to the period of linguistic transition which in the Catholic German communities of the Wichita diocese had by no means been completed before the First World War, and in places endured long afterward.

The next bishop, Mark B. Carroll, still in charge in 1960, breaks the German tradition in the filling of the episcopal throne at Wichita. He lost the western area of his diocese when the Diocese of Dodge City was established in 1951. The Dodge City Diocese was erected so late as to have little effect on linguistic displacement and will not concern us further.

24.3 The Diocese of Concordia. Richard Scannell (d. 1916), first bishop of Concordia, at once recognized the importance of the French element in his diocese by appointing the Savoyard pastor of the city, Joseph Perrier as his vicar general. Father Perrier continued in his two functions throughout his active life. French Canadians furnished most of the Catholics within a score of miles of Concordia; Louis Mollier had begun work among them in 1873. But the diocese had by no means the same preponderance of one foreign element as was true in the Wichita district. Here too the Gerlings were strong (Germans, Russians,

Hungarians). Settlements preponderantly Irish were also found, particularly among the accessions of 1897. At its origin the sparsely settled diocese had no appreciable unity. The missions along the Kansas Pacific line, including the Volgans of Ellis County, had been served separately from those in the lower Republican and Solomon valleys.

After Bishop Scannell's transfer to Omaha in 1891 the diocese of Concordia was dissatisfied under the administration of Wichita's Bishop Hennessy. "The diocese was on the verge of collapse, and many petitions were sent to Rome by the citizens of Concordia, praying that a new bishop be appointed" /Cloud Co. ch03. In those hard times 8000 Catholics left the diocese.

Bishop John F. Cunningham (1842-1919), consecrated Bishop of Concordia in 1898, was, like Father Perrier, a pioneer priest in Kansas, ordained there in 1865. He was promoted from the vicar-generalcy (1881-1898) at Leavenworth to his new dignity. As vicar-general, Kinsella says that he was a "remarkable man . . . who had the art of cutting the gordian knot at critical junctures . . . and knew how to advise young men and even sympathize with them as they passed out to grub or starve" /kill14. The promotion of the affable vicar-general at the age of fifty-six took place just at the moment when his talents became less necessary to his rigid German superior at Leavenworth. The halving of the Leavenworth diocese, arranged at Rome so much to the advantage of Bishop Hennessy, turned out to be also to Father Cunningham's advantage. His fellow Irishman could no longer look after a second diocese, and appointment of a new bishop to the vacant see at Concordia became imperative. Thaddeus Butler had been named to the place, but he died before consecration, just after the rearrangement of the boundaries. Bishop Cunningham was in office until his death in 1919, a period of prosperity. There followed two years of hurtful vacancy, and then came another bishop of Irish background, Francis J. Tief

(1920-1938); then two of German origins, Frank A. Thill (1938-1957), Fred W. Freking (1957-). Their pressures for anglicization were discreet. In 1944 Concordia ceased to be the see of the diocese; Salina replaced it. As regards for-ling development only Mexicans were affected at that late date.

24.4g The Diocese of Leavenworth becomes the Diocese of Kansas City, Kansas.

Shortly after the final partition of the Kansas dioceses in 1897, Bishop Fink made Kansas City, Kansas, his principal residence, and thereafter the bishops continued to reside there. For a few years near the beginning of the century Kansas City, Kansas, was the see, but by papal action Leavenworth resumed its place until 1947 when Kansas City, Kansas, triumphed definitively. In 1952 the Archdiocese of Kansas City, Kansas, was created. The other Kansas dioceses composed the rest of the new province. Bishop Fink died in 1904. For much of the diocese the linguistic problem was nearly settled by then, but it remained in the cities. During an important period in the history of the Slavic communities in Kansas City, Kansas, of the Volga Germans in Topeka, and of the Poles in Leavenworth two men of Irish origins were bishops, Thomas F. Lillis, 1904-1910, afterward Bishop of Kansas City, Mo., and John Ward, 1910-1929. They were not in real sympathy with the tides of nationalism, but they resisted only mildly. Their successors were mostly German in background, Francis Johannes, born in Germany, 1929 (after two years as coadjutor)-1937,*

*Bishop Johannes required the pastors to furnish him with histories of the parishes in his diocese. FLUK frequently refers to these histories.

Paul C. Schulte, 1937-1946, George J. Donnelly, 1946-1950, Edward J. Hunkeler, 1951- . Archbishop Hunkeler was born in Medicine Lodge, Kansas. Bishop

Schulte reigned in a crucial period and his was an Engl-izing influence.

- 25.0 Protestanism and Language--General. The tendency among Protestants to identify religion with a language led to accentuation of the conservative linguistic effect of religion, both by isolating for-lings congregationally and by guaranteeing a general governing body of the same for-ling origins.

The organization of a Protestant for-ling denomination of course always extended beyond the boundaries of Kansas. As long as this organization was linguistically conservative as compared with other organizations, it tended to make linguistic conditions in all parts of its domain homogeneous. This fact meant sometimes increased, sometimes decreased conservative influence on Kansas settlements. The Mennonite Brethren for instance have a strong Canadian membership which has persisted in using German, much more so than the Kansas Mennonite Brethren; they have made adjustments to each other.

- 25.1g Mennonites are to be found only among speakers of German or their descendants. One of their religious bodies, however, worshipped in English earlier than the others; it is offically called the Mennonite Church, and its membership has been made up of Penn-Germans; few Russian Germans have joined it. The Amish, however, also Penn-Germans, have in whole or part transferred to it in McPherson, Reno, and Harper counties, mainly for reasons not linguistic.

- 26.0g Lutherans have been numerous among the Scandinavians and Germans in Kansas. The Germans have belonged to three varieties distinctly German, the Swedes to one of their own, the Norwegians to one, the Danes to two. These receive further discussion as Kansas bodies in #40.0 to 41.9. There is besides the body long called familiarly the English Lutherans. Their body is in this work called the Kansas Synod of the United Lutheran Church, names used at certain periods in its history. In 1967 the official appellation of the Synod

was the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Kansas and Adjacent States. The churches of this group have with exceptions worshipped in English, and they have consequently often been the refuge of those sons and daughters of Lutheran for-lings who forswore the use of the tongue of their ancestors before the rest of the for-ling group was willing to give it up. Such a phenomenon occurred only when Kansas Synod and other Lutheran congregations existed in the same place, and even then differences of dogma might be more important than the language question to those desiring English. Often if a Kansas Synod congregation was in competition with a German or Scandinavian church one or the other perished. Among Germans only the Missouri Synod competed with the Kansas Synod; at Lawrence the Kansas Synod prevailed, at Leavenworth the Missouri Synod. At Atchison both persisted. At Eureka the Kansas Synod church did not choke out the Norwegian, but dwarfed it. At Salina both the Augustana (Swedish) and Kansas Synod churches thrived, but the Germans with a Missouri Synod congregation did not achieve permanent organization till 1934. In Topeka Kansas Synod, Missouri Synod and Augustana Synod have long existed together; in Kansas City these three and the Danes.

- 27.0g Baptist religious bodies other than "American" have existed in Kansas among the Germans, Swedes and Danes. The drain from them to "English" Baptist churches in communities where there were competing organizations was early great. After the First World War the Swedes and the Danish organizations perished as national units, and merged with the Americans. Though as at Chanute, a congregation might later continue to be recognized as Swedish in origin, linguistically its affiliations did not help conserve the language. The Danish Baptist Church at Jamestown in Cloud County was dissolved. The German Baptists have continued as a national organization with Kansas units to be discussed below.

- 28.0 Methodists in Kansas achieved organizations among Germans and Swedes. Some of these were strong among the Germans and receive further notice. The only Swedish Methodist congregation that became the main cultural institution of a settlement was at Wayne in Republic County. The absorption by individual transfers into "American" bodies was in places early common; merger of congregations with the "American" organizations after the First World War was complete.
- 28.1g Pietistic bodies with a character very closely related to that of denominations dominated by Americans early existed among the for-lings. The distinction between the Methodists and the Evangelical Association of the Germans was originally one of language. Separate organization persisted after the Association had deserted German. Swedish Mission and Free Church people separated from the Lutherans, but when transferring to other churches to escape Swedish, the young were more likely to choose Methodist than Lutheran among "English" bodies; similarly the Grundtvigians among the Danes. The existence of English-speaking bodies with doctrines and practices more or less similar to what the sons of for-lings were accustomed to made shift to English easier than it would have been otherwise.
- 29.0 For-ling congregations attached to "American" religious bodies without their own formed organizations in Kansas above the parochial level received mostly Germans: German Congregationalists (Bazine, Southeast Lane) and Seventh Day Adventists (Tampa, Shaffer) and Church of God (Herington) to select extremes as examples. There were also German (Riley, Mulberry Creek), Czech (Cuba, Irving) and French (Rice, Neuchatel) Presbyterians. The parent "American" bodies exerted Englishing influences.
- 30.0 Schools--General. Schooling in f-lang even in the earliest days was by no means universal among for-ling settlements. It existed, however, in many

places in Kansas and was an important conservative linguistic force gradually decreasing from 1900 on and falling away vastly at the time of the First World War.

The schools may be divided into three types: district schools, full time parochial schools, parochial summer schools. The parochial schools were by far the most common, and in their summer school form persisted a long time.

30.1g Carruth's Statistics on Schools in 1891. W. H. Carruth in the summary of his article on Foreign Settlements in Kansas publishes statistics on schools which he does not regard as reliable: "It is safe to say that the actual number is much larger" /cal59. County superintendents reported to him schools from counties as follows:

(Counties are shown by name, languages by initials.)

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	Cheyenne G	Mitchell G	Cloud F	
	Rawlins G	Osborne G	Marshall G	Leavenworth G
	Sherman G S	Phillips G	Nemaha G	
		Smith G Du	Potawattomie G S	
			Republic S Boh	
			Riley S	
			Washington G	
Inner	Greeley S	Barton G	Chase G	Anderson G
	Logan S	Ellis G	Dickinson G S	Douglas G
	Wallace S	Ellsworth G	Geary G	
	Wichita (Ru)*	Lincoln G	Harvey G	
		Rush G	Marion G	
			Morris S	
			McPherson S	
			Saline S	
			Wabaunsee G	
South	Meade G	Ford G	Sedgwick G	Cherokee G
		Reno G (Du Ru)*		

* The Russian schools reported in Wichita and Reno County and the Dutch school

in Reno County were most certainly German. Carruth's informants evidently thought the German Russians spoke Russian and confused the Low German and Pennsylvania Dutch near Haven with Holland Dutch.

These statistics, unreliable as they are, are the best that can be provided for any specific year. They sin primarily on the side of omission, not only by not specifying schools that existed (as in Russell County for example) but also by not indicating whether the schools were full or part time. They show, however, that schooling was going on in f-lang in at least 41 out of 105 Kansas Counties including practically all the Northern and Inner Pre-West and the eastern two-thirds of the Northern and the Inner Near West.

31.0 Public Schools--General. Schools were of course established in Kansas as soon as there were children to attend them. From the beginning obligatory support of district schools was required of populations in both town and country, and these schools were placed under the direction of county superintendents. Thus every for-ling settlement was from its inception subject to this Eng-ling influence. The features of the system of particular interest for the present purposes are the relations with superintendents, the length of the school term, the compulsory attendance laws, and English as the required language of instruction.

Schooling might be given both through the public school system and through private and parochial schools. Maintenance of the latter required an additional financial burden upon for-ling communities, and there was always a tendency to avoid the double obligation, either by converting the public system into an equivalent of a parochial system or by making parochial instruction a supplement to that received in public schools. A still simpler solution of the school problem in for-ling communities was to drop all instruction outside the public system, and where religious affiliations were weak in part of the for-ling

population as in several Czech communities or in the coal fields this solution was common. In very small for-ling communities no other solution was economically feasible.

- 31.1 Schools. The county superintendent, an official provided for in the state constitution, has possessed through most of the history of the state the power to set up school districts and under certain circumstances to alter them. This power has usually been exercised without consideration of the linguistic character of the inhabitants, and because there was nothing resembling gerrymandering, it early resulted in district lay-outs so that children attending a given school were frequently of mixed linguistic origin. The general supervision exercised by the county superintendent, who was either not of for-ling extraction or was more nearly assimilated to traditional American culture than his fellows, was an Engl-izing force.
- 31.2 Schools. Provision for uniform textbooks in the elementary schools of the state offer a means of policing the character of instruction. After 1897 (Ch. 179) the law provided for such uniformity throughout the state; beginning in 1885 any county which desired uniformity was able to secure it (Ch. 171). Still earlier, school districts chose their own texts, but were required to use a uniform graded series.
- 31.3 Schools. The length of the school term determined the proportion of a year during which children of for-ling households were subject to the most important Eng-ling influence. Indirectly it determined too the length of supplementary for-ling schooling, for, if the regular school term occupied all the time that a community was willing to devote to education, other instruction was crowded out. In 1876 (Laws, Ch. 122), as a sanction of existent usage, the minimum school term was formally fixed at three months. In 1881 (Ch. 150, Sec. 1) the minimum was raised to four months, providing there was a "good and sufficient

building." With the same proviso, the shortest possible term was fixed at five months in 1903 (Ch. 431, Sec. 1). Apparently the loophole offered by the lack of a building was not uncommonly used, though certainly only in sparsely settled regions; the 1903 law (Ch. 436, Sec. 1) specified that state aid should go only to schools having a minimum three months term. A much more important step was taken in 1916 (Ch. 268, Sec. 1) when the law required a seven months term. After that year supplementary schools teaching f-lang for effective periods of time became virtually impossible.

31.4 Compulsory attendance at schools forced for-ling children under an Eng-ling influence unless they were sent to schools outside the public system. The problem of enforcement of laws in this matter was greatest in urban for-ling quarters and in the coal fields. In 1874 (Ch. 123, Sec. 1) twelve weeks a year was fixed as the minimum for school attendance. No specification as to type of school was included. In 1903 (Ch. 423, Sec. 1) attendance for the full length of the school term was required for children from eight to fifteen years old (with limitations beginning at age 14). This law was at first laxly enforced in places where it was the most needed, but after 1911 stringent application became general.

31.5 Child Labor Laws. Closely allied with the question of compulsory school attendance is the matter of employment of children. The laws of 1874 required that no child under twelve should be regularly employed. In 1905 the minimum age was raised to fourteen for children in factories, mines and packing houses, and in 1909 (Ch. 65) other types of employed children outside of agriculture were included. On the enforcement of the law in mining districts see below; in 1906, five hundred children, mostly from packing houses, were taken from jobs and sent to school. The 1905 law provided that children fourteen to sixteen years old could not be employed in positions detrimental to their health.

The number of children so employed was cut from 909 in 1906 to 139 in 1910. The amount of work done by children on farms can seldom be controlled by law, but children in the sugar beet fields present a special problem discussed elsewhere. Linguistically, the effect of agricultural child labor is conservative of f-lang, for thus family units are held together. Industrial child labor works frequently in the opposite direction, in spite of irregular school attendance, for by his work the child may be thrown into the main current of American life.

- 31.6 Basic Language of Instruction. In the early years of statehood there was nothing to prevent public schools from using f-lang as the basis of instruction. In 1877 (Ch. 170, Sec. 1) a law was passed requiring that in the public schools the basic language should be English. Parochial schools continued to do as they pleased until, under the pressure of war hysteria, a law was passed in 1919 (Ch. 157) requiring: "All elementary schools in this state, whether public, private, or parochial shall use the English language exclusively as the basis of instruction." This requirement was reaffirmed in 1923 (Ch. 182, Sec. 1), and continues among the statutes to the present day, although a United States Supreme Court decision of 1923 (U.S. Reports Vol. 262, p. 390 ff.) to some extent nullified it as regards parochial and private schools, and caused the American Legion and State Attorney General to drop plans for prosecuting certain communities that had partially re-established instruction in German /we33.

Until approximately the end of the nineteenth century in some places the law requiring English as the basic language of instruction was partially disobeyed, sometimes openly, more often by the subterfuge of hiring a district school teacher who without additional pay also gave instruction with a f-lang

basis "after hours." The stratagem would have worked better if the instructor had received some addition to his pittance. As it was, he felt that he was being exploited, and was therefore not too faithful to his extra duties. As faithful administrators of the law, as heralds of progress, and as men anxious to reduce the complexities of their jobs, county superintendents were of course impatient of such arrangements and suppressed them as soon as possible. Protestant examples of district schools of this type were found among the Mennonites in McPherson County. A Catholic example was to be found at Scipio; the district school there became simultaneously a parochial and a German school.

31.7 Parochial Schools. Parochial schools using f-lang full time as the basis of instruction were almost all Lutheran or Catholic. Even before the First World War the habit had arisen of teaching some subjects in English, others in f-lang. Religious instruction in f-lang was given longest, which led to the summer schools.

31.8 Summer Schools in F-lang. Summer schools in f-lang have been used extensively in Kansas for the double purpose of perpetuating knowledge of an immigrant tongue and of preparing children for confirmation as Christians. The teacher in such cases was often the pastor. He was an advocate of the policy that he was carrying out as long as he felt that the child was learning spiritual truth as easily in the language of his ancestors as in English. But of course he was primarily a pastor and more anxious that the catechism should be understood than that his small charges should become bilingual. When children came to him therefore from homes where they had not learned the language of instruction, he was inclined to do like the parents and shift to English. To this day religious summer schools in for-ling districts are places for serious study,

but the instruction almost everywhere in Kansas is always in English. When the teacher was not the pastor, Janzen, speaking of the situation among the Mennonites, presents arguments that are generally applicable: "The legislature of 1923 lengthened the rural school term to 8 months, and thereby made German schools almost impossible. Some of the districts still maintain a 4 or 6 weeks' German school in spring in which Bible, singing, and simple German composition are taught, but a large number of schools have discontinued German altogether. There are several reasons for this. The children themselves are unwilling to go to German school any more. It is a difficult foreign language to them. The curriculum is so narrow that it is uninteresting to both teacher and pupils. The teachers are no longer willing to donate practically 2 months each year for such work; and lastly, parents are unwilling, although not unable to pay adequately for this instruction"/jal03. Janzen was writing in 1926.

31.9 F-lang in Secondary School and College Instruction. Institutions of high school and collegiate character using f-lang as the basis of instruction were always few and the procedure was adopted only in certain classes. For-ling educational institutions at this level were in general in the forefront of the shift towards the use of English; the administrators were careful about the matter while there was danger of alienating financial support, but inwardly they were complacent over their students' "progressiveness," and themselves skillfully arranged little changes that advanced linguistic evolution.

32.0 For-ling Lodges and Societies--General. During the halcyon period of lodges provided by the latter half of the nineteenth century before the advent of service clubs any classification of citizens that might form the basis of a group had its organization or cluster of organizations devoted to "mutual aid" and

the advancement of its ideals, including gregariousness. The bonds of a common tongue or a common nationality were of course a more than sufficient tie to join together members of a society. The only opposing force was the hostility toward secret societies of certain churches among the for-lings. But no such obstacle stood in the way of choral groups or purely gymnastic organizations, and in general a for-ling belonged at least to one or two lodges or societies.

- 32.1 For-ling Lodges in Cities. In strictly rural communities, except among the Bohemians, the importance of lodges was for the present purposes less than in the towns and cities where forces that make for group cohesion are an important balance to the centrifugal distractions of urban life.

The purely national lodges were there linguistically a conservative force of importance, particularly among the less well-to-do, and no less so were ostensibly gymnastic organizations like Sokol and the Turnverein.

- 32.2 Decline of For-ling Lodges and Societies. The First World War dealt a severe blow to such societies among the Germans. Among other nationalities their influence decreased gradually but among the Slavs still remains great today.

- 32.3g For-ling Chapters in General American Lodges. For-ling chapters in general American lodges were not an uncommon phenomenon, particularly among the Masons, Oddfellows, and Woodmen. In such organizations the conservative linguistic influence, great at first, declined quickly in cities large enough to support more than one chapter of a lodge. General fraternization promoted the use of English. In such organizations too, "they put on the work" in English and the feats of memorization required promoted the English-speaking habit.

- 33.0 Church Records. Church records are most important to this study as witnesses to the linguistic development at any particular moment. They were also conservative influences in linguistic development, for past examples made young persons elected to secretarial offices continue doggedly to make records in

f-lang even when their knowledge was so imperfect that their spelling varied from page to page and the greater part of the record became a mere set formulae copied from earlier entries with appropriate changes of date.

The records mirror rather faithfully the forces that brought English vocabulary into use. Account books very early show English words used for goods purchased for which the f-lang names were unknown because the article was unknown before immigration---more frequently because of differences of technological advance.

Pastors in vital records were of course conservative, but they too were obliged to use English in recording the cause of death when it was reported to them in terms reflecting medical advancement, even though, like "ruptured appendix", the phenomenon was age old.

33.1 Written F-lang--Extent of Employment. Church records are but one example of the part that the written word played in linguistic development. In the early days in a great many settlements children were taught to read and write f-lang, but after 1918 such training was in general taboo. The failure to teach the young the form of their ancestral tongue to be found on paper had a very important bearing on the decay of the use of f-lang. By this means a common standard was removed among peoples almost always employing a variety of dialects, an opportunity to use f-lang far from speakers disappeared, and f-lang suffered a great loss of prestige and dignity because it came to be regarded as an instrument incapable of filling all the functions of language.

On the other hand during the period when readers and writers of f-lang were generally found among for-lings, written records and printed matter helped preserve imported languages.

33.2 The Written Word--Record of Events. Written documents are of course precious to the present study, not only in the manner described above concerning church

records, but also because they provide examples of significant incidents and attitudes.

- 33.3 F-lang Books and Pamphlets. Books composed in the countries of origin, books composed in America in f-lang outside this state, and a few indigenous to the State are found in Kansas. A record showing the date of acquisition by a family, church, or society is of historical interest. The fact that they are nearly all religious in character speaks much of the cultural limitations from which f-lang suffered. The books composed in this country in spite of their f-lang are often evidences of Americanization. For instance, Kansas City und sein Deutschtum (Cleveland, 1900), and Danske Amerika (Minneapolis, 1916) conform completely to the type of subscription history current at that time. Accounts of their experiences written by settlers, whether in English or in f-lang, are valuable records not only for the tales they tell, but for the character of their language. Elder Wiebe's account in German of early days at Gnadenau is an example. More frequently the for-ling old settlers have preferred to express themselves in English like Emile Gamba of Osage City. The English of such accounts, if caught before "correction" by some zealous editor, is again valuable evidence.
- 33.4 F-lang Periodicals--Non-religious. Periodicals printed abroad never had a very wide currency in Kansas. Settlers were almost always people too busy to engage in reading material that did not affect their immediate concerns, and the events and ideological life of the old country as recorded in its magazines seldom fell in this class. For like reasons, periodical literature other than newspapers printed in f-lang in this country, unless religious or connected with a lodge or society, was not commonly found.
- 33.5 F-lang Church Publications. Religious publications are the most important of for-ling periodicals. Under the heading may be included regular magazines with

full fledged articles and a variety of departments, like Der Lutheraner of the Missouri Synod or the Cristliche Botschafter of the Evangelical Association, annual reports, and various publications of a newsletter type. The tendency of all is to become bilingual and the smaller the unit served the sooner the tendency develops. When English becomes the preponderant language, it is usual to take an English title but f-lang is not thereby banned. Mennonite Life contained through the 1950's an occasional article in German or Low German and many articles sprinkled with German expressions. Not only circulation figures but also the proportion of English and f-lang publications bear witness to linguistic development.

- 33.6 F-lang Newspapers. Before the First World War f-lang newspapers were very common on the national scene and there were quite a number in Kansas. Among the less evanescent four examples may be named: the Lawrence Germania 1877-1918, Lindsborg Posten 1898- , Wilson Kansaske Rozhledy 1906-1914 (it had a Czech successor), Pittsburg Lavoratore italiano 1912- . Like the church publications the newspapers have tended to become bilingual. Likewise, newspapers published in for-ling centers occasionally have had and still do have items in f-lang, most usually church announcements.

Data on newspaper circulation for the important years are not easy to obtain. The Kansas for-ling newspapers always addressed a public at least somewhat larger than their immediate neighborhood. Their existence is not therefore specific evidence on conditions in a given settlement.

- 33.7 Lodge and Society Publications. Lodge and society publications do not offer many differences in linguistic usage from other for-ling publications, but since one of the aims frequently stated in lodge programs is extension of a f-lang,

they sometimes systematically keep up their f-lang and even provide it with instructional aids. The Voice of Youth, published by SNPJ (a Slovenian society), had about 1950 Slovenian-English vocabularies to aid its readers.

- 33.8 Advertisements--"Directions For Use". Before the First World War commercial companies often provided with packages of their goods directions for use that were couched successively in several foreign languages. The custom existed to allow immigrants to make use of the product; insofar as the habit persists, it is kept up, it would seem, for consumers abroad. Directions of this type enabled for-lings to a very limited degree to keep up with the developing technical vocabulary of their f-lang. The influence that they thus exerted was overwhelmed by the might of ever-present American technical words, and apparently the young did not enlarge their vocabulary by this means.
- 33.9 Display Advertisements. Display advertisements in f-lang were not uncommon. They are documents easily dated and localized, and since they were usually written by for-lings of the second generation employed as salespersons and printed by publishers incapable of editing them, they provide excellent evidence of the state of f-lang in commercial usage. For instance, an advertisement in the Newton Herold, Jan. 4, 1917, announces "Grosse Esparnisse zu machen an Stapel Sachen und fancy Waren. Peltze, Coats, Kleider, Skirts, Waists sind alle reduziert."
- 34.0g Agriculture was so generally the occupation of for-lings in Kansas that a somewhat extended consideration of the economic history of the state as it affected farmers and their linguistic as well as other social development is appropriate. During the settlement of Kansas horse-drawn implements and steam threshing equipment came into universal use, and Engl-izing was by no means completed when the truck and the gasoline powered tractor appeared on the scene. These developments softened the harshness of a history that would have otherwise been more

calamitous than it was. For many years it was not a happy history for farmers in the Near and Far West, not too happy in the Pre-West. The only settlers who arrived with experience in semi-arid districts were those from Russia and even they suffered much, the Mennonites less than the Volgans. The hard conditions made resistance to the imposition of American culture difficult, for there was seldom money to support other cultural institutions. When prosperity came about 1897, the young were already weaned of foreign ideals, but the old were now strong financially and the struggle between the generations was great, not greater nor materially different from that in states with different agricultural conditions where industrial and commercial developments were greater, but a great struggle nonetheless. The old lost because of their death, not because they yielded easily.

35.0. Crop Years. The following table (adapted from /ag 47:482-3) shows fluctuations of yields in wheat and corn in Kansas.

The figures are for half-bushels of wheat over or under the mean of 14 bushels and for full bushels of corn over or under the mean of 23 bushels. They represented yield per acre--harvested rather than planted, thus minimizing bad years, as in 1933, when nearly 6 million acres of wheat and 1 million of corn were not harvested.

Years by decades	186-	187-	188-	189-	190-	191-	192-	193-	194-		Year of decade
0		4	-8	2	8	-4	4	0	2	wheat	0
1		5	7	-12	-4	-4	3	-11	-7	corn	0
		4	-8	4	6	-6	-2	10	2		1
2	14	14	-5	4	-15	-8	0	-5	0		
	17	-4	12	8	-6	2	-2	-4	10		2
3	4	13	11	2	7	0	-4	-4	4		
	2	0	8	-10	4	-4	-8	-10	0		3
		1	14	-1	3	-20	0	-11	-1		

4	2	0	8	-6	-2	12	4	-8	6	4
	2	-12	14	-12	-2	-4	-1	-19	5	
5	2	6	-6	-12	0	-2	-10	-10	4	5
	18	12	10	2	5	8	-5	-14	0	
6	14	2	-4	2	2	-4	2	-4	4	6
	11	12	-1	5	6	-13	-11	-19	-2	
7	0	0	-8	6	-6	-4	-6	-4	10	7
	11	11	-8	-4	-1	-10	4	-11	-6	
8	2	4	2	2	-2	0	4	-6	8	8
	-3	6	4	-4	-1	-16	2	-3	11	
9	4	-10	10	-8	-2	-2	-4	-4		9
	16	8	13	5	-4	-7	-5	-9		
Decade	6	0	2	0	-2	0	-2	-6	4	
average	11	7	4	-1	-1	-7	-3	-10	0	

(For the average decades begin with 61, 71, etc.)

As the history of the state progressed, the accent of crop importance shifted from corn to wheat. 1917 is the turning point for the state as a whole, but for the Near and the Far West, wheat was more important from the beginning of settlement (ca. 1872-85).

35.1 Kansas and the Business Cycle. The prosperity of Kansas has varied with general economic conditions as well as with crops. The results of the panic of 1873 on railroad building (inhibitive) and on immigration (promotional) have been noted. After that period, Kansas shared in the booming days of the West which reached their greatest inflation in 1885. Kansas shared in the agricultural unrest that followed, but the symptoms were mainly political. The panic of 1892 with the hard times that followed brought abysmal conditions in Kansas. With the national recovery in the latter part of the 1890's, Kansas regained self-confidence and was all in all prosperous with the country as a whole till 1921. The panic of 1907 was a brief episode. The check in prosperity after 1921 was more lasting in Kansas than in the nation as a whole. On the other hand, the effects of the 1929 panic were not great until 1931. With the ruinous crop years, however, the depression of the 1930's was as bad and more lasting than that of the 1890's. Thereafter conditions have been

relatively good.

35.2 For-ling Settlements and Rural Economic Conditions. Though the first 30 years of the state's existence brought Kansas better crop conditions, on the average, than the next 50, in the early period before communities had taken root, a single bad crop was a disaster that sent many settlers with family connections in the East scurrying home. Foreigners from overseas could not move easily, and for-lings with families in the East less easily than those of Colonial American stock always so connected. Early disaster years thus account for few abortions among foreign settlements and by giving them opportunity to acquire the lands of easterners contributed to their consolidation. For-lings themselves lost some lands. Furthermore, the high infant mortality in struggling new settlements reduced the number of children who would be almost certain to learn f-lang. In periods of economic distress maintenance of churches and schools became difficult. The hard times of the 1890's led to the discontinuance of many f-lang schools, support of which could be regarded as a burden superimposed upon the necessary maintenance of public schools. In the same period a few weak for-ling churches completely succumbed; far greater numbers passed through periods when they were unable to support pastors, and an important organizational influence for the conservation of f-lang was materially weakened. Economic forces in the first three decades of the twentieth century were not a force of material importance in determining f-lang development in agricultural regions. By the 1930's Engl-izing was far advanced in most settlements, and effects similar to those of the 1890's were therefore of less importance. Relief laws had not existed in the 1890's. The working of those laws in the Depression of the 1930's had two opposite effects upon the persistence of f-lang. The needy population was held in its area of origin so

as to be eligible for relief. This practice was conservative of f-lang. Persons that had gone elsewhere earlier often returned home. Such persons had usually become habitual users of English, and brought their habit back with them. Afterward, without the immediacy of the ties binding foreigners in a strange land that had influenced for-lings in the 1890's, certain settlements lost many of their members as soon as work became available in industrial areas where recovery was more rapid than on the farms. Foreclosures reduced land holdings; the new landowners--and in this respect conditions differed from the 1890's--were frequently not of the same linguistic stock as the dispossessed.

- 35.3 The Introduction of the Automobile. The subordination of the wagon road to the railroad in the period from 1870 to 1920 brought about in the Near and Far West an organization of inter-community life along east-west lines. With the introduction of the automobile into common usage, because of the great stretches of open prairie and the infrequency of mud resulting from the dry climate, communication in all directions over long distances became common in Western Kansas. With the building of good roads, this new characteristic was accentuated. Since 1920, people fifty miles apart in Western Kansas have been neighbors. The result of this geographic extension of the community has meant that small for-ling groups which earlier would have been self-contained have been more thoroughly engulfed in community life covering whole counties than have the inhabitants^{of} foreign quarters within cities. The Engl-izing influences have been so much the stronger. Even the inhabitants of the strongest settlements have been put under pressure. Every one within a hundred miles of Victoria in the heart of the Catholic Volgan district can give a version of how people behave in that town, whereas, very few of the inhabitants of Wichita pretend to know information about the German district which occupies a considerable part of Wichita's county, Sedgwick, nor about the Mexicans who live within

the city. All over the state the introduction of the automobile has brought about much more frequent visits home from sons and daughters established in the towns of the state. The result favors Engl-izing.

35.4g Mechanization of Agriculture. For-lings, whatever their former habits, readily adopted horse-drawn agricultural implements. Methods of agriculture different from those around them did not set them off from their neighbors. When motorization became profitable they readily fell into line. During the horse-drawn stage, seasonal help from all sources at wheat harvest time was very necessary. The influx of workers provided isolated for-ling homes with English-speaking contacts. Seasonal workers who are everywhere regarded as inferior to the land-holding employers may have little linguistic effect. The Mennonites in Russia learned no Russian from the Russians whom they hired; indeed, they were strengthened in their disdain of the language because it was used by such people. Here, however, where the workers, who, whether tramps or youths of good family, were apt to show a certain contempt for the f-lang with which they were momentarily in contact, the stimulus provided by them was definitely Engl-izing. With motorization, the influx of seasonal wheat harvesters greatly declined, but this falling off occurred only after the period in which their presence could be regarded as a real linguistic force.

Motorization, by bringing about the great increase in the size of farms and the consequent great reduction in their number, has had its effect by reducing the population of foreign origin on the land. In a few late-arriving communities the phenomenon has had a linguistic effect.

36.0 Industry. Though Kansas in its first century was not an industrial state, of 925 workmen questioned in 1890, 25 per cent were foreign born (State Labor Report 1890). For-lings must be studied in relation to six activities that

may be qualified as industries, railroading, coal mining, salt mining, beet sugar production and meat packing.

- 36.1g The Railroads and Immigrant Labor. Struggling newly founded foreign colonies commonly sent out a contingent of laborers to work on the tracks. The Swedes at Lindsborg thus helped construct the Kansas Pacific and the Santa Fe /kc11:21; so likewise the Volgan Russian Germans farther to the west /kc13:20. The Mennonite Germans from Russia too had their share in railroad construction /ml2:31. Among Catholic Reich Germans the Scipio-Greeley Germans may serve as an example of farmers who turned on occasion to railroad construction /b102. As mentioned elsewhere, early immigrants tended to tarry in debarcation towns, which were usually railroad division points and offered opportunities for labor in shops and round houses. Later until the decline of the railroads, laborers made these towns their primary destination. Foreign settlements of railroaders are thus to be found, for example, in Topeka (SF), Newton (SF), Ellis (UP), Parsons (MKT), Concordia (Mo.P.), Herington (RI).

In the first decades of the twentieth century the railroads, particularly those reaching into the southwest, the Santa Fe and the Rock Island, brought the Mexicans to Kansas as laborers. Considerable colonies of them are therefore to be found at many division points.

- 37.0 Mining--General for Kansas. The relationship between coal mining and for-ling speech in Kansas has been very close, particularly for the French, Italians, Polish and Slovenians, important also for Swedish, Welsh, and to a minor degree, Germans. Coal underlies much of eastern Kansas. Its extraction has been important for the study of f-lang usage in four counties, Cherokee, Crawford (which adjoin and form one field), Leavenworth and Osage. For-lings have also been connected with coal mining in Bourbon County, but the numbers were negligible.

37.1 Coal Mining--Early History in Kansas. Coal was discovered in territorial times and working started; but production required no real labor force until in 1869 the Santa Fe began to use Kansas-mined coal from the Osage field. At about the same time after several years experimentation, a productive shaft was sunk in Leavenworth. Desultory mining was then being carried on in the Cherokee-Crawford field, but the importance of that field was realized only gradually.

By 1880 foreign elements had been imported by the coal companies and had established themselves in the mining centers; however, statistics on production are fragmentary until 1885 and on the labor force until 1889. Prior to 1885 conditions were more or less chaotic. The Federal Mineral Yearbook of 1885 says that many small mines had been abandoned in the preceding years, but quality and production had been bettered, and concludes, "The business is becoming more concentrated, and the mines are worked in a more systematic way."

37.2 Coal Mining Statistics for State of Kansas. Statistics* for the state as a

*Statistics quoted are those furnished by the Federal Mineral Resources Year Book, which differ somewhat from statistics from state sources which are best summarized in Young and Allen, Kansas Coal, 1925, and Pierce and Courtier, Geology and Coal Resources of the Southeastern Kansas Coal Field, 1937.

whole sufficient to the present purposes are:

Year	Production- Thousands of tons	Labor Force	Year	Production- Thousands of tons	Labor Force
1870	33		1910	4921(strike)	12870
5	150		5	6824	13260
1880	771		1920	5838	8984
5	1212		5	4212	7800

1890	2260	4523	1930		4855
5	2927	7482	5	2686	3896
1900	4468	8459	1940	3579	2814
5	6424	11926	5	2493	1460

The year of greatest production was 1918 when 7-1/2 million tons were produced, but the labor force was then 2500 less than the 1915 maximum. This fact is largely to be explained by the increased number of working days per man, possible largely because of the shortage of hands. Mechanization, however, was already beginning to cut down the personnel. In 1900 production was about 530 tons per man; in 1918, about 710 tons per man; in 1940, about 1270 tons, and in 1946, over 1700 tons per man. Mechanization began rather late in Kansas. In 1908 when machines were commonplace in some fields farther east, there were 17 machines in Kansas /s.69:40.

The first jolt to Kansas production came with the strike of 1919, and with the ensuing struggle which was centered on the effort to establish the Industrial Court. Since 1920, production has dropped, partly because of the state of the fields, but partly because of economic conditions affecting the industry as a whole. Causes of the decline in Kansas coal mining were national in scope. Poorly organized and therefore cheaper labor in West Virginia and its neighborhood made it possible for operators there to undersell Illinois operators in their eastern market. The Illinois producers in turn sought new markets, and when the Chicago and Alton Railroad gave them a favorable rate, they shipped directly west from Springfield, Illinois. Leavenworth suffered first, but other Kansas fields did also. For coal mining everywhere noticeably bad times began toward 1925 and were abysmal during the depression of the thirties.

37.3 Coal Mining Statistics by Fields in Kansas. The history of production and of the size of the labor force has not followed the same curve in all three fields. Here comparative labor statistics are given for certain years so that the chronological element in comparing language development in the three territories may be better understood.

LABOR

	Cherokee	Crawford	Leavenworth	Osage
1882		299		
1884	333			1000
1886	together -- 1856			
1887				2044
1891	1609	1785	1073	1581
1900	2968	3657	822	
1908	3726	8291	1137	809
1915	2834	9094	690	671
1923	1198	7460	together -- 880	
1931	289	2594		380
1940	266	1522	412	350
1946	318	686	234	105

Until about 1886 there were as many men in the Osage field as in the Cherokee-Crawford field, though by then Cherokee County alone was producing nearly as much coal as Osage. Osage maintained itself till 1890, then declined never to recover, though remaining about at a level in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The Cherokee-Crawford field increased its number of employees consistently till 1915. The data from Leavenworth do not include the convicts of the penitentiary mine in the county which began production in 1881 (shaft started '79). The miners at Leavenworth were but a small proportion of the community; production was fairly consistent, and the miners, though subject to stresses as in the other two fields, did not contend with them in the same way.

- 37.4 Coal Mining and the Railroads. Railroads have played an important part in the development of the coal fields. The Santa Fe used most of the Osage output and owned mines until the ^{eighteen} nineties. The removal of their demand rather than mining out brought about the first decline of the field. Several railroads, from 1886, the Santa Fe, too, used the Cherokee-Crawford field as the source of power. Transfer of railroad lines to oil-consuming locomotives, still more the introduction of the diesel engine, was a serious blow to the field; decline of railroad traffic after 1920 was another.
- 37.5 Instability of Population in Coal Mining Districts. Population in a coal mining center is unstable because of undependability of employment (seasonal variations, delicate response to general economic conditions, strikes, exhaustion or opening of mines). For-ling settlements therefore have had many ups and downs in such centers with ultimate great reduction in size.
- 37.6 Miner's Unions. As one of the factors affecting the behavior of miners, both Eng-ling and for-ling, trade unionism deserves our attention. Abortive attempts at organizing miners into unions occurred nationally in the ^{eighteen} sixties and seventies. The National Federation of Miners and Laborers (founded 1885) and the National Progressive Union (1889) seem to have attracted no support in Kansas. At least, the Kansas State Labor Commissioner's report which begins to take account of unions says nothing of them. In 1890, however, it reports a chapter of the Knights of Labor made up of miners at Minersville. The Knights of Labor had originated in 1870 to cover all laborers and craftsmen, and from 1879, it prospered for a decade. The Minersville chapter numbered 63 and had lost as many members in the year. By 1899 the Knights were reported by the Commissioners "as a matter of history." However, in 1897 they were still founding chapters. That year one was organized in Cherokee County. Of 33 miners in that county

selected at random by the Labor Commissioner as the basis of sampling data, 22 belonged to the Knights of Labor. Of the 33, 24 were from the British Isles, 5 were native born, and 4 were French from France or Belgium. All these French belonged to the Knights of Labor. These men expressed themselves as in favor of restricting immigration from Europe. In other words, the union--or society--gave for-lings who had been here for some time equal status with the native born. Thus, the French were encouraged by this association to use more English. But the "new immigrants" were not receiving the same opportunity.

In 1897 a 27-year-old miner, half Scotch, half Irish, voiced a general opinion: "The men are in poor condition in regard to union, and in case of trouble arising the large percentage of foreign-speaking miners makes it hard to accomplish unity, and their willingness to work under adverse circumstances caused a general curtailing of wages."

The problem of these newcomers was receiving national attention just then. The United Mine Workers did not attempt to solve the matter by exclusion. The U.M.W. had been formed in 1890; its constitution was "printed in English and Slavonian and its manuals in English, Lettish, Polish, and Slavonian" /wa388.

The U.M.W. led a precarious existence for some time, and until 1898 made only fitful appearances in Kansas. Two Scots out of eleven sampled miners in Crawford County belonged to it, and none from other counties. In 1898 and 1899, however, it created chapters as follows:

	No. of Chapters	No. of Members in 1899
Cherokee	4	1039
Crawford	3	188
Osage	3	261
Leavenworth	1	600

These chapters, even at the time, were more powerful than their membership indicates. All through the 1890's strikes called by the Union extended far beyond the membership. In 1897, the national membership was 10,000; ten times as many heeded the strike call.

After 1899 Kansas miners may be regarded as organized in the Cherokee-Crawford field; allegiance elsewhere was not so effective. The appearance of the Union entailed the making of contracts with operators, and since the contracts were usually for two years, crises of feeling and often strikes followed a biennial cycle among the miners for almost two decades.

The Union worked as a medium for linguistic assimilation. The "Hunkies" and "Wops" might not be welcome as agents for wage depression, but until immigration was restricted after the First World War, the only cure was to receive the newcomers and force them to behave like other people, to understand what was being said in plain English. The for-lings were also under pressure to learn English so as to understand indoctrination for resisting poor working conditions. The English speakers felt that "recent immigrants . . . will work under worse conditions," and were therefore preferred by operators in slack times /s 58:653.

However, for-lings did not rise to office easily. Men with for-ling names did not become even local secretaries in Kansas. There were none in 1913, few for at least two more decades.

37.7 Coal Strikes. Coal strikes did not wait for Union organization to appear and become potent factors in population movements and social conditions in the coal mining districts, as for example during the strike of 1895 at Leavenworth. After organization their history is easier to trace, and some data on their incidence are appropriate.

In 1894 an important strike occurred in the Ohio basin, but the miners

in Kansas did not go out for long, and comparative prosperity in bad times resulted. In 1897 the Big Four Strike lasted over a year in the state, (Kansas Labor Report, 1901), but labor in Kansas was not well enough organized to tie up output materially. Between 1900 and 1920, national strikes or stoppages, each occasioning the loss of more than 15 million man days occurred in the following years: 1902, 1906, 1910, 1919. The 1902 strike did not greatly affect Kansas, but the 1906 strike caused a loss of 430,000 tons production in the Cherokee-Crawford field at a time when 2,000 new miners entered the field. The two smaller fields prospered rather than suffered as a result, for they were not so well organized. The same thing was true during other strikes, but in 1910 when a strike lasted from April to September, Leavenworth suffered somewhat. The Cherokee-Crawford field in this year, 1910, produced 2 million tons less than the preceding year. The labor force there declined from 12,000 in 1908 to 11,000 in 1910 and to 10,000 in 1911. The strike of 1919 which occurred at the end of the year cost a loss of 2-1/3 million tons production in Kansas and furnished dramatic episodes in the state's history which need not be recorded here. In 1921 the Federal Minerals Yearbook recorded, "The year 1921 passed without strikes of magnitude, except in Kansas, where 88% of the men were idle for nearly 3 months in protest against the imprisonment of Alex Howat and August Dorchy." That unhappy episode was the beginning of an almost uninterrupted decline in the Kansas coal fields. One of Leavenworth's two mining companies closed out the next year, and the southeastern field did not really recover. The history of later strikes does not materially affect for-ling assimilation.

- 37.8 Boys Working in the Mines. From the time the mines first became important in Kansas, children under 12 were forbidden by law to work in them, but at 12, boys commonly went to work, and a great many, thanks to parental lying, em-

ployer connivance, and poor state supervision, started earlier. In 1890 operators' reports to the Commissioner of Labor were so arranged as to show no one under 12 employed, but of 32 boys questioned as samples

10 started work at 11 years

3 started work at 10 years

1 started work at 9 years

28 of them would have preferred to go to school; and we can believe that they were sincere, for both they and their employers reported that that their average working day was a fraction over 9 hours. Of the 32, seven had native-born parents. These boys were frequently classified as miners; 125 out of 230 reported by the companies sampled were in this class. But ordinarily these miners worked with a father or brother and most of the rest of the children in the mines were in yet closer touch with older relatives. So far we have been speaking of wage-earners; some companies also winked at the practice of taking boys down to help without receiving pay separate from that of the father. In 1897 the Commissioner of Mines acknowledges this practice by speaking of miners who had "assistance of a member of the family to whom no wage is paid."

For the present purposes the significance of this practice is obviously two-fold: 1), it insured for-ling relatives the opportunity of remaining together and so of continuing the use of the family idiom, 2), it kept boys out of school and away from the contact most conducive to the acquiring of English. Of the 230 boys reported on by operators in 1890, thirty-seven had attended school only one year. Usually they attended the legal minimum of three months a year; sometimes this was at night school when they were too exhausted to study, though they would still be open to the influence of English speech around them.

In spite of these conservative influences on child laborers, the influence of the mine was on the whole to promote the use of English. The lingua franca of the many-tongued personnel was English, and the child could demonstrate there an equality or even a superiority that he did not enjoy elsewhere, for his tongue was quicker than his father's.

37.9 F-lang in the Coal Fields. Almost everything led to the adoption of the generally accepted language of the country, even, as just said, the constant contact with other for-ling groups working in the same fields and usually in the same mines. In Osage City the town was rather distinctly separated into French, Italian, and Swedish quarters. In the Cherokee-Crawford districts there were points where one nationality dominated rather than another, Italians in Arma, Slovenians in Franklin, for instance. Still in both sections, the mixing and stirring was so constant that the use of English was promoted. An incident that occurred in Indiana in 1907 illustrates the stimulus to learning English furnished by work conditions in the mines. There an Austrian miner was killed by a fall of rock; he had not followed orders as to props. The foreman was reproached for not staying by until the propping was done, for "neither the decedent nor his buddy could understand but very little English, probably did not understand the orders to set the timbers" /s/68:652. Even in fighting, one of the commonest of amusements in the hey-day of the mines, it was a means of making insults understood from race to race. In harmonious community life it was a means of rising.

The State Mine Inspector's report for non-fatal accidents for 1900 shows that in the Western Coal and Mining Company's mines near Pittsburg, no's 14, 15, 16, about half the accidents occurred to men with for-ling names, which were for each mine nearly equally divided between French, Italian and Slovenian.

While during most of the day these men were secluded in pairs linguistically congruous in the mining rooms, obviously they often needed the lingua franca provided by English.

In spite of jealousies and clash of folk-ways, the miners had far too much in common to remain permanently separated into language groups. They were early all subject to the same exploitation (inadequate pay, bad working conditions, payments in scrip to be used at company stores) and bettered their conditions by a common effort. They suffered the same calamities with the variations in employment. They reacted in the same way to prohibition laws and other legalized social pressure. And their children attended the same schools. Acquisition of English as a common medium was natural.

On the other hand, retention of immigrant languages in the home persisted. The forces usually tending to linguistic conservatism among women were perhaps more marked than elsewhere, for instance in 1908, twice as many Italian men as women spoke English /s69:121. Moreover the immediate family, in a population subject to many changes of residence, tends to be ingrowing. Intermarriages have, however, cut deep breaches in this wall to outside linguistic influence.

Except for the Swedes in Osage City the for-ling miners were nearly all Catholic, but a common religion cannot be said to be an unqualified influence for unification. The attitudes of the various nationalities toward the Church have been different, and there have been differences within one nationality on the matter. As time goes on, the Church is developing a homogeneity of faithfulness, particularly among the young who are already linguistically Anglicized.

38.0g Salt. Salt was produced in Kansas from early in the state's history (1867),

but only in 1887 during oil prospecting were the very thick beds found that underlie the Near West in its eastern part. Eight towns set up salt works, that persist still in three of the same towns and have been important in them from the beginning. These cities are Hutchinson, Lyons, and Kanopolis. In all of them Mexican labor has been used for decades. Salt can be obtained and processed as easily and cheaply in Kansas as anywhere, but its sales territory is limited by that of the Michigan, Louisiana, or California plants which produce salt with equal readiness. Since 1890 Kansas has run fourth to sixth in national production.

Production in Thousands of Tons

1880 - 2	1920 - 747	5-year averages
1888 - 22	1925 - 813	1945-9 - 848
1893 - 198	1930 - 759	1950-4 - 888
1900 - 313	1935 - 768	1955-9 - 1026
1905 - 294	1940 - 684	1960-4 - 925
1910 - 394	1946 - 904	
1915 - 527		

Demands for labor became great first about 1888, increased toward 1898, again toward 1908, and grew further till 1920; then demands held steady for two decades; changes in methods of production thereafter reduced the labor force. In 1893, 400 workers were employed at Hutchinson and 75 at Lyons. Both rock and evaporated salt were produced.

The salt plants are located in areas outside, though near, the towns. Workers have resided near the plants, sometimes in company quarters separate from the town. This segregation has had its linguistic effect upon the Mexicans.

39.0g Beet sugar production and meat packing have been important primarily for Garden City and for Kansas City respectively, and are therefore treated in the sections devoted to those cities. For-lings have also been employed in zinc mining, in smelting, in quarrying, and in cement plants, but their number has been small, or the industry short-lived and only casual references are hereafter made to their employment there.

40.0 Year of Immigration of Persons born in Europe and Resident in Kansas in 1930
(Census of 1930 Vol. 25, p. 520)

% arriving before 1900	Country of birth	Total	Year of Immigration						Unknown
			1925-30	1920-24	1915-19	1911-14	1901-10	1900 or earlier	
68.5%	Norway	746	12	14	12	22	136	511	39
80.0%	Sweden	7315	54	81	72	158	746	5954	250
73.3%	Denmark	1723	24	42	29	68	225	1270	15
70.4%	Netherlands	513	3	14	18	32	68	361	17
50.3%	Belgium	1098	10	63	30	121	288	558	28
81.2%	Switzerland	1594	12	35	4	36	158	1295	54
60.8%	France	1271	15	40	41	60	274	772	69
77.7%	Germany	17384	479	596	55	426	1611	13500	717
32.4%	Poland	1915	29	81	36	421	676	621	48
66.9%	Czechoslovakia	3044	28	73	23	154	648	2037	81
48.5%	Austria	2164	6	62	15	183	740	1050	108
16.3%	Yugoslavia	2781	30	199	39	550	1467	453	43
57.2%	Russia	8781	68	217	85	849	2295	5019	248
5.1%	Greece	534	11	64	71	110	230	27	21
28.4%	Italy	2165	10	115	69	350	937	613	71
72.4%	Canada French	569	16	19	13	7	47	412	55
64.6%	Total of f-b arrivals	69716	1218	2380	1022	4247	12672	45033	3144

The above table identifies most of the stocks immigrating to Kansas and shows their relative strength and age in the period of our observations. The various stocks are considered one by one in the sections following.

40.01 The census of Ger-ling foreign-born in Kansas in 1895 was presented in Volume I /11 ff. Here we may recall that in round thousands for the state:

Reich German foreign-born	numbered	41,000
Russian	" " " "	11,000
Swiss	" " " "	3,000
Austrian	" " " "	2,000

The number of persons born in Germany and Switzerland living in Kansas was at peak status in 1895, but not the number of those born in Russia except for Mennonites. Austrians were to become somewhat more numerous. Half of these Austrians were Bukovinans. Other German foreign-born numbered 1,000; nearly half of these were Hungarian Germans; the other half were divided, more or less evenly, between Bohemian, Moravian and Polish Germans. The proportions existing in 1895 persisted except that, because of the arrivals of additional Black Seamen and Volgans, the Russian Germans became more numerous. The Bukovinans also continued late immigration.

40.02 Date of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Germany and Resident in 1925 in Certain

Kansas Settlements

Year	In the Kansas East										In the Kansas West										In all Kansas Settlements Here-		
	Lawrence*	Eudora*	Stull*	Worden & Clearfield*	Westphalia*	Scipio-Greeley*	South-east	*Nor. Pre-West	Inner Pre-West	Flibing-Whitewater*	Wichita*	Andale-Colwich*	Kensington*	Athol-Gaylord*	Lorraine*	N. Ellsworth*	Bushton*	Willowdale-St. Leo	*Sou. Near West	Totals	% of Total		
Before 1850	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	.8		
1850-59	14	1	1	9	0	3	6	0	0	0	15	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	59	3.3		
1860-64	3	3	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	12	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	40	2.2		
1865-69	7	10	2	4	2	3	15	1	4	0	26	4	0	5	8	5	9	0	0	131	7.3		
1870-74	12	8	5	4	5	0	19	3	1	1	48	8	3	1	14	7	0	2	0	180	10.0		
1875-79	9	2	4	4	1	4	11	1	21(1)	25	2	2	1	1	3	8	5	1	0	138	7.8		
1880-84	32	22	2	15	10	7(6)	42	8	18	20(15)	78	32	15	8	7	11	7	10	0	447	25.0		
1885-89	14	10	0	18	7	3(3)	13	3	5	3(4)	64	15	4	16	3	6	7	7	0	247	13.8		
1890-94	14	8	0	6	2	4(6)	4	6	10	14(2)	35	10	4	12	0	2	6	4	0	199	11.0		
1895-99	5	1	0	3	0	1(1)	2	1	0	3(0)	21	3	3	5	2	0	1	2	0	62	3.5		
1900-04	4	1	0	3	0	0(3)	1	1	0	0(1)	18	4	4	1	1	0	3	3	0	82	4.5		
1905-09	2	1	0	4	0	1(0)	1	1	0	4(4)	31	2	0	2	1	1	8	5	0	71	4.0		
1910-14	2	0	0	1	0	0(1)	1	0	1	2(1)	13	0	0	2	3	1	2	0	0	39	2.2		
1915-19	0	0	0	0	0	0(0)	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	.2		
1920-25	2	0	0	3	1	1(0)	2	1	2	0	36	3	0	6	1	0	2	1	0	78	4.4		
																				1792	100.0		

() = Hungarian

() = Swiss

*(See following page)

*The settlements listed are represented by the following townships (t) and cities (c):

Lawrence = Lawrence (c)	Newbury = Newbury (t)
Eudora = Eudora (t & c)	Elbing = Fairmount and Milton (t's)
Stull = Kanwaka (t)	Wichita = Wichita (c)
Worden = Palmyra, Wakarusa	Andale-Colwich = Sherman & Union (t's)
Willow Springs, Marion (t's)	and Sumner (t in Reno Co.)
Westphalia = Westphalia (t & c)	Kensington = Kensington (c)
Scipio = Putnam, Walker, Union (t's)	and Cedar (t)
Pittsburg Rural = Baker (t)	Athol-Gaylord = Athol (c)
Seneca-St. Benedict = Marion, Mitchell,	Lane and Harvey (t's)
Nemaha & Richmond (t's)	Lorraine = Lorraine (c) & Green
Hanover = Hanover (t & c)	Garden (t)
Leonardville-Riley = Bala (t)	N. Ellsworth = Columbia & Sherman (t's)
Fancy Creek = May Day (t)	Bushton = Bushton (c)
Alma = Alma (t & c)	Eureka and Farmer (t's)
	Willowdale-St. Leo = Peters & Kingman
	(t's)

40.03g Persons born in Switzerland and resident in Kansas are recorded thus in the United

States.^{census} For Kansas and its two counties with the largest Swiss settlements

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
State of Kansas	1328	2668	3820	3337	2853	2338	1594
Nemaha County	83	165	276	295	225	164	101
Dickinson County	108	261	358	246	194	156	108

- 40.10 Sketch of the history of settlement in Kansas by Ger-lings. Germans (West Ger-lings), both Protestant and Catholic, were among the first immigrants to Kansas in 1854 and 1855. Atchison and Leavenworth from the beginning of the state's history had both types bulking large in their population. In the Southeast, Humboldt, largely Protestant, and Osage Mission or St. Paul, predominantly Catholic, also had important German elements. As settlement spread westward, Germans were in the vanguard in eastern Kansas (east of the ninety-sixth meridian), and their settlements were numerous. (See further /tk.) In the Pre-West (96° to 98°) there developed, with many smaller settlements, others that covered much territory. All these settlements were well established and flourishing in the 1870's. In the Near West (98° to 100°) no West Ger-ling blocks reached the territorial extension of those in the Pre-West, but they provided comparatively densely populated bits of territory in an area where population never became heavy. These settlements were on a secure footing by the end of the 1870's. Similar West Ger-ling communities, though less important, were established during the settlement of the Kansas Far West in the eighties. Reich Germans and West Fringe Germans had approximately the same chronology of settlement.
- 40.11g Most East Fringe Germans are to be found in the Inner Near West. An important exception is the Hungarians of the Far Northwest. These settlements were established through the course of the 1870's.
- 40.20 The first Russian Germans arrived twenty years later than the first West Ger-lings. Beginning in 1874 the Mennonites settled a great district in the Inner Pre-West, and at about the same time the Volgans began to take up a somewhat larger block in the Inner Near West, Catholics in the western portion of the block, Protestants in the eastern. Both of these large centers radiated smaller groups that scattered through the Near and Far West. The northern

edge of the concentrated Mennonite district also attracted Volgans. An important group of Blackseamen settled in the Farthest Northwest, and there were a few among the Protestant Volgan settlements. Farther east the Volgans deposited a rather large group in Topeka, Catholic, and a smaller one, Protestant, in Herington. The other Ger-lings not only arrived in Kansas, on an average, ahead of the Russian Germans; they frequently came to this state after a sojourn farther east in the U. S. and were thus before arrival already partially Engl-ized. The Russian German groups, however, arrived directly from Russia, and the whole process of linguistic assimilation was to take place on Kansas soil.

40.21 Year of Emigration of persons born in Austria and Russia resident in Kansas in 1930. The Austrians are almost all Germans from Moravia, Galicia and Bukovina. The Russians are practically all Germans from the settlements on the Volga and near the Black Sea.

	Russia	Austria
Unknown	248	108
Before 1900	5019	1050
1900-10	2295	740
1911-14	849	183
1915-19	85	15
1920-24	217	62
1925-30	68	6

40.22 When Russian Germans Reached Kansas. The accompanying table reveals the fact that the Mennonites who came to Kansas from Russia almost all arrived in one large migration, primarily of 1874. The Volgans, on the other hand, after their first important settlements of 1875 came in successive waves, greatest in 1892 and in the decade preceding the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Black-

seamen did not come as early, but the later waves were chronologically parallel to those from the Volga region.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Russia and Resident
in Certain Kansas Settlements in 1925

Year	Liberty Twp. in Concentrated District ¹	Mennonites Pretty Prairie ²	Montezuma ³	Catholic Herzog Twp. in Main District ⁴	Volgans Garden City ⁵	Protestant Volgans Marienthal ⁶	St. Peter ⁷	North Barton County ⁸	Bison ⁹	Trego Center ¹⁰	Blackseamen St. Francis ¹¹
1874	16	26	19	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
1875-9	35	1	2	34	4	9	9	18	6	1	3
1880-4	8	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	2
1885-9	7	0	0	1	1	8	8	8	4	0	13
1890-4	5	0	1	4	3	5	49	60	7	11	20
1895-9	1	0	3	2	4	0	0	11	1	2	11
1900-4	1	0	1	1	6	0	12	30	2	51	36
1905-9	5	0	1	1	21	0	14	39	16	73	49
1910-4	1	0	2	1	51	3	0	22	7	14	16
1915-9	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	2	3	0	0
1920-4	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	0

1. In Marion County

ton and Galatia; 3 Townships, Fairview,

2. Albion Twp., Reno Co.

Wheatland, Union

3. Montezuma Twp., Gray Co.

9. Lone Star Twp., Rush Co.

4. In Ellis County

10. In Trego County; two townships, WaKeeney

5. Sherlock Twp., Finney Co.

and Wilcox

6. Leoti Twp., Wichita Co.

11. In Cheyenne Co.; City of St. Francis, 5

7. Bryant Twp., Graham Co.

townships, Cherry Creek, Cleveland,

8. In Barton Co.; Cities of Hoising-

Eureka, Jaqua, Nuttycombe

- 40.23 In the Kansas cities Reich Germans associated with each other without great distinction as to areas of origin. Religion and economic status were more important in determining their relations with one another than provincial origins. Much the same thing was true for rural settlements, but in them certain communities were made up almost exclusively of persons from the same area and therefore preserved their dialect for some time in competition with English and Standard German. This fact was especially true of Hanoverians who were dominant among at least the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans, the Linn-Palmer Germans, the Block Germans, the Pittsburg Rural Germans, the Hepler-Brazilton Germans, the South Lincoln Germans, the Odee Germans and the Ludell Germans. These settlements were on the whole linguistically conservative. East Frisians, though they came from an area politically a part of Hanover, generally held themselves apart from other Germans; so it was, particularly with the State Line Germans and the Albert Germans. The Lorraine Frisians were too small a group to be quite so exclusive. Communities where there was a considerable Pomeranian element as at Duluth and Lyon Creek were long conscious of the existence of this segment of their group.
- 40.24 The relations of Reich Germans and Russian Germans were seldom cordial. In Topeka, St. Marys, Gorham and Herington where they lived in the same towns, the Reich Germans tended to regard Volgans as backward, though the feeling was ultimately dissipated. Where the two stocks occupied adjoining territory as in the neighborhood of Hope and Ramona and in the territory at the west edge of the Claflin Germans the line of demarkation was likely to be rather sharp for many years. Similarly the Hanoverians at Ludell long held aloof from the Hungarian Germans at Herndon, though many of the latter were Lutherans of the same type as they were. Reich German groups accepted the Swiss rather readily, but Swiss communities usually absorbed mainly south

Germans, at least into their churches--so at Bern, Alida, New Basel, and Burns. The tendency of Reich Germans in Kansas to associate freely with one another, a contrast in attitudes to the campanilismo of the Italians, meant that only standard German could be the instrument of communication in any urban group and frequently in rural groups. Since few used such formal speech at home, children could learn only at school, and as soon as schooling in it became inadequate, English became the lingua franca.

40.25g Penn-Germans were among the earliest immigrants to Kansas. Their distribution of settlement does not allow statistical analysis with the same ease as for Ger-lings from Europe. For groups whose Engl-izing was not always complete until 1900 they are best analyzed through their churches. (see No. 41.28 and 41.29). They are distributed through the three Regions of the East, but the two most concentrated eastern areas are in Brown County with the east border of Nemaha in the Northeast, and southern Douglas County, with adjoining Franklin County in the Inner East (maps p. 44). The Penn-German churches north of the flood plain of the Kaw in Jefferson County may be regarded as part of the same stream of settlement as is found in Douglas County where these people also avoided flood plains of the streams. In the Kansas Pre-West, the North may be neglected; for its Inner Region the Dunkards and River Brethren of Dickinson County on either side of the Smoky Hill flood plain with the church south of Hope are of great interest. The Penn-Germans of McPherson, Marion and Harvey County together with those of southeastern Reno County make a complex occupying parts of the Inner Pre-West and Southern Near West with a sort of capital at Hutchinson. Farther south other Penn-Germans may be regarded as minor compared with the Harper Penn-Germans. Of the isolated settlements farther west the Penn-Germans of Osborne County and of Scott County are the most interesting. The following sections concern only Ger-lings from Europe.

- 40.3 The regional distribution of Ger-ling stock at home in 1895 was in round thousands and in percentiles of the total population as follows:

	Far West		Near West		Pre-West		East	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
North	3.4	13%	6	7%	19	12%	19	10%
Inner	.7	6%	17	25%	27	20%	13	6%
South	.6	5%	6	7%	7	5%	9	5%

- 40.4 The regional distribution of persons born in Russia in 1895 and 1915 in round hundreds was:

	Far West		Near West		Pre-West		East	
	1895	1915	1895	1915	1895	1915	1895	1915
North	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	24
Inner	1	3	32	47	55	38	5	13
South	-	4	6	8	3	2	1	5

Except for Slavs in the Northeast (Kansas City) in 1915, these data all represent Ger-lings. The foreign-born in the Northeast numbered 235; in the Far Northwest, 148 -- a proportion of about 3 to 2 instead of 2 to 1.

- 40.5 The distribution of 385 churches traditionally Ger-ling and existing in 1950

reveals similar facts.

1950 Ger-ling Churches

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	16	26	46	36
Inner	6	69	85	30
South	10	26	20	16

West Ger-ling Churches (including East Fringe)

	Cath. Prot.		Cath. Prot.		Cath. Prot.		Cath. Prot.	
North	3	10	5	21	10	35	10	26
Inner	-	2	7	26	3	44	6	22
South	-	5	8	14	6	12	3	12

Russian German Churches

	Cath.	Menn.	Other	C. M. O.			C. M. O.			C. M. O.		
North	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inner	4	-	-	20	3	13	-	37	1	1	-	-
South	1	4	-	-	4	-	-	2	-	-	1	-

40.6 Ger-lings in the East. In the Northeast the Ger-lings are almost all West Germans. Despite the superiority in the number of Protestant churches, in the eastern counties Catholic and Protestant Ger-lings approach equality in numbers. They are mixed together in the Missouri River towns -- Wathena, Atchison, Leavenworth, Kansas City --, separated but close together in the rural districts

of these counties as for example, Lancaster - St. Louis in Atchison County, Easton - Potter in Leavenworth County. This is the only section of the state in which such large numbers of Catholic and Protestant Ger-lings are intermingled. Beyond the river counties Ger-lings are not numerous, although there are several Protestant communities toward the north, seven, and two small Catholic communities.

In the Inner East mixture of Catholic and Protestant West Ger-lings is important only at Eudora. In Topeka the Catholics are nearly all Russian Germans, the Protestants West Ger-lings. Elsewhere, the settlements of Douglas County, particularly Eudora, are interesting. The Block Lutherans in Miami County are of high importance and so are the late settled Olpe Catholics. In Anderson County the very early Scipio Catholics and the late Westphalia Catholics have some uniqueness.

In the Southeast the Germans (West Ger-lings) are predominantly Protestants. Some fifteen of their communities are large enough to be studied linguistically; none are large but some reach medium importance.

Throughout the East transfer to the use of English may, for practical purposes, be said to have been completed by 1946, though in Kansas City the use of German still had its importance in the 1950's. In the Pre-West the situation is in several places somewhat different.

- 40.7 Ger-lings in the Pre-West. In the northern Pre-West an important block of Catholic Germans (West Ger-ling) is to be found occupying most of the west half of Nemaha County including Seneca. It has spread into Marshall County. Another block of Catholics, less well defined, occupies the territory to the south and west of Marysville. These, with some of the Germans at Hanover and some of them in Pottawatomie County near the Kaw, at Flush and at St. Marys,

furnish the Catholic constituent of the Ger-ling population of the Northern Pre-West.

Northern Nemaha County contains a rather important block of Protestant Germans, north Nemaha and Bern Swiss Germans. A most important settlement (Lutheran) is to be found north and especially northwest of Marysville; Bremen -- Horseshoe, Hanover, Lanham, and State Line Germans. Interrupted only by a narrow corridor running from Washington to Marysville this block is continued to the south and southwest by Linn-Palmer and other Washington County settlements, Leonardville-Riley and the settlements in northern Riley County. With minor breaks it occupies the upper part of most of the tributaries to the Republican and Blue Rivers through Washington County and deep into Riley County. The western counties of the Northern Pre-West have a very considerable immixed German population, but the settlements are generally not large. A similar statement holds for the north side of the Kaw valley and for those portions of the Inner Pre-West not included in the following paragraph.

In the Inner Pre-West Catholics play little part in the Ger-ling population; they are important only in the northeast corner of the region, that is, in part of the Great Wabaunsee District. Protestant Germans are numerous in an elliptical area about fifty miles by twenty stretching south from Junction City along Lyon Creek to its headwaters and almost on to Marion. The New Basel settlement on the west edge of this area is, with Bern, the most important Swiss settlement in Kansas. The southwestern corner of the district ~~reaching from Junction City~~ is occupied by Protestant Volgans with a few Blackseamen. South of this without appreciable territorial interruption lies the main Mennonite district occupying approximately the southwestern quarter of the Inner Pre-West. Within these areas lying between Hutchinson and Junction City there

are corridors, islands and regions of mixed population, but the descendants of the original Ger-ling immigrants now provide most of the population even in the towns. Near the Kaw to the east of these, fringing the Catholics already mentioned and part of the same Great Wabaunsee District there is another and smaller block of Protestants. It is separated from the other Protestant Germans of the region by sparsely populated blue stem grazing lands.

Nearly 4,000 of the Ger-lings of the Southern Pre-West in 1895 were in Sedgwick County, at Wichita or members of the block of Catholic Germans that occupies the county west and northwest of Wichita; the Andale-Colwich Germans are of "ultra-high" importance. St. Leo is another group of these Catholics. Other Ger-ling centers, while existent in this region, are neither numerous nor large. The Prussians of Butler County are really part of the Mennonites in the Inner Pre-West.

The large block areas make the Pre-West linguistically different from the East. In the center of the solid blocks, Engl-izing is not so far advanced as elsewhere. A certain proportion of young people were in 1960 still able to speak German.

40.8 Ger-lings in the Near West. The only region of Kansas outside the Pre-West containing great blocks of Ger-lings is the Inner Near West; for that reason let us look at it before the Northern Near West. The best known and most significant block is that of the Catholic Germans "around Hays" from the settlements in Russia on the Volga. Hays is near the northern boundary of the area; Catholic Volgans occupy the southern two-thirds of that county (Ellis) and as much more territory in Rush and Ness Counties to the south and southwest. There are outlying settlements farther to the west. Just to the east of these Catholics, the great block of Protestant Volgans occupies corresponding portions of Russell, Barton and Rush Counties. In Russell County there were also

a few Bessarabians. With gaps particularly in Hoisington and Great Bend, all Barton County is a patchwork of Ger-ling settlements with Catholic Moravian Germans playing an important role. On the east edge of the region, stretching from Ellinwood on the Arkansas and running north and somewhat east, a succession of Protestant German settlements goes up through Ellsworth as far as Lincoln. On the western edge of the Near^{West} Collyer, of mid-importance, contains nearly all the Catholic Blackseamen in the state. The settlement of Bukovinans at Ellis is of "ultra-high" importance.

Engl-izing in Kansas is least advanced in the center of the Volgan settlements of the Inner Near West; this is partly because immigration into them continued well into the twentieth century. The settlements of West-Ger-lings in the Ellinwood-Ellsworth-Lincoln chain, though not so completely Engl-ized as the old settlements of the Kansas East, were nearing the close of the assimilation process in 1950.

In the Northern Near West the number of Volgans has increased since 1895, but the scattered Ger-ling settlements of the region are still primarily non-Russian. There are some two dozen of them, one-fourth Catholic, but only the Tipton Reich Germans and the St. Peter Volgans reach "high" importance. The settlements of mid-importance are, however, all interesting (all Reich Germans -- Natoma, Stuttgart, Kensington, Gaylord). They vary as to Engl-izing, although all are rather far advanced.

In the Southern Near West, the settlements number forty. All types are represented, but Protestant West Ger-ling units predominate. Most of the settlements are rather close to the Arkansas River. In the neighborhood of Dodge City and to the northeast of it the proportion of Ger-lings to the general population is highest. The Windhorst settlement is most interesting, so also the Pretty Prairie Swiss Mennonites.

40.9 Ger-lings in the Far West. In the Northern Far West the Hungarian Germans at Herndon provided in 1895 nearly a fourth of the Ger-ling population. They furnish the only Ger-lings of "high" importance in the Far West.

By 1915 the Blackseamen of St. Francis in the farthest corner of the state had reached mid-importance and deserve particular attention because of their origins. The settlements all through the Far West number 37. Six are of mid-importance: Leoville and Angelus, Catholic Reich Germans; Park, Marienthal, Garden City, and Meade, Russian Germans. St. Peter, Park, Marienthal and Garden City are the best examples of isolated Catholic Volgans, though Park has a large number of Blackseamen. Near Meade is an interesting Mennonite colony. Small groups in this sparsely settled country have had to co-operate with their neighbors, and are almost completely absorbed linguistically. "Large" groups, because of isolation and recent arrival, are linguistically tenacious of old habits.

41.00 Religion among the Germans was deeply felt by almost all rural Ger-lings coming to Kansas, and by a great many of those settling in towns. The exceptions were free-thinking liberals who arrived early; they sometimes tormented the pious. Their children, however, did not continue to flout the observances of the faithful; they were at most indifferent. The liberals tended to become bilingual early so as to participate in politics and affairs, but they were enthusiastic supporters of Deutschtum. Events in Leavenworth most clearly reflect their tendencies.

41.01 Catholic Ger-lings in Kansas were numerous among immigrants from the Reich, the West Fringe, the East Fringe and Russia. From the Reich, Oldenburg furnished many settlers of the Seneca-St. Benedict group of Catholics, also at Hanover, Kansas; the valley of the Moselle furnished many in the Andale-Colwich area. But other Catholic areas are well represented; the names of Olpe

and Westphalia in Kansas are not matters of chance. Catholic South Germans were numerous; Alsatians and Luxemburgers were not negligible. From the East Fringe the Moravians supplied the Catholics of Odin and Olmitz, the Hungarians both the Catholics and Protestants at Herndon, similarly for Bukovinans at Ellis. Blacksea Catholics were settlers at Park and Collyer. Above all the Volgan Catholics of Ellis and Rush County are celebrated. There are others near this center, but afar are Garden City and Marienthal, Topeka and St. Marys. These are but examples (see I, 316).

- 41.02g German in the Kansas Synod of the United Lutheran Church or in present or defunct congregations that joined it was at some time the language of worship or of part of worship at Beloit, Glasco, Greenleaf (St. Paul's), Lancaster (St. Paul's), and Ottawa (St. Paul's).
- 41.10 Purely German Lutheran organizations in Kansas were in 1950 the Kansas District of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, the Midwest Synod of the United Lutheran Church, the Central District of the American Lutheran Church. In 1900 the congregations of the last were in the Iowa Synod or the Ohio Synod. The Midwest Synod was then the German Nebraska Synod. If a Missouri Synod church and a church of another synod were organized in the same area, it was almost always the result of a doctrinal dispute within a congregation already established. Usually one of the resulting congregations was the weaker and so more subjected to outside influences, which usually favored Engl-izing. A congregation might waver in its allegiance to Lutheran Synods; the Dubuque church was counted at various periods as belonging to the Missouri Synod, the German Nebraska Synod, and the Iowa Synod. Usually, however, congregations were very certain where they belonged, and those who thought differently succumbed or seceded. The rigidity of belief here manifested corresponded to

stiff-necked attitudes toward language usage. The Missouri Synod has been by far the strongest of the German churches. In 1906 it cared for 18910 souls in Kansas, the Ohio Synod for 1375, the Iowa Synod for 4110, and the German Nebraska for 1588 /ot300. The proportions in 1950 were roughly the same.

41.11 The Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod has in Kansas particularly attracted Lutheran immigrants from Germany rather than Russia. It is stronger in the East and Pre-West than in the territory beyond, but there are sturdy congregations in the Far West (Meade, Herndon and Ludell) and in Lincoln and Ellsworth counties on the eastern edge of the Near West. In the more eastern part of the state the members are likely to have connections with Missouri, particularly with the people near Cole Camp and Stover, for instance, Block, Hepler-Brazilton, Meade, Linn-Palmer. Most of the very strong Bremen-Horseshoe and Linn-Palmer churches are Hanoverians, particularly of the former, and there are many Hanoverians elsewhere. Pomeranians are an important element in the churches on Upper Lyon Creek and at Duluth. No major part of Germany is without its representatives among the Missouri Lutherans.

41.12 In Kansas the Missouri Synod was quite successful. Its ministers did not enter this new field quite as soon as the German denominations with closer English-speaking connections (Methodist, Evangelical Association, Lutheran General Synod), but in 1861 Pastor Lange began to serve the settlements within protective distance of Fort Riley (Particularly Lyons Creek, Clark's Creek and what became the Great Wabaunsee area). Late in the year he established himself at Leavenworth. "Those early missionaries had their share of battles and conflicts, particularly with the Grangers, and with the Methodists who were busy proselyting among the German Lutherans" /we10. By 1884 twenty-eight ministers of the Missouri Synod were working in Kansas. They were serving thirteen congregations that had joined the synod and thirty-three that

had not yet been gathered into the synodical fold. There were also 39 preaching places where the people were not yet organized. Some congregations were already very solidly established. For instance at Bremen there were 610 souls in the flock, and in the filial at Horseshoe Creek, 231. On the other hand one itinerant preacher served 22 places. Then the Kansas congregations were still part of the same district as Missouri, but in 1888 the Kansas District was created. In 1906 the number of pastors at work in Kansas had risen to 67 and there were 53 congregations in the synod and 23 other congregations served by ministers of the synod. There were 22 other preaching places. The statistical yearbook notes that some English was used in five established congregations in eastern Kansas (Hiawatha, Leavenworth, Kansas City, Humboldt, and Independence), also in four preaching places with small attendance. The advance of English had not been great by 1916, but in two established rural congregations (Ludell and Sylvan Grove) it had been introduced. The First World War brought as severe a crisis to Missouri Synod churches in Kansas as to German organizations anywhere. Buildings were painted yellow; threats were constant. Many pastors found it diplomatic to promote the sale of Liberty Bonds. Pastor Werling's Golden Anniversary History speaks circum- spectly of this period. "During the war, some of the churches had been sub- jected to unpleasantries and embarrassments because of the use of the German language in their religious work. It was hoped that with the restoration of peace, normal conditions would soon return and that the transition to the English medium, already in rapid progress in the synod, would not need to be forced in those churches whose spiritual well-being still required German services and German language instruction in their schools" /we33.

41.13 The conservation of German by the Missouri Synod in Kansas, even though stricken

by the hysteria of 1918, was great. The foundation laid by the parochial schools (see below) was solid. Also, another major reason was that pride in origin was great among the prides of these people who were certain of their doctrinal correctness. Between the two wars the percentage of English used in Missouri Synod churches was:

1920 - 34%	1929 - 52%	1939 - 67%
1923 - 39%	1932 - 55%	1940 - 68%
1926 - 47%	1935 - 67%	1941 - 76%

In Kansas in 1941 the distribution of languages in services was as follows:

	No. of churches	No. of members
All German	3	743
More " than English	2	7,886
Half " Half "	29	7,809
More English than German	34	13,647
All English	79	13,085

41.14 The American Lutheran congregations founded in Kansas before 1918 and existent in 1949 according to earlier affiliation and with their dates of foundation were as follows:

Iowa Synod

Albert - 1890	Alexander - 1901*(reorg. 1907)	Bazine ca 1906*
Dodge City - 1910*	Dorrance - after 1904*	Ellis (2) - 1897
	Dubuque 1897	
Galatia - 1910*	Gaylord - 1883	Herington - 1908
	Athol 1894	
Kensington - 1885 (Germantown)	Kensington - 1900	Lehigh - 1890*
Logan - 1902	Milberger - 1885	Otis - 1889
Phillipsburg - 1893	Pittsburg - 1885	Ramona - 1904
Rush Center - 1911*	St. Francis - 1901 (joined synod - 1908)	Shady Brook - ca 1908
		State Line (Wymore, Neb.)

Stuttgart - 1886

Wilson - 1897*

Tipton - 1880

WaKeeney - 1895

* presumably the Iowa rather than Ohio Synod.

Ohio Synod

Belvue (Wells Creek) - ca 1879
(joined synod - after 1890)

Bird City - 1911

Fairview - 1887

Lenexa - 1910

Palmer - 1891

Tescott (half Danish)

- 41.15 The Ohio Synod operated only in the northern third of the state of Kansas, that is, above the 39th parallel of latitude, and ~~that~~ it made no effort to enter Russian German communities. It was in 1906 nowhere in competition with the Iowa Synod only. No congregation was larger than that at Lenexa, 160 souls. There were then four churches in Washington County of which only one survived until 1950, that at Palmer. The others were in areas where the German population was not concentrated (Barnes, Morrowville, Washington). There were indeed in Kansas no Ohio Synod churches in areas where there were high concentrations of German immigrants from abroad. In Kansas, and in general in the trans-Mississippi, the Ohio Synod found its constituency among settlements that were daughters to those farther east where it had already been established for some time. Chronologically the dates of establishment of the Ohio Synod congregations in Kansas represent no moment of concentrated effort, and organization never occurred until well after settlement in an area was practically complete. The persistence of German in the Ohio Synod in the west was ordinarily not great.
- 41.16 The Iowa Synod attracted congregations in Kansas with a great variety of backgrounds, Reich Germans as in the churches of Smith and Phillips Counties, where the stock was largely South German as the name Stuttgart indicates -- the East Frisians of the State Line Church in Marshall County, the church at

Albert, and that at Dodge City form a contrast -- Blackseamen at St. Francis, Bukovinans at Ellis, Volgans at Bison and Milberger. Partly because of the great variety of origin there has also been variety in the conservation of German in services. All the congregations mentioned above were conservative, but those made up of East Frisians yielded suddenly to Engl-izing forces. The Volgans are the most obdurate. In 1966 preaching in German occurred at Otis every Sunday.

- 41.17 The German Nebraska Synod permanently acquired in Kansas some ten or twelve congregations depending on whether the Washington County churches on the state line are counted. In the same neighborhood there are others all of Reich German origin. The rest of the congregations are in the Volgan area of the Near West. The Volgans have been linguistically conservative; in 1967 St. John's at Russell had German preaching every Sunday. The north border group were less so, though German service until the time of the Second World War occurred in most. This body became the Midwest Synod mentioned in Section 41.10.
- 41.18 The Evangelical and Reformed Church of 1950 in Kansas contained eight Reformed churches in Kansas existent in 1906 and 1947, ^{which} were with dates of organization: Wathena - 1865, Elmo (New Basel) - 1867, Fairview - 1873, Hiawatha - 1883, Cheney - 1883, Abilene - 1884, Schoenfeld (n. of Hoisington) - 1884, Leavenworth - 1887. The three earliest churches had Swiss background particularly that at Elmo; that at Schoenfeld, Volga German, that at Abilene, Penn-German. Depending on the region of origin of their members they were in the late 19th century linguistically conservative or not, but in general not as conservative as the Evangelical Synod congregations which joined them in 1934 to form the E-R church, destined to merge with the Congregationalists.
- 41.19 The Evangelical Synod churches of Kansas which entered the Evangelical and Reformed Church were founded by the outgrowth of the institution known in the

1850's as the Kirchenverein des Westens. Its members are often designated Lutherans by the other people in the neighborhood, but the Lutherans reject these Unierters, tainted with Reformed doctrine. The Kirchenverein planned to advance into Kansas in 1860, but the Civil War prevented immediate action. In 1866 Eudora was designated as a spot which must receive a pastor as soon as possible, but it was only in 1868 that churches were organized there, at Worden nearby, and at Marysville, the latter still not in the synod in 1874. In the next decade no congregations existing in 1947 were added, but between 1879 and 1887 eleven more, alive in 1947, were added. Another half-dozen viable congregations joined before the First World War and in 1906 some eight existed that were not in the fold in 1947. The count on congregations in Kansas was as follows:

1874 - 2	1890 - 28	1916 - 39
1877 - 4	1906 - 35	1926 - 30
1884 - 10	1914 - 39	

(For 1874-79 and 1914, see ~~mu~~ 218, 330; others US Census: Religious Bodies)

In 1906 the German Evangelical Synod of North America had 2910 communicants in Kansas, very nearly the same number as the Iowa and Ohio Lutheran Synods combined. Except for the Hungarian German congregation at Herndon and a few Volgans its membership contained in Kansas only Reich Germans. All in all they were linguistically conservative; otherwise their accommodating doctrines led the individuals away from the Ger-ling fold. Though conservative, no congregations in Kansas can be cited which persistently heard German preaching as long as certain churches in the Lutheran bodies.

41.20 For the Evangelical Association, much later to become part of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, the Illinois and Ohio conferences sent missionaries to Kansas in 1858. Though two letters to the English denominational publication

spoke of the need of English as well as German ministers in the territory /pz 10, the resulting effort was very largely among the Germans who were not always receptive, partly because not Methodistic , very often because hostile to religion, but there were spots where their followers were zealous. In 1865 the Kansas Conference first met with a clerical body of 23.

All Kansas appointments were in the northeast part of the state except for Humboldt. Only four appointments in 1948 were beyond the Pre-West; some were in Oklahoma and across the river in Missouri. In 1874, a missionary reached Kill Creek in Osborne County, the most western appointment in the north to become permanent. In 1878 in this area "the work had 23 appointments, which required 330 to 350 miles to complete one round over the work" /pz106 . Farther south Offerle in Edwards County in the Arkansas valley was the farthest west; the Evangelical Association entered it in 1879 /pz 135 . In 1914 there were 83 itinerant preachers or elders, that is, pastors, and 7949 members in the Kansas Conference /pz 355 ; in 1948 there were 66 itinerant elders and 20 superannuated elders and 11,531 members.

- 41.21 The extent of the use of German among the members of the Kansas Conference of the Evangelical Association and the gradual diminution of its use is in some sort measured by the number of subscriptions in Kansas to the two principal news publications of the Evangelical Association, one in German, the Botschafter, the other in English, the Messenger. The total subscriptions advanced in number from 496 in 1871 to 1715 in 1910. There were more than half again as many Botschafters coming to Kansas in 1914 as in 1871. The percentage of the circulation of the German paper in the total of subscriptions sank from 84% in 1871, to 68% in 1881, to 56% in 1891, to 55% in 1901, to 40% in 1911. The subsidence in the period 1905 to 1914 was gradual; in 1905 the percentage was

50% and each succeeding year showed a decrease of about 2% till 1910; then for three years the proportion remained static at 40%, but was 38% in 1913 and 1914. M. C. Platz's statistics extend no farther, but it is evident that a shock much less than that of the First World War would reduce the Botschafter's percentage to the vanishing point. After 1868 the conference minutes occasionally give evidence of the existence of work in both languages at various points from Brown County in the northeast to Osborne County in the northwest and Harvey County in the south /pz102, 115, 182. Difficulties sometimes arose because the preachers knew little English and the people could not "exercise" in German, as in Jewell County in 1871 /pz 87, and at Abilene in 1884 /pz163. In 1881, the conference meeting adopted the following resolution: "In view of the necessity of our preachers being able to preach in English and German, therefore resolved, that we require our candidates for the ministry to study both languages, and prepare for examination in both English and German" /pz 139.

In 1887, the Conference ordered that an English record of its sessions also be kept /pz184. The importance of the work in English was evidenced also by the 1888 Conference, which ordered that 500 German and 700 English Conference journals be published and sold for ten cents a copy /pz 194. For 1893, Platz records: "For some time, the language question had been agitated on some works where the transition from German to English was considered imperative, frequently resulting in contention, and injury to the work. Because of this existing condition, which was rapidly growing acute, the following action was taken: 'Inasmuch as we are convinced that in congregations where the English language should ^{be} introduced, great care should be exercised, and all things connected with the matter carefully considered that it may tend to the prosperity of the work, we believe that the Conference should adopt measures by which

this matter may be regulated." /pz229. In the period of transition the language in which the Kansas Conference proceedings were published varied as follows: 1893-4 English, 1895 German, 1896 English, 1897-1910 German and English, later, always English. The Conference in 1907 required proceedings to be recorded in English/pz 309, and the next year appointed an English-speaking secretary /pz 313. After the War, the Evangelical Association regarded itself as an English-speaking organization, indeed, earlier as we have seen. In speaking of the 1919 merger of the Methodist and Evangelical churches at Hanover, the continuators of Platz comment, "This action left our church as the only English-speaking church in a community of 1,200 inhabitants" /pz continuation, p. 39. The earliness of the shift to English is partly to be explained by the existence of a considerable number of Penn-Germans in the church body, who were already partially Engl-ized on arriving in Kansas. It is also partly the result of having many of its churches in districts settled early to which late immigration was not extensive. Finally the character of Methodism allows easier acceptance of innovation than was the case of other German churches. The transient character of the use of German in this church explains the fact that no systematic use has been made of its congregations for identifying German communities in states other than Kansas.

41.22 The North American Baptists were before the First World War German Baptists, not to be confounded with Dunkards.

The earliest church in Kansas had its origins in 1860, but was not organized till 1866. It was in the south edge of Dickinson County, south of Elmo, founded by settlers from Watertown, Wisconsin, and it became permanent. The year 1878 saw the foundation of the next two still existing in 1953, one at Lorraine in southern Ellsworth County, the other, the Bethany church in northern Lincoln County. In 1890 there were 16 congregations with 790 mem-

bers in Kansas. The church at Lorraine became the most vigorous (330 members in 1953). It was mothered by settlers from south of Chicago in Will County, where the organization ultimately succumbed. Many of these people were East Frisians. The Bethany group was largely from Wisconsin. The most western of the viable churches was that founded near Stafford by people mostly from Hanover. Though admitted to the conference only in 1909, first services dated back to the same year as Lorraine's -- 1878. Some churches that were fairly strong joined "American" Baptists and still persist. The Baptist church at Alta Vista is an example. Linguistically the Kansas churches for the most part responded easily to the pressures of the First World War. The congregations at Marion made up of Volgans (one of them Mennonite till 1895) were an exception, but they shifted their language of worship rather suddenly in the 1930's. Kansas churches Engl-ized more rapidly than those in states to the north.

- 41.23 The German Methodist churches of Kansas were at one time quite numerous, though the number of strong churches was perhaps fewer in proportion than in other German bodies. From the Western German Conference ten churches transferred to the Kansas Conference in 1926-7. These were the churches still independent at the time. In some places, as at Bazine and Halstead, merger with English churches occurred about the same time. Among the ten were the churches at Lyons, Enterprise, and Woodbine all in Dickinson County and two rural churches both named Ebenezer, one east of Clay Center, the other south southwest of Burns (95-I 2). There was also Salem Church southeast of Bushton and Emmanuel church southeast of Alta Vista. The German Methodist work in Kansas began at Lyons in 1858. It was quite active at the time of the formation of the Western German Conference. The time table on language shift in Kansas was, much as in other states, similar to that described for the Evangelical Association. Indi-

viduals transferred to "American" churches more easily, however, and German congregations remained more German.

- 41.24 German Congregationalists and German Presbyterians appeared in Kansas. The former were all Volgans in Kansas, though elsewhere Blackseamen were numerous. They were to be found principally in communities established later than the first influx from Russia. The members were zealous but individualistic. In Kansas at the time of the formation of the Southern Conference there were five congregations organized at the dates indicated: Alamota - 1919, Alexander, Bazine - 1907, Durham - 1914, and Herington - 1910. In 1937 the membership of these five was respectively 38, 0, 131, 18, 11. By 1953 only Alamota (which moved to Dighton) and Bazine were left. Bazine's membership then was 200. All these congregations were Volgan in origin, but the appeal had earlier been somewhat wider. There were in the 1880's congregations among the Hungarian Germans at Herndon and Traer (EC 57). At Bazine services were still largely in German in 1953; at Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1966 there were still many services in German. (On Adventists - members Volgan - see Durham, Herington, Shaffer.)

German Presbyterian churches in Kansas were never numerous; there was one 2-1/2 miles north of Riley organized 1874, and another 8 air miles northwest of Clay Center organized by 1881. The latter ceased having services of any sort at about the time of the Second World War.

- 41.25 The General Conference Mennonite Church contains the great majority of the Mennonites in Kansas. The constituents by places of origin with examples as applied to Kansas are thus listed by the Mennonite Encyclopedia:
1. From South Germany in the nineteenth century: Halstead, Moundridge
 2. Swiss via Volhynia: Eden at Moundridge, Pretty Prairie
 3. Swiss via Galicia: Arlington, Hanston

4. Dutch via Danzig area of Prussia: Newton, Elbing, Whitewater
5. Dutch via Prussia and the Black Sea Area: "the largest cultural groups," examples: Alexanderwohl at Goessel, Hoffnungsau at Inman
6. Dutch via Prussia and Polish Russia in 1874: Hope Hill east of Newton, Johannesthal at Hillsboro, Canton, Pawnee Rock.

These stocks are conscious of their origins, but intermarriage has become rather common. Outside of Kansas there are still other stocks in the church.

The Western District of the General Conference consists of congregations in Kansas and, less, Oklahoma, with a very few elsewhere not far from the Kansas border, including two at Beatrice, Nebraska. In 1935 there were 58 organized congregations, including 7 maintained by Home Missions. Of these, four had services only in German (including one Home Mission). Fourteen had services in English only, including 5 Home Missions, among them Wichita and Hutchinson, which have since become well established churches. Of the 9 others, 6 were of Black Sea background; another was the Bethel College church and the other two were in Oklahoma. Forty were having services in both English and German. The 1948 minutes and reports of the Western District have no information, congregation by congregation, on language usage but contain this statement: "English services are held by 44 churches, and German by 11." Presumably this means 44 all English, 11 part German. There were then 66 churches in the conference, so that 11 seem not to have reported on this point. Between 1935 and 1948 all English had advanced from 24% to 80%. By 1960 German services had except for rare occasions disappeared.

At Newton, Kansas, the institution of higher learning maintained there by the General Conference, Bethel College (incorporated with that name in 1887) has been a significant force for bilingualism, that is, both for the preservation of German, particularly Standard but incidentally also Low, and for the

acquisition of English. The latter aim required effort in early years, the former in late.

- 41.26 The Mennonite Brethren and closely related Mennonite bodies in Kansas were originally almost all from the Black Sea settlements in Russia. Their name indicates the pietistic character of the origin of the group. They have been a somewhat more restless group than the General Conference people. Of some importance to Kansas has been the movement into Oklahoma and sometimes back again into Kansas. Accretions in Kansas to conference organizations occurred through adhesion of congregations which had once been independent (Ebenfeld) or Krimmer (Gnadenau) until the Krimmer Brethren finally united completely with the M.B. church in 1960. The main institution of higher learning of the M.B. has been Tabor College at Hillsboro, established in 1908 (there were more modest predecessors). It has played the same role among the Brethren as Bethel College among the General Conference people, but it was somewhat more completely a force for continuing the active use of German because its clientele has included the students from Canada.

In 1948 the Southern District, of which Kansas was a part, had the following membership:

Colorado: Joes - 50.

Kansas: Buhler - 512, Dorrance - 59, Ebenfeld (south of Hillsboro) - 237, Hillsboro - 789, Ingalls - 45, Lehigh - 78, Steinreich, Peabody - 60, Tampa - 65, Ulysses - 43, Wichita - 49 -- Total Kansas - 1937.

Oklahoma: 13 congregations = 2168 including, Corn - 649, 2 Fairviews - 375, North Enid - 241.

Texas: 4 congregations - 153 (3 are missionary).

Linguistically their tendencies in Kansas are as in the General Conference,

but the Canadian influence tends to preserve the use of Standard German for records. The Kleine Gemeinde people, later in Kansas, were at first in Nebraska. They eschewed the world even more vigorously than others and isolated themselves linguistically as well as otherwise. They were at the acme of linguistic conservatism when they built up their Kansas settlement at Meade in 1906. There they were joined by certain Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, a sect organized in 1889 at Mountain Lake, Minnesota. The EMB group and an independent church ultimately absorbed the Kansas Kleine Gemeinde. The EMB, not represented elsewhere in Kansas, had a congregation of 266 at Meade in 1955. The Krimmer Brethren isolated themselves less, and were, before the union of 1960 with the MB, allied to that group through help in maintaining Tabor College and through the early arriving Gnadenau congregation at Hillsboro which was until 1955 of their number, but then MB. In 1950 the Krimmer Church had three congregations in Kansas with 600 members, five in South Dakota with 740 members, one in California and 2 in Canada, the three totaling 444 members. The strongest congregation (370 members) was the Zoar, southwest of Inman, Kansas. Their linguistic development in the United States is approximately parallel to that of the Mennonite Brethren. Their 1950 Yearbook was all in English and the "materials used in churches" were either published by MB or by publishing companies with no products in German.

- 41.27 The Holdeman Mennonite Church, officially the Church of God in Christ (Mennonite) is made up largely of the descendants of Germans once resident in Volhynia, Poland, but its founder was John Holdeman (1832-1900) a Penn-German born in Ohio. He had moved to Kansas when the unfortunate Volhynians arrived, and his doctrines appealed to them in their distress, transforming them, beginning in 1878, from what some fellow Mennonites regarded as immoral sinners into a group

with the severest code of behavior. Both their variety of Mennonitism and their origins kept them isolated from other Mennonites, and their code from the world as a whole. They multiplied swiftly by natural increase. Their landholdings (189-I 9) in McPherson County were particularly restricted, 40 acres to the family. And their social position allowed them no expansion except in farming, and their means did not allow them to travel far. Consequently, they have given rise to more daughter settlements in Kansas than any other Mennonite group, especially in the Inner Far West and the Far Southwest. They also established themselves at three points in Oklahoma and even in earlier-settled eastern Kansas and western Missouri (Fredonia and Rich Hill). In 1950 of 2300 members in the U. S. over half lived in Kansas. The names of members indicate that the rather thriving congregations in California came from Kansas, and that even some of the people in Canada did also. But the Canadian congregations were largely made up of those who separated from the Kleine Gemeinde, therefore of Black Sea stock. The Holdeman people were not great believers in education, and consequently Standard German soon slipped from their grasp. "Dutch" was not regarded by them as proper for religious services, and consequently they shifted to English for church use as soon as any Russian Mennonite group, though otherwise retentive of their dialect.

- 41.28 Of the Mennonite Bodies of non-Russian background in Kansas the most important in numbers is the Mennonite Church, "Old Mennonites," largely of Penn-German background. In 1955 nine of the 12 Kansas churches were situated within sixty miles of Hutchinson to the south (247-I 7; 161-I 12), north (189- 18, 12), and east (165-I 4), two at a greater distance to the southwest (Greensburg and Protection) (308-II B, D), one in Kansas City, Kansas. There was at one time much activity in Osborne County and a church in northwestern Cherokee County

endured into the twentieth century. In 1890 there were in Kansas twenty organizations with 573 members. The strongest congregation in Kansas, that at Yoder (273 members in 1955), is made up largely of people who withdrew their membership from the Old Order Amish organizations in Kansas. The next strongest (182) at Harper was in the Mennonite Church from the beginning, the third (124) at Crystal Springs, also in Harper County, was originally all Amish. The fourth (115) at Hesston was again a Mennonite Church at foundation and so were the others. Mennonite settlers from Pennsylvania appeared at the site near Hesston in Harvey County in 1872 but they were not organized into their Pennsylvania church till 1885. In the meantime three neighboring churches had been organized; the oldest was in 1873 at Spring Valley in eastern McPherson County. The Yoder church was not organized till 1919, the two others mentioned in the 1880's. German in Old Mennonite churches was in general being eliminated in the early years of the twentieth century: all German - 13% in 1906, 8% in 1916; part German - about 60% in 1906, less than 50% in 1916. Linguistically in Kansas the Yoder church is of great interest, for its members were frequently able to speak Penn-German in 1966. The Crystal Springs church was also Amish in origin, but these people had weakened in their devotion to German; however, in 1951 some of the old were still able to speak "Dutch." Members of the other churches were not of the Amish background. The people at Hesston came directly from Pennsylvania; the others were made up of settlers from other states, more from Indiana than elsewhere. At Harper a rather late immigrated Swiss element furnished part of the congregation. In the early days they spoke their own dialect and the others Penn-German. English won the day about 1913. Elsewhere Penn-German persisted in the home until about the time of the First World War. Use of German in services disappeared earlier, but in 1889 M. S. Steiner, a Bible salesman, noted that the Kansas semi-annual conference began with hymns in both

English and German, and that at the West Liberty Church (189-I 12) southwest of McPherson the Sunday School was "conducted in both English and German language" /gi 1 .

The Old Order Amish was the only branch of Amish that made settlements in Kansas which remained Amish or established permanent organizations. They are to be found at Yoder and at Partridge, south southeast and southwest of Hutchinson respectively and, few in number, west northwest of Garnett, practically extinct southwest of Conway Springs. Yoder is named for a settler of 1870, but organized Amish congregations came into existence only in 1885. The Partridge settlers had by then arrived. Near Garnett there were four or five families by 1915. Aborted Amish settlements existed at Bucklin and elsewhere. Significant Amish settlements that shifted to the Mennonite Church developed in McPherson and Harper Counties. The Amish continue to speak "Dutch;" children in Kansas sometimes were still learning to speak it before English in 1967.

A Mennonite Church, non-Russian in background but not Penn-German either, is the Evangelical Mennonite Church, formerly Defenseless Mennonite in Reno County. See that County Survey, Huntsville Germans. The Apostolic Christian Church is related to the Mennonites sufficiently closely for the Mennonite Encyclopedia to contain a notice of the denomination and for neighbors to refer to them as Mennonites. In Kansas their two important centers are between Bern and Sabetha in northeastern Nemaha County and on both sides of the 10 mile line between Greenwood and Coffey County. In 1916 all churches were using some German in worship, and two-thirds of them were using German only. Engl-izing went on rapidly thereafter however. In Kansas in the south settlement English became the language of worship in 1927; at Bern services were half German in 1942;

German was abandoned in 1949. Preaching was normally in dialect.

- 41.29 Two Penn-German churches not Mennonite that made some use of German in Kansas are the Dunkards (there is more than one branch—primary, the Church of the Brethren) and the River Brethren. In Kansas the Dunkards arrived much earlier than the Mennonites; they were in Douglas County several miles south of Lawrence on the far edge of the Wakarusa valley by 1855. The Washington Creek church there was organized in 1858. The persistence of Penn-German among Dunkards was related to the strength of Penn-German settlement around about. Near Abilene where the first Dunkards arrived in 1861 and were organized by 1869, and in McPherson County where settlement near the future Monitor church (189-I near 12) began in 1879 usage lasted into the twentieth century in daily intercourse. River Brethren in Kansas except for a small congregation in the northern part of Brown County, are all in Dickinson County, mostly in Abilene or communities near by, but there is one small group on the south edge of the county. In Kansas active use in the family continued into the first decade of the 20th century. For use in the Eisenhower family, see settlement history of Abilene.
- 41.30 German schools in Kansas were, practically speaking, with the exception of Swedish summer schools, the only schools basically for-ling in Kansas, and the discussion of schooling in #30.0-31.8 applies to them. Also, German was required by law between 1867 and 1877 if "freeholders" representing 50 pupils demanded it /f235.
- 41.31 Catholic educational forces were directed more to securing religious instruction than to ensuring the acquisition of German. While the economic resources of the settlements were limited, so as not to make burdens intolerable, the usual effort was to graft religious training upon the public school system. Few truly parochial schools were functioning in German communities until after the parental demand for giving children a command of written Standard German had become

weak. In the schools of Ellis County state laws were heeded, but local demand was such that between schools and clergy instruction in German was maintained, though not all children profited by it. Similar efforts were made elsewhere, notably in early days at Scipio, but in the 1940's few Germans in Catholic communities claimed expertness in dealing with written German, though many had learned their catechism in German.

41.32g Lutheran schools were more effective as preservers of German. The Missouri Lutheran system of long-term parochial schools was nurtured by the denomination's central administration. The Iowa Synod left the matter to congregations, and if a church was both strong and very German, it too maintained a school that functioned during the usual academic year. Schools at Herington and near St. Francis are examples. A Missouri Lutheran Church regularly had a school house standing beside it, and if the congregation was too poor to hire a teacher, the pastor was also the teacher. But the congregations have usually found means for maintaining teachers. Until the First World War the instruction in German was thorough though English was not neglected. The schools were therefore the objects of rage during the First World War and were painted yellow as at Palmer more frequently than churches. In other German groups instruction in written German accompanied catechetical instruction and in a German community of any strength in Kansas there were many in the mid-twentieth century who had been confirmed thirty or forty years before in German.

41.4 German societies in Kansas, other than religious, were a feature of town life rather than rural. At this point a few words on the Turnverein suffice. Ruppenthal said in 1913, "The Turners have not done so much in the central parts of the state as in the large cities on the border" /kcl3:533. In Kansas the chapters all succumbed after the First World War, though nationally, transformed, the organization has managed to survive. The German National Union or Bund was well represented in Kansas. Ruppenthal in 1913 said that it "has organized at

41.50

several places in Central Kansas, such as Salina, Great Bend, Ellinwood, Wichita, Hanover, Wamego and Alma" /kc 13:533. Similarly for eastern Kansas.

A turnverein was organized at Leaven-

161

worth in 1857, at Atchison in 1859. In Lawrence, while there was an organization in territorial times regarded as made up of Turners /kc8:148, continuous existence began in 1866. There were chapters at Wichita in 1871, at Marysville in 1875, at Hanover a men's club that eventually became the Turnverein in 1872 /a 436, 382, 329, 1392, 919, 1872. Former members in speaking of these organizations always show rather philosophical nostalgia.

41.50 German printed or written in Kansas appears frequently in connection with religious records and publications; most such cases are left for treatment in settlement histories.

In Kansas the following towns had German papers within the dates mentioned, sometimes not in all those years, sometimes with more than one at once, according to the History of Kansas Newspapers published in 1916 by the Kansas State Historical Society.

Atchison	1857 - 1913	(Longest, Kansas Staats Anzeiger)
Great Bend	1878 - 1913	(Longest, Barton County Press)
Winfield	1908 - 1916+	(Kansas Kinderfreund [Mo. Luth.])
Pittsburg	1892 - 1893	(Volks-zeitung)
Lawrence	1877 - 1918	(Germania)
Hays	1882 - 1886	(German American Advocate)
Newton	1897 - 1916+	(Longest, Herold)
North Newton	1903 - 1916+	(Monatsblätter aus Bethel College)
Halstead	1875 - 1881	(Zur Heimath)
Leavenworth	1876 - 1918	(Longest, Tribune; early, Kansas Zeitung 1859)
Emporia	1888 - 1892	(Zeitung)
McPherson	1887 - 1913	(4 Newspapers)

Hillsboro	1885 - 1916+	(Longest, Zion's Bote [Menn. Breth.], also Vorwärts 1903-1916+)
Marion	1887 - 1888	(Anzeiger)
Marysville	1879 - 1902	(Longest, Post)
Hutchison	1888 - 1890	(Herold)
LaCrosse	1897 - 1898	(Rundschau)
Russell	1898 - 1908	(Longest, Recorder)
Wichita	1879 - 1916+	(Longest, Herold)
Topeka	1879 - 1904	(Longest, Telegraph)
Kansas City	1883 - 1916+	(Longest, Neue Kansas Staats- Zeitung)

Among the non-religious papers only those at Lawrence, Leavenworth, Kansas City, Newton, and Wichita were left in 1916. Accounts of the demise of the Tribune at Leavenworth in 1917 and of the Germania at Lawrence in 1918 are found in the next section. They folded their tents as much because subscribers disappeared as because of direct manifestations of hostility which their bellicose editors might have resisted.

41.51g Quotations translated from German newspapers of Kansas in their last days during the First World War speak loudly of their desperation.

On 30 March 1918 Der Herold von Newton quoted from Volksfreund: "It is understandable that at the present time an irresistible wish finds expression to banish everything German from our American life. . . . We must keep cool, exercise self-mastery and regard things in their true light. The fact is that the German press under legal governmental license has a right to protection so long as the license is valid and no law is broken. Conditions are such today that printing a newspaper in the German language with a license is no more a violation of the law than printing one in French, Italian, Jewish or any other foreign language, as long as it behaves loyally."

The difficulties of the Leavenworth Tribune were already apparent in 1916. On the 25th of February, without preliminary announcement the first page appeared in English; in an editorial in German in the same issue there was a plea for every German to support the German press, which could best be done by telling advertisers that their announcement in German papers brought results. On the 19th of January, 1917, the editor lamented that Germans did not support each other in business like the Irish and the Poles. On the second of February he cried, "In a city like Leavenworth where nearly a third of the citizens are of German extraction it is a sin crying out to heaven that German education is so disgracefully neglected. We owe it not only to ourselves but also to our children to bring it about that they learn the German language." On the 6th of April the editor urged giving up the use of German "so as to transmit German tradition and fight lies." The same issue has a bitter comment on the hatred of Germans, particularly as expressed in the English press.

On the 18th of May 1917 the Lawrence Germania carried this editorial, "In the city of Leavenworth and its neighborhood there are said to be nearly 2500 families where German is spoken. You might think that such a city could maintain a German newspaper. Still a Topeka paper informs us that the Tribune, the German paper in Leavenworth, has failed. Here in Lawrence with over 1000 German families we still publish the Germania, but our list of readers becomes smaller with every death of a German-American citizen and it is only a question of time, of only a short time, before we must give up the Germania. It is remarkable how our German-reading families neglect the local newspaper in their mother tongue. It is a fact not only in Lawrence and Leavenworth, also throughout the country. Right now in these critical times we Germans should

support our local papers, for it is they who are always ready to break a lance for everything German-American."

On the 6th of July the editor was bitter against Governor Capper for wishing to suppress all German papers because their editors were traitors. On the 3rd of August he was as bitter toward the editor of the Lawrence Journal-World for supporting Capper. Germania held out for a year longer and then its editor sold it to a student.

41.6 In retail business German salespeople were a great advantage in a very great many towns of Kansas until the First World War. A cautious resumption of the practice of trading in German occurred after the war, but hardly ever in towns with more than a thousand inhabitants except Hays, Russell, Newton and, to a lesser extent, in other towns with Russian German settlements near by. Country stores might do their trading ^{in German} with the old in the middle of the twentieth century. A filling station at Buhler would sell more gasoline than if the proprietor dealt in Low German. A discussion in German for secrecy was not unknown then when it was a question of family decision as to whether a deal with an outsider would be profitable. On the whole however, German ceased very early to be the language of business, though it might well serve to express the amenities that go with business.

41.7 Reich German settlements in Kansas continued the use of German long if the settlers were numerous, one dialect sufficiently current to prevail, and a certain degree of isolation existed. Seneca-St. Benedict, Bremen-Horseshoe, Linn-Palmer, Upper Lyon Creek, Andale-Colwich are examples. Urban groups were less resistant to Engl-izing; in them the First World War usually drove German back into families where there were old people. The strong rural Reich German settlements clung to German until the Second World War.

- 41.8 Germans from Russia maintained German farther into the twentieth century than Reich Germans. The reason was partly the size and isolation of many settlements. But except for the Mennonites a more important reason was the continued reenforcement of settlements by late arrivals of people who had resisted Russification. Thus the Topeka Volgans have been the urban settlement longest conserving German and small Volgan settlements outside of Ellis, Rush, Russell and Barton Counties persisted with German nearly as long as the main core because late arrivals found their place in these areas,--so at Garden City and at Marienthal. Mennonites along with an area of solid settlement had a history of resistance to outside influences of all sorts in helping them to maintain German.
- 41.90 Germans from the Austro-Hungarian empire were rather late arrivals in Kansas. Their maintenance of German has not covered a longer period in this country than the period in Reich-German settlements, but considering the size of the settlements it has extended farther into the century. Thus the Moravian Germans at Odin were speaking German at a later date than the Reich Germans at Saint Leo, but not much later, the Bukovinans at Ellis somewhat later than the Germans at Tipton, but not much later, the Hungarians at Herndon later than the people at New Almelo, but very little later.
- 41.91g The Amish near Hutchinson are the group in Kansas that has resisted Engl-izing most successful among settlements originally speaking German. Not all the descendants of the Amish pioneers in Kansas are Amish, but those who are remain nearly as un-Engl-ized as their fathers were. Long training in resistance to the world's cultural forces explains their constancy.

- 42.00 The settlements of Netherlanders which have endured in Kansas are two, the Prairie View Dutch (Phillips County A), for which see the Settlement Histories, and the Dispatch Dutch (Smith E), described in the County Survey. These two settlements in the Northern Near West are the survivors. There are embryo settlements which never developed, though Dutch names on land-owner maps show that not all the Netherlanders abandoned these spots. In territorial times there were Dutch in the St. Benedict's colony in Doniphan County /tkl96, note 20. These Catholics and some who came to Atchison or near it had connections with a settlement at Weston, Mo. All other Dutch in Kansas are Protestants. In the Northern Pre-West there were once Dutch at Wakefield (1877) in Clay County /ln352, others at Zutphen (1869) in Ottawa County, described with the Dispatch Dutch. The others were in the West in the two tiers of counties southwest of Phillips County, located as follows: in northern Rooks County (about 1880), in Graham County west of Palco (a church established 1910, short lived), near Grinnell in Gove County (1878^{/m98}, Ruppenthal says early 1880's /kc13:529), not far away in Sheridan County north of Grainfield (1880), in Sherman County both near Kanorado and near Edson. For these western settlers there were usually connections at Prairie View.
- 42.01 Dutch institutions in Kansas were limited to the churches, Reformed and Christian Reformed (except for the few early Catholics). The Dutch were zealous, and the choice between the two churches was important to them. Linguistically, their services held out against Engl-izing a moderate length of time.
- 42.02 The Netherlanders abandoned Dutch in the active generations by the time of the First World War. No one learned it later.
- 42.03 The data on Flemings and Netherlanders who were headed for Kansas on arrival

in the United States after 1899 must apply primarily to Flemings, since not one of the Dutch who in 1925 recorded the year of his arrival in the United States said that he came after 1898. The record as given by the Immigration commissioner is as follows:

1899	9	1907	55
1900	16	8	25
1	25	9	60
2	22	10	60
3	43	11	107
4	47	12	26
5	77	13	57
6	50	14	47

42.04 Flemings--Distribution in Kansas. In 1895 Belgian stock at home in Kansas was distributed by regions as shown in the accompanying schema. Numbers in parenthesis represent those with Flemish names. These data indicate that there were no large settlements of Flemings in the state; such was the fact.

Belgians in Kansas

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	13 (6)	35 (7)	241 (47)	92 (33)
Inner	2 (-)	13 (11)	207 (26)	150 (72)
South	18 (18)	18 (4)	24 (18)	383 (92)

42.05 Flemish Settlements. Most of the Flemings arrived late. Those Belgians who settled in the mining district in Southeastern Kansas and who were not French were usually bilingual and tended to be absorbed by the French-speaking miners.* Though there were a few Flemish among the early settlers at Scipio and a few just north of the Dutch at Long Island, only two Flemish settlements merit attention, the one of Low Importance at St. Marys on the

*These miners were doubtless included in the 991 persons of Flemish mother tongue (fb) in Kansas recorded by the 1920 census.

Kaw and the Kinney Heights--Shawnee Flemish (Mid Importance) in the South-western suburbs of Kansas City. The St. Marys group is older and ceased to grow soon, and its contingents on either side of the Kaw account for most of the Flemings in the Northern and Inner Pre-West in 1895. It never exceeded more than a hundred members. The Kinney Heights Flemish came to number some 750 members. They could hardly be said to form a settlement until about 1895.

- 42.06 Most of the Flemish at Kinney Heights were from West Flanders and the people at St. Marys were from the southwestern corner of East Flanders and thus in their European origins were very nearly homogeneous linguistically and also in economic background. They were farmers; those at Kinney Heights arriving after 1895, the majority, were truck-gardeners.
- 42.07 The Catholic church was the institution embracing all Flemish. At St. Marys they were part of a complex parish. At Kinney Heights they achieved a national parish. The contrasting effect on Engl-izing is quite apparent.
- 42.08g The effect on Engl-izing of occupations is also brought out by the two Flemish colonies. The people at Kinney Heights as market gardeners kept their children with them for many more hours per day than the people at St. Marys. The Flemings at St. Marys also arrived earlier. When Flemish at St. Marys had disappeared, it was flourishing at Kinney Heights.
- 42.10 The Three Groups of Scandinavians. After the Ger-lings (129,000 in 1895) the Scandinavians are the most numerous for-ling element in Kansas, 40,000 in 1895. Most of these are Swedes (78% in 1895); Danes (5600, 14%) are more numerous than Norwegians (3000, 8%). Although a portion of the two latter nationalities are mixed in among the Swedes, each has a few distinct settlements of its own.
- 42.11 Immixture among Scandinavians. The proportion of immixture of Scandinavian

peoples with each other can be appreciated by considering the data for 1895 for McPherson, Riley and Morris counties where Swedish settlements are important and separate Norwegian and Danish settlements do not exist.

Stock at home				
1895	Sweds	Norw	Dan	% of Non Swedes
McPherson	2595	39	69	4%
Morris	408	12	27	9%
Riley	1019	16	38	5%

The data for two primarily Danish townships and for two primarily Norwegian townships are:

Stock at home				
1895	Sweds	Norw	Dan	
Grant Twp. Lincoln Co.	10	4	120	10% non Dan.
Buffalo Twp. Cloud Co.	8	4	60	16% non Dan.
Washington Twp. Brown Co.	4	63	8	16% non Norw.
S. Salem Twp. Greenwood Co.		42	3	7% non Norw.

The data presented above show a fact generally true in Kansas; other Scandinavians are less numerous in Swedish communities than they are in Danish or Norwegian communities. Of the three nationalities Danes are most frequently found immixed with other Scandinavians.

Usually, though not always, immixtures among Scandinavians are the result of intermarriage. Linguistically families of these mixed marriages will follow the practice of the whole community to which they belong. Therefore all Scandinavians in a settlement will be treated as a unit according to the dominant element represented, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish as the case may be.

The limit on the amount of immixture is dependent in part upon the well-known prejudices of the various Scandinavian nations against each other.

These prejudices are real, but once conquered, as in intermarriages, they are not deep-seated enough to form a serious obstacle to complete fusion of people belonging to such closely allied cultures.

42.12 Regional Distribution of Scandinavians. The schema below shows for each of the three Scandinavians nationalities (represented by initial letters) the population in 1895.

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	S 1056	S 555	S 7989	S 2126
	N 58	N 422	N 813	N 629
	D 231	D 430	D 1442	D 771
Inner	S 716	S 643	S 10530	S 4366
	N 42	N 108	N 244	N 194
	D 36	D 540	D 776	D 608
South	S 67	S 598	S 572	S 2152
	N 40	N 82	N 351	N 64
	D 28	D 196	D 320	D 237

The total of Scandinavians in each region is shown below. The percentage indicated shows the proportion of Scandinavians in the total population

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	1345 5%	1400 2%	10244 7%	3526 2%
Inner	794 7%	1291 2%	11570 9%	5168 2%
South	135 7%	886 1%	1243 1%	2453 1%

Clearly, the Northern and Inner Pre-West of Kansas are the two regions of primary interest to us. The number and importance of the settlements in these regions supports this conclusion as the following schemata show.

42.13 Swedish Settlements by Regions in descending importance

In the schemata numerals refer to the year of first settlement, and isolated letters indicate importance as explained in Volume I.

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	Enne k 79	Central Jewell County x 71	Scandia****68	Kansas City Hi 68
	Lund w 80		Mariadahl****55	Atchison mid 55 or 156
	Jaqua w 85		Leonardville****66	South Everest y 75
	Ruleton w 86		Swedesburg c 68	Wolcott x ca. 68
	Chardon x 85		Brantford d 69	Lancaster z 58
	Shermanville y 82		Axtell k 58, 70	
	Mingo z 85		Sibley m 69	
			Wayne-Seapo-Talmo m 70	
			Cottage Hill n 68	
			St. Marys w 68	
	Manhattan v ca. 65			
Inner	Stockholm l 87	Ogallah x 79	Lindsborg-McPherson****66	West Osage****69
	Page-Monument w 86		Burdick d 81	Topeka a ca. 65
	Jerome w 85		Marion Hill d 69	Lawrence v 58
	Sharon Springs x 87		Enterprise k 58	Scranton v 48, 58, 80
	Southeast Wallace z by 93		New Andover l 70-78	Ottawa v 67
			Junction City n 62	
			Salina n 68	
			Alta Vista x 70	
			McDowell Creek x 70	
			Hessdale y by 70	
	Upland y 70			
South		Garfield x 79 Walnut Twp x 75 Hutchinson v 69 West Garfield y 79 Bloom z 1908	West Wichita z 70	Savonburg d 69
			Wilmot 1911	Vilas n 69
				Chanute v 68
				Farlington x 68
				Mound Valley x 68
				Fort Scott z 68
			before '81	

42.14 Norwegian Settlements by Regions in descending importance

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	Kanona z 78	Randall x 71 Reubens w 69	Scandia Norw n 68	Everest Willis 1 55 Moray n 57
Inner				
South			Eureka m 58	

42.15 Danish Settlements by Regions in descending importance

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
North	Achilles, South x 85 Burntwood z 85		Jamestown 1 69 Walnut v 69 (55) Greenleaf v 69 Strawberry x 69 Tescott x 75 Bennington y 69	Moray v 57 Whiting v 69
Inner		Denmark k 69	Burns x 70	Lyndon x 69
South		South Hodgeman y 78		

42.16g As shown by the dates of foundation presented above, there were three waves of Scandinavian settlement in Kansas centering about the years 1857, 1868, and, with less concentration but greater numbers, 1882. Smaller waves occur later well into the 20th century. The existence of these waves, especially the last two is revealed also by the statistics concerning immigrant survivors in 1925. For a considerable number of settlements the appropriate data on these survivors appear in the settlement histories (they are--all Swedish except as noted: Burdick, Denmark [Danish], Everest [Norwegian], Kansas City [Danish and Swedish], Lindsborg, Mariadahl, Leonardville, Osage City, Savonburg, Topeka).

Here are the data for a few settlements not included among the settlement histories, but only in the County Surveys:

Date of Arrival in the United States of foreign-born
Scandinavians resident in specified settlements in 1925

	Axtell Swedes fn ¹	Vilas Swedes fn ²	Whiting Danes ³	Jamestown Danes ⁴	Moray ⁵ Danish Norwegians	Eureka ⁶ Norwegians
Before 1867	1	1	2(1886)	0	0	1
1867-1870	18	15	2	5	1	0
1871-1875	6	2	4	1	0	0
1876-1880	14	5	0	6	3	0
1881-1885	25	11	8	3	1	0
1886-1890	11	3	6	2	2	0
1891-1895	17	3	3	0	0	0
1896-1900	3	none later	none later	0	0	1
1901-1913	10			2(1906-7)	1	11
1914-1923	2			none later	2	2
1924	3				0	1
undated	10					
	120	40	25	19	10	16
						8

1 Lincoln and Rock Townships, Marshall Co.

2 Colfax and Pleasant Valley Townships, Wilson Co.

3 Whiting city and township, Jackson Co.

4 Buffalo Twp., Cloud Co.

5 Wolf River City and Township, Independence Township, Doniphan Co.

6 South Salem Township, Greenwood Co.

From the linguistic point of view the significance of these statistics lies in the length of time that fresh Scandinavian speakers continued to arrive. For some communities the influx was practically complete by the end of the 19th century, as for Danes in the case at Whiting, Jamestown, and Moray, but at Denmark 12 out of 63 Danish born who were there in 1925 had arrived after 1900 (19%). Only one out of 8 foreign-born Norwegians at Eureka had arrived after 1900 but at Moray the twentieth century arrivals totaled 13 out of 15 (87%) at Everest 30 out of 116 (26%). Among Swedes the same

variety exists. At Vilas there were no immigrants in 1925 who had come later than 1900; but at Axtell the late comers were 1/6 of those in the settlement. So it was at Burdick and at Kansas City. At Topeka they surpassed 1/5. At Lindsborg they were 1/8; at Savonburg 1/10; at Mariadahl 1/15; at Leonardville a little less still. At Osage City there were only a few more proportionately (8%).

42.20 The history of Swedish settlement in Kansas began even before the territory was opened. Isolated Swedes arrived then /kq19:254-218; tk176. Rural Swedish settlements began very early. The Swedes advanced beyond the main area of settlement in the Northeast and Inner East, and established themselves in the Northern and Inner Pre-West, at Mariadahl in 1855, at Enterprise and in the Axtell neighborhood in 1858. Individuals making a beginning for the urban groups at Topeka, Lawrence, and Ottawa date from the later territorial years -- Anders Palm in Lawrence 1858 /kc11:20. The pioneers were in small numbers until the railroads came into the Pre-West shortly after the Civil War. Then Swedes were flocking to the United States; Lindsborg and Scandia were receiving their first immigrant groups. In the decade immediately following all the Swedish settlements except those in the Far West were founded, the great majority before 1873; Burdick, 1881, was belated. Almost everywhere the Swedes were among the first into opening country.

Early settlement was often by the help of corporate immigrant associations, notably the First Swedish Agricultural Company of Chicago, the Galesburg [Ill.] Colonization Company, and the Scandinavian Agricultural Society of Chicago; these associations were in turn aided by immigration offices in Kansas /ot259. Through these agencies, the Swedes bought considerable tracts of the railroads' lands and homesteaded the sections between so that settlements

were from the first solid. Many of the new settlers arriving under the companies' aegis came directly from Sweden.

About 1885 the firmly established colony at Lindsborg organized the Swedish Colonization Company, after the fashion of those in Galesburg and in Chicago, and founded settlements in the Inner Far West. The settlements in the Northern Far West took root about the same time (also promoted by Lindsborg, says W.)

42.21 The Kansas Swedes, despite dissension, have exhibited more unity than other immigrant groups, partly on account of the interchange of population in their settlements. Lindsborg became for them a capital and a rallying point to a much greater extent than any town has been for any other linguistic group. This has been true partly because the unifying forces have made a capital natural, partly because of its population preponderance among Swedes, largely because Bethany College with its allied institution of annual performances of Handel's Messiah have given a rallying point for national pride and cultural dissemination found no where else in Swedish communities.

42.22 By 1885 the majority of the Scandinavians arriving in Kansas came directly there from Europe according to the state census (10,630 out of 18,690 in 1885; 11,144 out of 17,929 in 1905). In 1885 in the large Swedish settlements, at Lindsborg and in Republic County, which were then 17 years old, the proportion was 50-50, but those directly to Kansas from Sweden were 5/8 of the foreign-born in 1905. The Blue River settlement in Riley and Pottawatomie County was thirty years old in 1885 and in both 1885 and 1905 seventy-per cent of the foreign-born had come directly from Sweden. The natural tendency for the proportion of immigrants directly from Sweden to rise during the first decades of existence of a Kansas settlement may be illustrated also by Osage County (1885 - 70%; 1905 - 84%); Pawnee County (1885 - 30%; 1905 - 92%); and Rawlins County

(1885 - 31%; 1905 - 44%). The same tendency is illustrated by the Danish settlement in Lincoln County (1885 - 36%; 1905 - 63%) and the Norwegian settlement in Brown County (1885 - 70%; 1905 - 85%). The proportion of direct-comers in Rawlins County was doubtless low in 1885 because the settlement had just been founded. It remained low because this is a Far West settlement, and only Swedes inured to the notion of eventual prosperity in aridity would join it.

42.23g The land chosen for Swedish settlement has not been cut-up hilly country. Their first nucleus would be in the valley of a stream, but they spread readily over flat upland beyond the valley and seldom worked their way up or down it. Near the Blue River they left to the Germans the Fancy Creek valley and its hilly neighborhood but spread east and west from the bottoms deep into Pottawatomie and Riley Counties. The Smoky Valley at Lindsborg is their delight, but they have spread out of it as far as McPherson. Eastern and western limits to this settlement were set by rough country. The result has been territorially solid communities undetermined by the meandering of streams; this in turn has brought about cultural and linguistic solidity.

42.30 The Swedes in Kansas organized an Augustana Lutheran Church within a few years after the foundation of any settlement of mid importance or greater. The first was at Mariadahl in 1863, a settlement founded in 1855. At Lindsborg the organization of the Lutheran church was nearly coincidental with the arrival of the pioneers. The Kansas Conference had 14,714 members in 1906 /ot272, 11,721 in 1916, 17,810 in 1947. The Augustana Synod had far more members in Kansas than any other Swedish denomination, and their Lutheran faith meant a great deal to them.

42.31 The immigrant generation held out for Swedish services, but young Lutherans

were early very restive. The establishment of the Messiah Lutheran Church at Lindsborg in 1908 for the Bethany College set was a signal victory for those demanding English services. But the transition later was rapid. At Kackley and Savonburg, conservative small settlements, preaching in Swedish ended in 1933; Axtell kept on another decade. At Lindsborg it went on once a month till 1942 and afterward at Christmas and Easter time. For Conference reports in Swedish see #42.43.

42.32 Numerically in Kansas the Swedish denominations ranked thus in 1916:

	Kansas Swedish Congregations	Members
Lutherans	79	11,721
Mission Covenanters	26	1,674
Baptists	13	1,200
Methodists	7	372 /sd310

42.33. Kansas was an area of early activity for the Mission Friends. Among churches existing in 1949, only those at Batavia, Illinois, Des Moines, Iowa and Pen-nock, Minnesota were organized before that at Osage City in 1872 and then only by a year. By the end of 1874 only two long-lived additional churches had been organized outside of Kansas; in the same period in the state seven of those alive in 1949 achieved organization . . . Rose Hill, five miles southeast of Lindsborg, boasted the first Mission church building in Kansas in 1874. Preaching began at Enterprise in 1870, not counted above, but all Swedes worshipped more or less peaceably together there for several years. As early as 1866 a "Missionsvän" (C. Welin) came to Mariadahl from Rock Island, and for lack of better joined the Lutherans, who tolerated Mission meetings in their church till 1870. Throughout the United States vigorous proselytizing was

quite successful for two decades more. Numbers were never large, however. In 1949 the national church membership was 50,536, that of Kansas 2,009 as against 1,674 in 1916.

42.34 The Mission people in Kansas were conservative linguistically. The history of their activities in Kansas, Strödda Drag, published in 1917, is in Swedish. In 1916 in Kansas preaching was regularly in Swedish, and, what is quite remarkable, the Sunday schools ^{were in Swedish} too, except for one English class at Brantford and all English at Alert with one Swedish class for the old /sd285. But, by the time of the Second World War, Swedish services were abandoned. Swedish among the Mission Covenanters was taught only through the Sunday School.

42.35 Swedish Baptists became active in Kansas in 1869. In 1927 there were still a number of churches but many had already ceased to function. Since Volume I does not list the congregations, a list taken from Lovene's history follows:

Brantford(Washington F)	Falun(McPherson A)	Lindsborg(McPherson A)
Chanute(Neosho A)	Goodland(Sherman A)	Osage City(Osage C)
Clay Center(Clay B)	Herndon(Rawlins H)	Parkerville(Morris A)
Concordia(Cloud B)	Kansas City(Wyandotte KC)	Randolph(Riley C)
Edwardsville(Wyandotte KC)	Lawrence(Douglas B)	Topeka(Shawnee B)
Enterprise(Dickinson D)	Leonardville(Riley D)	Sharon Springs(Wallace A)
		Waterville(Marshall L)

42.36 Swedish Methodists receive little attention in this volume save for those at Wayne (Republic E). Except in this rural ambience their activities in Kansas were obscured by their small numbers.

42.37g The Swedish Baptists and Methodists were linguistically quite conservative. Their stubbornness in this regard in part explains their inferior numbers in 1916; they had long been losing young members to kindred English-speaking groups.

- 42.40 Swedish schools in Kansas were rarely more than summer schools preparing children for confirmation. This training went on in Swedish for some time but was rare after 1900, completely given up by 1910. Bethany College was more an Engl-izing institution than a conservator of Swedish.
- 42.41 The Swedes of Kansas were little given to societies unless connected with the church. Those which achieved a sort of independence were usually devoted to music. The Messiah chorus at Lindsborg is a development of this social activity. It has been highly successful but from very early the version was English.
- 42.42 Politically the Swedes in Kansas have been as unified as in their religions. They have all been sturdy Republicans. Unlike their religious unity this trait has led not to isolation but to participation in general community life and consequently greater use of English. Beginning in 1870 they furnished county commissioners to McPherson Co.; here and elsewhere participation continued steadily. In 1946 the Republican River Block area furnished the State its governor, Carlson.
- 42.43 Swedish publications in Kansas other than journalistic have regularly been religious. The Augustana Synod Kansas Conference Minutes give some notion of the progress of Engl-izing. In 1908 everything was Swedish; in 1909 there was a financial statement in English. In 1910 an abstract of the minutes in English first appear; the abstracts tended to become more detailed as the years passed. In 1914 the Luther League (young people's society) report was in English only. In 1918 the constitution for the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society was published in only an English version. In the same year, while the report on the Messiah chorus was mainly in Swedish, the text of an aria from the oratorio was in English.
- 42.44g Swedish newspapers in Kansas except Svenska Herolden that appeared in Salina

from 1878 till 1881 were published only in Lindsborg. The Kansas Staats Tidning (1879-80), Kansas Posten (1882-83), Framat (1887-89) preceded Posten (1898-1930). Posten was edited by the faculty of Bethany College, in other words subsidized.

- 42.5 Swedish in business in Kansas had only a brief career. Parochial records of business affairs were early in English. People passed the time of day in stores in Swedish for a long time, but in trading even if the framework of discourse pretended to be Swedish, the vocabulary was dominated by English, and those born in Kansas used only English at such a time.
- 42.6 Linguistic development among Swedes in Kansas has been similar to development elsewhere. Helge Nelson in his discussion of general use of Swedes in America published in 1943 cites Lindsborg as a typical example and concludes, "The process of language transition, of amalgamation and Americanization is intensely going on and nearly finished" /n313. The settlement history of that community sets forth in detail its linguistic development. The account of Scandia is nearly as complete. In both bilingualism was general by 1900. Swedish retreated rapidly in the next 30 years; speakers felt shame in using it. Shame disappeared about 1930, and the retreat of Swedish was slow, but by 1960 except among the very old, only an occasional word of Swedish was uttered. Savonburg and Brantford were as conservative as any small community, and conditions were similar there except that perhaps shame at its worst was not as great. But the same was true in rural sections of the larger communities.
- 42.7 Near Swedish settlements are found nearly all Danish and Norwegian settlements; this was not true of the first Norwegian settlements made in territorial times at Moray and Eureka. Neither are any other Scandinavian settlements very near Denmark, but Swedes were with the Danes at the start; Indian troubles made the former retreat to Lindsborg. Usually though, entering an area with other

Scandinavians, the Norwegians and Danes have drawn aside to form settlements of their own. At Scandia the Scandinavian Agricultural Society placed in its first year, 1868, representatives of all three nationalities. Indeed of 44 signers of a petition for protection against Indians (Dec. 1868), 9 names ended -sen (typically Dano-Norwegian), whereas 6 ended -son /kc11:34n. Norway Norwegians and Jamestown Danes are in contact with the Scandia Swedes; the Randall Dano-Norwegians are very near. The Tescott Danes are not far from the Lindsborg Swedes. The Lyndon Danes are a few miles from the West Osage Swedes. The chronology of Dano-Norwegian settlement in Kansas is therefore nearly identical with that of Swedish. The other Scandinavians have in general in Kansas shown less unity than the Swedes, partly because of small numbers. Many Danes would go a long way to seek out a fellow Dane, but during the First World War Slesvigers and northern Danes disagreed sharply.

42.80 The two Lutheran branches of the Danes have each been represented by a congregation. The Danish congregation in Kansas City, Kansas, took the name Westwood Lutheran in its later years; it was part of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, and with that body about 1960 became part of the American Lutheran Church. The Denmark congregation was a member of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (the "Danish" church) which merged with the Lutheran Church in America in 1962. Thus both congregations finally lost their Danish identity. They were thoroughly Danish in the beginning, and the language was used in services until after the First World War.

42.81 Danish Lutherans in other Kansas settlements than those at Denmark and Kansas City were obliged to join other branches of Lutheranism and consequently did not have this conservative force helping them to preserve their language - so at Tescott where they belong to the American Lutheran Church which is generally German and at Moray where with the Norwegians their church became a

member of the Kansas Synod of the United Lutheran Church, the "English Lutheran Church," and at Walnut Creek in Marshall County where they also joined the English. At Lyndon there was no church but a Grundtvigian society. The Baptists were early active among the Danes and the Saron Baptist Church at Jamestown was long a rallying point.

42.82 During the period of prosperity of lodges, there arose Danish fraternal societies unsponsored by churches, for Danes were less likely to be church members than other Scandinavians. The lodges gained a footing only at Kansas City where there were chapters of the Danish Brotherhood and the United Danish Society, both active in 1928. The Danes also satisfied their gregarious needs by frequent parties, unsponsored by organizations, particularly in the small communities where there were no formal societies.

42.83g Linguistic development among Danes in Kansas is parallel to what is found elsewhere in the United States in Danish settlements of similar size. Larger settlements were more conservative by a quarter of a century. At Denmark, Kansas, the First World War marked general abandonment except among immigrants; in 1960 only one habitual speaker of Danish was left. As an example of a smaller group in 1960, at Lyndon speaking Danish was "just a stunt" exhibited by those born before 1880.

42.90 The Evangelical Lutheran Church, the "Norwegian Church" in 1947 had in Kansas 899 baptized members. The congregations were:

Eureka-Fall River (rural), St. Paul's (in town) (Greenwood A)

Robinson-Upper Wolf (rural) (Brown F)

Concordia (derivative of Norway and Randall) (Cloud)

Mankato (Jewell D)

Norway-Our Savior's (Republic B)

Randall-St. Luke's (rural) (Jewell F)

None of these churches had Norwegian services as late as the Second World War. In 1906 Ott /ot301 listed "Norwegian congregations" by counties, and besides the counties appearing in the above list, there were Butler, Doniphan, Jefferson, Norton, Phillips, and Wilson. Except for Doniphan County, this study has not taken account of Norwegians in these counties; the congregations numbered only a score of members except Doniphan 190 and Norton 35. The Norton County group was in Almena Township in the northeast part of the county.

- 42.91 Among Norwegian Lutherans the tendency to division was marked. In Kansas this tendency has led to independent churches such as Zion among the Everest-Willis Norwegians or as the church at Norway in Republic County long was. It has led also to juncture uniting "English" Lutherans (United Lutheran Church) and people born Norwegian, as at Moray.
- 42.92 Norwegians linguistically have exhibited wide variety of development. At Everest-Willis, where the number was fairly large and immigration continued late, there were a number of speakers as late as 1960. The independent Zion Church there had a chapel in town where Norwegian services were maintained until 1942. There were in 1960 only three speakers at Randall. Considering the size of settlements the tendency was conservative.
- 42.93g Though Kansas has been well outside the area of Scandinavian settlement in the United States the communities in Kansas have behaved linguistically very similarly to immigrant centers to the north, particularly where the Scandinavians arrived largely by 1885. The use of Scandinavian languages could persist only as a relic after the blows dealt them in the first two decades of the twentieth century.
- 43.00 The important Slavic settlements in Kansas, except in the Crawford-Cherokee Mining district, in Kansas City and less significantly Leavenworth are all Czech or, as their neighbors and they more often call them, Bohemians. Both

Bohemia and Moravia furnished population to Kansas, but, when speaking English, the Moravians accept the appellation Bohemian. Besides the Czechs, the Slavs to be considered include Croatians, Slovenians, and Poles. (Slovaks and Russians receive attention only in #43.8 and in the settlement history of Kansas City except as Slovaks are mentioned in the paragraphs immediately following and as Russians are dealt with in discussing the Russian Germans.)

43.01 The Czechs in the State Census. In Kansas there are certain "Bohemians," unable to speak the language of their ancestors, who do not recognize the term Czech as appropriate to them - they have heard of Czechs in Czecho-Slovakia, but their grandfathers came from Bohemia, a region vaguely different, uninhabited by communists. In this work, however, Czech will be the term regularly used. Czechs are in Kansas the for-ling group next most important after the Ger-lings and the Swedes (7000 Czechs in 1895 as against 40,000 Swedes and 127,000 Ger-lings). The census-takers of Kansas regularly recognized Bohemia as a birthplace proper to record, sometimes also Moravia, but the state's published statistics lumped the Czechs with others under the heading "Eastern Europe." State census figures for Czechs presented in this work were therefore derived directly from the census-takers' records.

43.02 Distribution of Czechs by Regions in Kansas. The schema found below shows for 1895 the distribution in regions of Czechs in Kansas.

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
Northern	473	355	2678	340
Inner	17	2135	313	154
Southern	1	200	298	23

Clearly the northern Pre-West and the Inner Near West are the regions of greatest interest. Those regions with 300 or more Czech inhabitants also have important small colonies. This 1895 total of 6,999 for the state may be compared with the Kansas Czech mother tongue count of 1920: 11,981.

43.03g Czech settlements by Regions in descending importance.*

*Thomas Capek in his Czechs in America /cc64-5, on the authority of "Dr. Joseph F. Pecival (former practitioner in Kansas), and W. F. Sekavec, County Clerk, Ellsworth" lists the Kansas Czech communities. His list with identifications from Volume I of this work follows (county names in parenthesis); later in this volume they are discussed briefly or at length:

<u>Capek</u>	<u>FLUK</u>
Ada	Delphos (Ottawa) - Delphos is east of the settlement, Ada south of it, Glasco (see below) north of it.
Atwood	Burntwood - Driftwood (Rawlins) Atwood is southeast of settlement; many retire there; Chardon is south, Ludell-Herndon is northeast of Atwood.
Belleville	Cuba (Republic) - Belleville is west; many retire there.
Black Wolf	Wilson (Ellsworth) - Black Wolf is near Point 3 on Map I.
Caldwell	Caldwell - Bluff City (Harper-Sumner)
Clebourne	Irving (Marshall) - Clebourne is south.
Cuba	Cuba (Republic)
Ellsworth	Wilson and Palacky (Ellsworth) - Ellsworth is southeast; many retire there.
Esbon	Esbon (Jewell)
Everest	Everest (Brown) - Capek calls Wilson first settlement; Everest was, then Cuba and Little Blue - see below.
Glasco	Delphos (Ottawa) - see above.
Hanover	Little Blue (Washington) - Hanover is included.
Holyrood	Palacky (Ellsworth) - Holyrood is on south edge.
Irving	Irving (Marshall)

<u>Capek</u>	<u>FLUK</u>
Jennings	Jennings (Decatur)
Kanopolis	Kanopolis (Ellsworth)
Lucas	Lucas (Russell)
Marysville	Oketo, Little Blue, and Irving (Marshall) are close; many retire here.
Munden	Cuba (Republic) - Munden is Point 4 on Map I.
Narka	Cuba (Republic) - Narka is Point 3 on Map I.
New Tabor	Cuba (Republic) - New Tabor is Point 5 on Map I.
Ogallah	Collyer-Voda (Trego) - Ogallah is so far east as to be inappropriate.
Olmitz	Olmitz (Barton)
Palacky	Palacky (Ellsworth)
Pilsen	Pilsen (Marion)
Plainville	Zurich (Rooks) - Plainville is to the southeast.
Rossville	Delia (Shawnee) - Rossville is south.
Timken	Timken (Rush)
Washington	Little Blue (Washington) - Some retire here, but Capek probably meant Washington County.
Wilson	Wilson (Ellsworth)
Zurich	Zurich (Rooks)

Of the settlements listed by FLUK Capek has nothing that can be considered a reference to Claudell and Old Saint Joe, both very small; references to several small settlements are sometimes by towns several miles away. He also refers to the same settlement more than once by different towns. This procedure is justified for settlements as large as Wilson or Cuba; not for Delphos and Irving. These remarks may serve as a critique of the part of his list covering other states.

In the scheme numbers refer to year of first settlement, and isolated letters indicate importance as explained in Vol. I.

	Far West	Near West	Pre-West	East
Northern	Jennings l 73	Zurich x 78	Cuba *** 66	
	Burntwood-	Esbon x 72	Irving v 68	
	Driftwood n 82		Little Blue m 69	Everest v 56
	Chardon x 85	Claudell y 71		
	Ludell-		Delphos n 74	
	Herndon y 79		Oketo y 81	
Inner		Wilson *** 74		
		Timken l 77	Pilsen l 73	Delia n 70
		Palacky m 76		
		Collyer-Voda x 78		
		Lucas x 85		
		Kanopolis z 90		
		Old St. Joe z 76		
Southern		Olmitz z 76		
			Caldwell- Bluff City m 75	

43.10 History of Czech Settlement in Kansas. The first Czech settlement in Kansas, Everest or Marak 1856, was a-typical. Only the very earliest settler John Bunck had lived elsewhere in the United States, and he and his wife were born in Prussia, presumably in Silesia since she was of a Czech family. The Maraks who gave their name to the settlement /tkl72 came directly from Europe - not from Bohemia but from Moravia and from so far east as nearly to be in Slovakia, from the neighborhood Mistek and Fridek where coal mining was developing. The other families who arrived before 1875 had similar histories (43 families /lp). However, the Irsiks, who arrived shortly after 1875, had been since between 1853 and 1857 at Palmyra, Missouri, not far from the Mississippi River near Hannibal. We may therefore presume that these Moravians came to New Orleans and up the rivers, in which again they were different from other Kansas Czechs. The next settlements established, Irving (1868), Little Blue (1869),

and Cuba (1866), were made up of people coming first by wagon from Iowa, supplemented later by contingents from other states, most frequently Wisconsin. They were largely from rural American settlements and had farming experience. They came mostly in wagon trains of some size. There were rare cases of a stop in Nebraska in transit from Iowa or Wisconsin. Immigration direct from Europe began soon. These people were very nearly all from Bohemia but from no single area in the country. The major settlement at Wilson had its start in 1874, and the Czechs came to it from many parts of the United States, initially from the young settlements of Nebraska and largely from cities, without previous farming experience. They were attracted by Francis Swehla's ardent propagandizing. Other settlements were established between the founding of those at Cuba and Wilson and except for three small daughter settlements all the foundings were completed in 1885. The spread was toward unoccupied land and this was generally south and west, but the southeast and the southwest thirds of Kansas received no settlements. Caldwell, half way west along the Oklahoma line, is the only Czech settlement to be found in all the southern zone of Kansas. After foundation the Czech settlements grew rapidly and except for a number of arrivals just before the First World War began in Europe the immigrants had almost all arrived by 1895. The only settlements besides Everest that as a whole have been Moravian are those at Delia, Olmitz, and northwest of Atwood, the Burntwood-Driftwood Czechs. Moravians were first at Timken. In the Wilson area, a nucleus of Moravians settled at Black Wolf. Elsewhere the minor element of Moravians or exceptionally Silesians were mingled with other Czechs. For those late-settling Czechs who did not come directly from Europe to Kansas, earlier residence took place more frequently in Nebraska than had been true for early settlers,

but Iowa and Wisconsin continued to contribute their share and the Chicago settlement gave some part. Czech settlements tended to spread over land close by their original area to a greater extent than ^{those of} other stocks and also into towns of the general area at a greater distance.

43.11g The period in which most of the Czechs arrived in Kansas was between 1870 and 1889 as the foundation dates of the settlements and the statistical table below show:

Year of Arrival in the United States of Foreign-Born Czechs
Resident in Certain Settlements in Kansas in 1925

	Ellsworth County*	Timken (Banner Twp. Rush Co.)	Irving (Blue Rapids Twp. Marshall Co.)	Caldwell- Bluff (Caldwell City & Twp., Sum- ner Co. Stohrville Twp., Har- per Co.)	Esbon (Esbon Twp., Jewell Co.)	Delia (Ross- ville Twp., Shawnee Co. Washington Twp., Jackson Co.)
Before 1870	35	1	8	8	2	1
1870-9	101	12	12	20	3	3
1880-9	109	31	12	16	8	15
1890-9	37	13	1	10	4	7
1900-9	40	7	1	7	-	7
1910-5	28	10	3	2	-	5
1920-4	6	7	2	-	-	-

*Data for part of the constituent towns and townships presented in Wilson settlement history.

More specifically the 1925 census data on which the table is founded show, after making due allowance for deaths, that there were waves of arrival of

some importance in 1857, 1867, and 1869-70, a major wave that reached its crest in 1877, another still greater cresting in 1880 and somewhat less in 1885, a wave of less consequence with its highest point in 1891, and immigration of importance between 1909 and 1913. The 1925 census data apply to arrival in the United States rather than in Kansas, but the years for the foundings of settlements show the same dates for moments of greatest pressure of entrance into Kansas. This movement corresponds rather closely to that present in the histories of other nationalities of the "Old Immigration." Even the industrial areas of Kansas (Kansas City-Pittsburg) received very few of the Czechs who made up part of the "New Immigration."

- 43.20 Czechs have often regarded ecclesiastical organization with hostility, distrust, or at least indifference. There are numerous exceptions, but in Kansas as elsewhere, the social activity of Czech settlements cannot be measured by their churches. If they adhere to religious organizations, they are with exceptions Catholics, in a few communities, fervent Catholics. Protestants are a small austere fragment within large communities, or else caught up into large "community" congregations.
- 43.21 Early Czech Protestants organized Presbyterian congregations. Presbyterian churches were founded at Delia, Irving, New Tabor, and Cuba. According to Capek (p. 253) there was one more Protestant Church in Kansas. The first three were rural; those at Delia and Irving no longer exist; the New Tabor Church was moved into Munden. It and the Cuba church still were active in 1964. Among Czech Protestant churches over the United States, Kansas representation is not small considering the number of Czechs in the state.
- 43.22 In Kansas examples of truly Catholic Czech communities are furnished by the

Pilsen, Everest, and Burntwood-Driftwood Czechs. There have been enough faithful Catholics at Wilson to maintain a church of some strength, but at Cuba the Catholic Church has been a puny affair. There were only two priests of Czech origin in Kansas in 1915, Huna at Olmitz with a mission at Timken and Sklenar at Pilsen. Cuba, Wilson and the Czechs of Rawlins County (Burntwood-Driftwood) were served by priests with German names. The situations elsewhere indicate that Kansas was particularly resistant. In Nebraska with five times as many Czechs as Kansas in 1919 Mrs. Hrbkova states that there were "Bohemian churches and priests in 44 towns and villages."* Her informant

*Capek (CC. 247) reported for 1917 that there were 16 Catholic centers in Kansas, 48 in Nebraska, 21 in Iowa. A "center" is defined as "churches, missions, stations, either wholly Czech or mixed, that is, Czech-Irish, Czech-Polish, etc." The report is reliable, for "mixed" centers are numerous. Delia is an example (Czech-Irish).

was somewhat optimistic, at least as regards the clergy. The Catholic directory for 1915 yields the following statistics regarding parishes with priests bearing Czech names:

Diocese	Clergy	Their parishes	Their missions
Omaha	9	7	4
Lincoln	10	10	9
Kearney	2	2	2
Total	21	19	15

Non-Czech clergy also had missions with names or locations suggesting Czech people, perhaps 10. Miss Rosicky in 1926 listed 55 Catholic Czech parishes in Nebraska, but she qualifies 18 of them as mixed, 6 as missions, and comments

on the lack of Czech priests in others (R 295-325). Missions were of course small, and even the constituted parishes were not too firmly established. The Bohemian congregation at Crete, St. Ludmilla's, later was taken into the German Church, Sacred Heart. Still, the Catholic church was clearly better off than in Kansas. In Iowa with two and a half times as many Czechs as Kansas the arch-diocese of Davenport had one priest with a parish and a mission. In addition there was one parish and its mission both labeled Bohemian served by the Rev. Joseph Bauer. Again the proportion is higher than in Kansas. The influence of the Catholic church except in the few fervent parishes was Engl-izing. If the parish was not mixed in character the priest was still unlikely to be a Czech, and English became necessary.

43.23 Czech national cemeteries are a visible expression of Czech avoidance of ecclesiastical direction. The settlements not definitely Catholic, that is, most settlements, have, unless very small, national cemeteries. They are imposing, for the Czechs in rejecting the trappings of religion do not reject monuments, and size varies little with economic status. They provide valuable linguistic data, for the Czechs are not often content with mere names and numerals. The cemetery of the Little Blue Czechs, those at Cuba, at Narka, at Delphos, at Jennings, at Delia, at Wilson (Palacky), at Timken, and at Caldwell are most of those in Kansas. They are maintained by special societies as a usual thing.

43.24 Bohemian halls have been social centers widely known. By the middle of the twentieth century many of them functioned less vigorously than in their prime period, but though unimposing they still mark the center of Kansas Czech communities. They may have been erected by lodges, by the Catholic equivalent, by the Farmers' Union, or by organizations formed for the purpose. The "wild

parties" no longer attract attention. The wildness was usually exaggerated in the telling, for these meetings were attended by people of all ages and all temperaments. They furnished an excellent means of letting the young hear Czech outside the family.

43.25 The C.S.P.S. and the Z.C.B.J. have been the principal Czech lodges in Kansas. They are known regularly by these initials of their names in Czech. The former is the older organization. The Z in the name of the second stands for Western, and it is strong in Kansas as well as in other western states. Basically these are mutual benefit organizations; socializing is an important auxiliary function. In 1914 there were eight C.S.P.S. lodges in Kansas: No. 74 Holyrod (Palacky Czechs), No. 76 Timken, No. 89 New Tabor (Cuba Czechs), No. 100 Hanover, No. 109 Cuba, No. 115 Wilson (the grand lodge), No. 135 Jennings, No. 189 Ellsworth /kc13:489. The Z.C.B.J. has chapters in nearly all these settlements, and in most of the others too, at Delia, Delphos and Claudell for example. The gymnastic organization, Sokol, has also had chapters in Kansas.

43.26 Czech journalism was quite active. The Kansas papers, though issued under Kansas headings, were printed in Nebraska by the journalistic enterprises established there. Swehla lists among the business men at Wilson "J. H. Cerny, music teacher and cigar maker, also local agent or editor of a paper, Kansasky Pokrok; Albert Mieg1, agent and reporter for Kansaske Rozhledy" /kc13:495. Connelley's History of Kansas Newspapers, published in 1916, lists /cn187-8 the two papers as publications of Wilson--Kansasky Pokrok, [Bohemian] independent; Joe H. Cerny, editor, Wilson; published by Pokrok Publishing Company, Omaha, Nebraska. [In 1912 it was in its seventh volume; there was one volume per year] Discontinued: Kansaske Rozhledy [Bohemian],

June 13, 1906-1914." At Cuba there was from May 4, 1891 into 1892 the Cesky Lev. The linguistically conservative influence of these journals was great.

43.27g Czech socializing internally has given the Czechs the reputation of being clannish. Swehla pointed out that they participated in "American" activities too. Their resistance to religious proselytizing is perhaps in part responsible for the reputation. Many a Kansas pastor has remarked with a sigh: "They are very hard to get close to." In any case the general population long felt sealed off from them, and this was a phenomenon conservative of Czech.

43.3 Czech settlements in Kansas have resisted Engl-izing, but have by no means been impervious to it. Bilingualism was achieved as early as by any group, but also retained longer in some instances. Young people able to speak Czech were not unknown in the 1940's, though visitors from Europe were displeased by their vocabulary.

43.40 Polish settlements in Kansas of a permanent character are three in number; the Kansas City Packing House Poles, the Leavenworth Poles, and the Belleville Poles (respectively of Hi, Mid, and Low importance). Poles were also an element at Hope, Gorham and Dubuque. To these must be added the Polish element in the Pittsburg coal fields which was never great and very nearly dissolved during the 1920's. All but the Belleville Poles are located on the Missouri border, the Belleville Poles in the pre-West almost on the Nebraska border. In other words Poles barely penetrated into Kansas.*

*Fisher's America and the New Poland (1928) contains a map on which dots each locate "500 Polish residents" (Fi. 48). There are twelve of them in Kansas, not one dot at Kansas City or Leavenworth or in Crawford County. There are three at Topeka, which is absurd, three probably indicating Mennonites of Marion, McPherson, and Harvey counties, two stand-

ing for the smelter towns of Montgomery County, one that would seem to stand for the very small Belleville Polish group, one probably indicating the group of Galician German Mennonites in Hodgeman County, one in Trego County, where Fisher's informant may have confused Bukovinan Germans with Poles, one in Mitchell County for which there is no explanation. It is to be hoped that the rest of this map is more accurate--certainly it is for the large agglomerations.

43.41 The counties containing in 1920 more than 25 persons born in Poland were:

Leavenworth - 255	Wyandotte - 984	Crawford - 338
Atchison - 33		Montgomery - 37
Barton - 68		Riley - 29
Harvey - 47		Sedgwick - 38
McPherson - 56		Shawnee - 29
Marion - 171		Sheridan - 29

Most of these as well as the "Poles" in counties with 20 or less were Polish Germans or, in the towns, Polish German Jews. Those in Barton, Harvey, McPherson and Marion Counties were almost all Mennonites from Volhynia, that is, from a part of present Ukrainia. There were a few Poles with the Germans at Dubuque, however. Perhaps half of those in Montgomery County, where there were then smelters, and in Atchison County were true Poles. Further explanations:

Sedgwick - Possibly some true Poles among the packing house workers.

Shawnee - As in the case of Sedgwick County in Wichita, but less likely in Topeka.

Sheridan County - Certain names, notably Rietchek, Rueschoff, Schlageck, indicate Polish background among some of the Angelus Germans.

43.42 History of Polish Settlement in Kansas to 1925. Polish Jews appeared in Kansas by 1855, and a true Pole at Leavenworth in 1856. Although first members of the Belleville Poles were here by 1875, no significant element of true Poles was present in Kansas, however, until the 1880's. At least by 1885 there were miners in Leavenworth. There were 37 adult Poles in Kansas City in 1887. The Senate investigators of 1909 say that there were Poles in the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields by 1880. The numbers increased in Kansas City and the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields until the First World War, for the need for them in the packing houses and mines was ever greater. They began to fall off in Leavenworth somewhat sooner.

Dates of Arrival of Persons born in Poland resident in
Principal Centers for Kansas and in Crawford County in 1925
(Data on Kansas City, Leavenworth, and Crawford-Cherokee
in sections on those areas)

Before 1880	Kansas (pr. centers)	Crawford
1880-4	18	2
1885-9	13	1
1890-4	33	8
1895-9	29	5
1900-4	147	54
1905-9	270	63
1910-4	365	71
1915-9	38	5
1920-4	56	-
Undated	<u>92</u>	<u>30</u>
Total-1925	1063	239

The number of Polish immigrants who upon their arrival gave Kansas as a destination shows a similar trend from 1900 (published records begin 1899).

1900-4 174

1905-9 586

1910-4 819

Furthermore from the 1925 data we must conclude that between 1920 and 1925 many Poles, probably those near Pittsburg, had left Kansas, since the 1920 census shows 2418 persons born in Poland resident there, though a few hundred of these were Polish Germans in Kansas as described above.

43.43 After 1920 the Polish settlements in Kansas in cities as well as coal fields decreased in size, partly because many Poles were single men and came to the United States with no intention of permanent residence. (The case was different with married men; 77% brought their wives to America.) At times as many as 30% were returning to Europe, very likely to come back again later, but not necessarily to the same area in America. A more vital reason lay in the vicissitudes of the industries in which the Poles were employed. The closing of the mines in Leavenworth and the great reduction of activity in the Crawford-Cherokee field, most of which took place suddenly in 1920 before coal mining went into eclipse over the country as a whole, led to wholesale departures in order to find mining work elsewhere (Poles at Leavenworth often went to Kansas City). The Polish abandonment of the Pittsburg area was too complete to allow linguistic study after the Second World War; the reduction in Leavenworth was much less serious, but by it the group became so small and so well distributed in the economic life of the city that assimilation advanced rapidly, at least linguistically and in many exterior manifestations. The packing industry in Kansas City suffered no early blow like coal mining,

but the substitution of transportation by truck for railway transportation, the development of cattle raising in new areas, and man-power-saving changes in methods led to the multiplication of packing centers and the reduction of staff so that the Polish settlement in Kansas City contracted somewhat too. Here the draining off of the population affected particularly the young, and linguistic conservatism had a better chance.

43.44 The Catholic church in Kansas as elsewhere in the United States has been the most important social institution among Poles. The national parishes* at

*The Catholic Encyclopedia in 1911 records the existence of a Polish national parish in the Wichita diocese with a Polish pastor. The only possible locations were at Dubuque and in the Pittsburg coal mining area. Possibly this refers to services by the Rev. Dominic Wojciechowski who was the pastor at Neodesha. When he was transferred to Arma and Franklin, he immediately superintended ritual in Polish. Franklin was presumably a mission of his during his stay at Neodesha fifty miles to the west. The Cath. Encyc. is incorrect in attributing only one Polish parish and priest to the Leavenworth diocese. Both St. Casimir's at Leavenworth and St. Joseph's at Kansas City had been functioning as national parishes for many years.

Leavenworth and at Kansas City have maintained their identity, though Englishing is far advanced. Successively in these parishes Father Grudzinski was a potent conservative force linguistically. Societies connected with the church have provided most of the organization for amusement, and in Kansas City the parochial school has had great influence.

- 43.45g The Polish National Alliance had its moment of brilliance, particularly at Leavenworth and at Frontenac, but non-Catholic societies were under a handicap, and after nationalism had achieved its goal in Europe, Polish patriotism grew quiet faced with the hostility to "hyphenated Americans."
- 43.5 Engl-izing among Poles has gone on as rapidly as with Germans but since their mass immigration was of a much later date a larger proportion of people in Kansas of Polish origin were proficient in Polish in the 1960's.
- 43.60 South Slavs are represented in Kansas by Slovenians, Croatians and a few Serbs. Bulgarians do not deserve consideration. Macedonians are unidentifiable. The 1930 census allows us to distribute the foreign-born speakers of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian in their settlements in Kansas:

	Total Kansas	Kansas City	Other Urban	Rural Farming	Rural Non- Farming*
Slovenians	1,262	343	8	215	696
Croatians	1,524	1,386	7	60	71
Serbs	97	89	1	3	4

*By deduction almost all were members of mining families near Pittsburg.

In Kansas the South Slavs remained close to the eastern border. Both Croats and Slovenes had settlements in Kansas City, but the Croatian group was much the larger. In the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields, both elements existed, but the Slovenes were far more numerous, and the Croats withdrew early so that even more than in the case of the Poles, it became very difficult after the Second World War to study their development. There was in addition in Kansas a very small rural group of Slovenians astraddle the

Montgomery-Labette County line southeast of Liberty (see Vol. I, 207, IV), a few near Wathena. The speakers of Serbo-Croatian also developed in Kansas City a small group of Serbs who have held themselves apart from the Croatians, largely because of religious differences. They are Orthodox, and not Roman, Catholics.

- 43.61 Historically Croatians and Slovenians, according to the 1909 investigators, were among those first arriving in the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields in 1879 or 1880, brought hence by mine owners from Pennsylvania. They were in Kansas City by 1893 as strikebreakers. The influx grew soon afterward. After 1903 approximately 1% of this total immigration left ports for Kansas. The pulsations for Kansas were in general in harmony with the national pulsations. The exceptional case of 1904 is to be explained by enlistment of strikebreakers in Kansas City packing houses, that in 1908 by the fact that coal production in Kansas in 1907 increased and provided jobs at a time when much industry was affected by financial crisis.
- 43.62 Among South Slavs the Catholic Church has exerted great influence in Kansas, particularly in Kansas City where national parishes have been maintained for Croatians and for Slovenians. Schools and many social organizations, particularly among the Croatians, have been under parish sponsorship. The Slovenians in the Pittsburg area did not achieve national parishes. The Serbs in Kansas City have had their own Orthodox parish and have mingled little with the other speakers of Serbo-Croatian.
- 43.63g The South Slav national societies have been the National Croatian Society (NHZ) and the Slovene National Benefit Society^(SNPJ). In Kansas City they have been less important than in the coal fields. The Slovenian Society was very soon represented in the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields. Yale, Kansas (3 air miles northeast of Frontenac), obtained Lodge No. 9, West Mineral Lodge No. 19.

Other chapters were established. Arma has Youth Circle No. 11. The SNPJ continued strong in the Kansas coal field. In 1949 the Kansas Federation of SNPJ lodges met in Franklin. In 1949 its newspaper Prosveta was half in English, half in Slovenian. Its magazine, Voice of Youth, was all in English except for one page of reading matter and 2 pages publishing serially a "Mali Slovensko-Angleski Slovar" (Short Slovenian-English Dictionary). In Kansas City where Slovenian religious life was more important, their lodges, Catholic in character, meet in the church hall; so also for the Croatians.

- 43.7 Linguistically the South Slavs in Kansas maintained their identity vigorously while the immigrant generation was active, but the young yielded to Eng-
lizing as rapidly as any stock, particularly among the Slovenians. As for the Poles the number of speakers left in the 1960's was proportionately high be-
cause the immigration was late.
- 43.8 Slovaks, Russians, and Ukrainians (Ruthenians) have attained sufficient num-
bers in Kansas City to deserve notice in the study of that community, but
elsewhere only a small group of Slovaks in Leavenworth have merited observation.
Despite a national Roman Catholic parish for the Slovaks enduring for some
time in Kansas City and an Orthodox church for the Russians, they have not
been able to achieve sufficient identity to resist to any great extent Eng-
lizing as a group. Bulgarian fws in Kansas in 1910 was 133; 45 in 1920; 1 Wend in 1930.
- 43.9 Lithuanians in Kansas City no more numerous than the Slovaks and in Leaven-
worth still fewer in proportion, deserve remarks similar to those just made.
The Latvians, the other speakers of Baltic languages, have been represented
only by refugees, particularly after the Second World War. They have been
scattered and therefore unable to preserve Lettish. The Lithuanian church
and the Slovak were made into one parish in Kansas City.

Scattered Latvians came to Kansas about 1945, usually Lutherans who had
lived in Germany. U. Cepure and D. Alskins, Letts were pastors in 1964 at
Trego Center and Linn.

44.0 The Romance languages that have been spoken in Kansas by immigrants are French, Spanish, and Italian. Portuguese, Rumanian, and the languages which have no nation bearing a related name have had no noteworthy representation among speakers in this state.*

*Portuguese in Kansas numbered 20 in 1900, 15 in 1910, 8 in 1920; most of the foreign-born from Rumania were Germans, but even so there were only 81 in 1900, 56 in 1920.

44.10 Italian settlements in Kansas are not numerous. By far the most important is that in the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields. Another much smaller but quite worthy of study was in the mining area at Osage City. There was also a small settlement of Italians at Leavenworth, mostly not miners. These were all near the eastern border, indeed within a very few miles of it except at Osage City. In 1890 the only counties in Kansas containing significant numbers of Italians were: Cherokee, 63; Crawford, 98; Leavenworth, 47; Osage, 212. The total for the state was 616. In 1900 the foreign-born Italians in Kansas numbered no more than 14 per county except in the counties containing the settlements named above, where there were:

	Cherokee	160	Leavenworth	56	Kansas
1900					Total =
	Crawford	541	Osage	113	987

In 1910 none of the remaining counties contained more Italians than Osage, though, for a short time, before Mexicans took over almost exclusively, extra gangs on railroads provided temporary groups running in 8 counties between 40 and 75. In the four with permanent settlements there were:

	Cherokee	736	Leavenworth	121
1910				
	Crawford	1,787	Osage	92
	Total for Kansas 3,520			

Though in 1915 the total number of foreign-born Italians in Crawford-Cherokee region had risen from 2,523 to 3,098 (Vol. I, p. 112), the total number in Kansas in 1920 had already subsided to 3,406.

44.11g North and South Italians both came to Kansas but the northerners were more numerous. The southerners were important only in parts of the Crawford-Cherokee Mining district. For early data on the relative numbers of North and South Italians in Kansas the report of the 1909 Senate investigators in the Crawford-Cherokee field is the best guide. According to them, Italians interviewed there reported dates of arrival in the U.S. as follows:

	North Italians	South Italians	Total
Before 1890	38	4	42
1890-94	45	7	52
1895-99	61	26	87
1900-04	243	104	347
1905-09	198	99	297
Totals	585	240	825

44.20 History of Italian Settlement in Kansas. Isolated Italians who became permanent settlers appeared in Kansas even before the territory opened. The Jesuit missionary Father Paul Ponziglione, was the first who became permanent. He came in 1851. In 1854 Taschetta arrived at Leavenworth, and the colony there had its origin, but it grew very slowly. There were 17 foreign-born

Italians in the county in 1875. The number reached 47 in 1890. The arrivals had been more numerous particularly in the later 1880's. Except for a temporary reenforcement in 1915, the number dwindled after that. In the two coal fields Italians first appeared in 1880 (possibly 1879 for Osage City). The two areas increased together in Italian population over the next decade and a half, with more immigrants going to Osage City than to Pittsburg. The mines closing down in Osage City in 1897 and 1898 reversed this phenomenon (1895 - Osage, 395 foreign-born and Pittsburg, 280; 1900 - Osage, 113 and Pittsburg, 701). The immigration to Osage City was practically ended; the influx into the Crawford-Cherokee area was hardly under way; as noted above 3,098 foreign-born Italians were there in 1915. With the bad times in Kansas coal mining, their number had fallen to 1,615 in 1925; the immigrants then remaining were permanent citizens.

- 44.21 The Catholic church ministered to Italians in Kansas without developing successful national parishes. Except for the influence of the Silvestrine Fathers (1912-1928) near Pittsburg the ecclesiastical influence was thus of Engl-izing character. Though impervious to all proselytizing by Protestants and generally innocent of tendencies toward free thinking, the majority of Kansas Italians--with important exceptions--were not very fervid in their religion, especially the men. They did not establish parochial schools.
- 44.22 Italian societies were numerous, and often displayed tendencies in Kansas as elsewhere toward campanilismo (localized provincial patriotism). La Società Vittoria, la Stella d'Oriente, la Società Libia Italiana are examples. Their careers were rather envanescent. All considered, the chaotic nature of Italians groups contributed to Engl-izing. The Italians tended to be at the bottom of the community social scale, and were thus motivated linguistically in ways usual in such groups, isolated to an extent promoting conservatism, am-

bitious to escape sufficiently to renounce their language readily.

44.23g Il Lavoratore italiano was a weekly paper in Italian published at Pittsburg from 1905 or 1907 until at least 1919. Its editor was a north Italian.

Though its tendency was Socialistic, three banks advertised in it. It is sometimes difficult to say whether its florid rhetoric is intentionally or unintentionally buffo. It presents a side of the Italian personality not suggested above.

44.3 Engl-izing among Kansas Italians was affected by the economic fall of the mining areas as well as by factors common to all Italo-American communities. A principal factor very evident in Kansas is the generally received notion that the Italian dialect of a speaker was not really Italian, and therefore unworthy of conservation. The existence of great dialectal differences among emigrants always promotes Engl-izing, but seldom is the tendency enhanced by such a feeling of inferiority. Those bred to a dialect loved it, but much as one would a retarded child. The young held it in low esteem, most often found it fit only for bandying jokes or communicating with the old.

44.4 The French speaking stocks in Kansas consist of groups from France, from Belgium*, from Switzerland* and most importantly from Canada. They are nearly all to be found in the two eastern belts of Kansas. The French speaking stock at home in 1895 in the Near and Far West combined numbered 833. One-third of these were the French Canadians of Rooks County. The others were immisced. In the Pre-West there were 3,874, almost 3,000 in its north, predominantly French Canadians and in the East 3,109, predominantly French from France. For statistical, historical and social reasons the French born in Europe are hereafter treated separately from French Canadians.

44.50 The Kansas settlements of French speakers from Europe were all in the East

and Pre-West. (Danville is in Harper County but more of its French lived in

*Except at Rice and Neuchatel Belgian and Swiss French dominated no settlements. Belgians were important among French in Crawford County, somewhat at Osage City, Florence and Topeka.

Sumner County of the Pre-West than in the more Western county). In the Inner and Southern Pre-West all the settlements were of low importance, all except the Florence-Cedar Point settlement of the lowest. Those of lowest (z) importance (Brookville, east of Salina, Greenwich, Danville) were all begun when settlers first arrived in their areas variously from 1868 to 1878, and enjoyed no later development. The Florence group of somewhat more importance (v) began settlement in 1857 and exhibited some vitality. The Northern Pre-West settlements consisted of the Neuchatel Swiss and three in Cloud County that grew up on the periphery of the great French Canadian settlement. The French from Europe in Cloud County began to have settlers in 1870 and 1871 very shortly after the first French Canadians arrived. The three were the Summit Township French, the Concordia French (who were even early partly French Canadians) and the Rice Belgians (the last two of mid-n importance, the first low x). The people at Neuchatel, like those at Florence, came first in 1857; they made up the only French Swiss settlement in Kansas. Though the group never reached more than mid-m importance, it was vigorous, reinforced by a number of French from France after the Civil War. The settlements in the east are scattered from the most northern to the most southern counties. They fall into two groups: rural and industrio-commercial. The latter contained the miners at Osage City and in the Crawford-Cherokee area, and the urban groups in Topeka and Leavenworth. These four had a certain importance but were smaller than other foreign language elements in the same communities. The rural settlements of the East were all of low importance. They also may be divided into two groups, those originating in territorial times of which the Prairie City French (Douglas Co.) and the St. Joseph-of-the-Valley French (Leavenworth Co.) were the most noteworthy (x and y importance respectively,

founded in 1854 and 1860),* and those founded in the early post-bellum period,

*The territorial rural French settlements, Wathena and Star Township, together with those mentioned above, are treated in Territorial Kansas, pp. 169-172. P. 168 discusses two pre-territorial French establishments, the Guittard Station and St. Mary's Mission; concerning the latter, more below. The Topeka and Leavenworth French appeared in territorial times.

Greenleaf (1868) and Olpe (1871), both of the lowest importance.*

*An element in rural population in the 1870's that had no linguistic development and left no permanent mark was the Utopian communists or communitarians. The Boissiere settlement at Silkville in Franklin County is best known (see in County Survey, Franklin Co). Jules Leroux and his kinsmen at Neuchatel were as interesting.

44.51 Statistical Historical Survey. The French from Europe were among the earliest settlers in Kansas, and in the coal fields continued to arrive until the outbreak of the First World War, usually going to the Pittsburg area. In the rural areas their immigration after 1882 was negligible. The number of French resident in Kansas when it was admitted to the Union in 1861 was approximately 500. The census of 1860 shows 507 Kansans born in France. The number of French speakers from Belgium and Switzerland probably balanced the number of speakers of German from Alsace. The immigrants from France had fallen in number to 460 in 1865. The counties having the greatest number were:

Doniphan	45 (contains Wathena French)
Douglas	73 (contains Prairie City French)
Leavenworth	156 (contains Leavenworth & St. Joseph-of-the Valley French)

Atchison and Wyandotte Counties on the Missouri and Johnson, Shawnee and Pottawatomie Counties on the Kaw contained from 15 to 24 persons born in France; Nemaha had 20, Cottonwood Township in Chase County (Florence-Cedar Point French) 11, Marshall County 12 (of whom 9 were in Guittard Township).

44.52 The counties which were highest in population born in France in 1865 remained among the five highest in 1875. Pottawatomie and Shawnee then surpassed Doniphan, Shawnee because of the marked increase in Topeka, Pottawatomie as much because French from France joined the Neuchatel group as because the St. Marys contingent increased.

Counties with More than 20 Inhabitants Born in France in
1875 and Same Counties in 1885

	Born in France		To Kansas From France		
	1875	1885	1875	1885	
Atchison	52	58	21	14	
Brown	26	15	1	2	
Chase	23	24	9	13	} Florence-Cedar Point French
Marion	27	40	8	27	
Crawford	28	100		35	Greenbush French and early miners
Doniphan	61	45	33	16	Wathena French
Douglas	91	54	28	15	Prairie City French
Franklin	38	30	20	6	
Labette	26	37	8	7	
Leavenworth	133	116	49	37	Leavenworth French, St. Joseph-of-the-Valley French
Lyon	37	38	27	17	Olpe French

Marshall	34	40	4	27	Guittard Station
Nemaha	40	40	1	6	
Neosho	25	36	5	6	
Osage	42	159	13	66	Osage City French
Pottawatomie	67	75	7	28	St. Marys, Neuchatel French
Reno	26	46	20	17	
Saline	33	50	16	41	Brookville French, East of Salina French
Shawnee	91	97	36	40	Topeka French
Wabaunsee	22	27	13	14	probably with St. Marys French
Wyandotte	<u>36</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>19</u>	
Kansas Total	1,294	1,984	374	623	

The additional counties containing 20 persons born in France in 1885 were

Butler	23 (no center identified)
Cherokee	37 (the mining area was then receiving French)
Coffey	38 (Star Township French)
Cloud	45 (Concordia, Summit Township French)
Harper	40
Sumner	25 } (Danville French)
Harvey	25 (no center identified)
Sedgwick	42 (17 in Wichita)
Washington	27 (partly Alsatians, chief connection Parsons Creek Germans)

As shown in Volume I the total of those born in France resident in Kansas in 1895 fell from the 1,984 of 1885 to 1,770 in 1895. According to the state census it rose again to 2,631 in 1905 and then in 1915 dropped off to 2,170 and in 1925 to 1,567.

44.53 Those immigrants of "French race" who gave Kansas as their destination probably included in the 20th century almost no Canadians nor Swiss; they numbered:

1899	37	1905	338	1911	105
1900	35	1906	204	1912	99
1901	19	1907	169	1913	124
1902	88	1908	120	1899-1903	313
1903	134	1909	154	1904-1908	1144
1904	311	1910	91	1909-1913	573
				1914	128

The dates of arrival in the United States of French miners at the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields (see p. 000) display a similar curve for the twentieth century, that is, a high point at 1905 and another, less marked, as the outbreak of war approached. They also reveal almost as great a high point in the late 80's and for Belgians one still higher in the early 90's. Similar data for Osage City corresponds. At Leavenworth 11 of 19 French present there in 1925 had arrived in the U.S. during the period 1887-1890. Three more had arrived in 1873; data for 1925 from the Florence-Cedar Point French also show arrivals in 1873. Similar data from Topeka and Kansas City corroborate.

Dates of Arrival in the U.S. of persons born in France resident in 1925 in

Topeka	Kansas City, Kansas
	1852-1864 -- 3
1866-1872 -- 7	1867-1874 -- 9
1877 -- 1	1876-1878 -- 2
1882-1890 -- 6	1883-1889 --10

1893-1895 -- 3

1895 -- 2

1904-1910 -- 6

1900-1913 -- 7

The foundation dates of Kansas Territorial French settlements show that Kansas had its small share of the French immigration of the early 1850's. The area thus felt the effect of all waves of French immigration, but because of mining prosperity particularly of those of the late 1880's and the early 20th century. Rural immigration virtually ceased by 1880.

44.54g The European French in Kansas lacked permanent social institutions to help them preserve their identity. This state of affairs is in considerable part to be explained by their small numbers and by their diffusion in other foreign language groups. If they were Catholics of sufficient zeal to be faithful in church attendance, and, though mostly Catholics, they were likely to be lukewarm and anticlerical, they were never in parishes where they were preponderant in the membership. If they were Protestants their churches either were short-lived or received accretions from other stocks. No schools to teach the children of immigrants developed. French men and women sometimes gave French lessons but to non-French who were culturally ambitious. French societies and lodges were not numerous and at least at Leavenworth were hospitable to non-French membership. The French were sometimes enthusiastic about festivals and picnics. The Fourteenth of July at Florence and Osage City, and as an adjunct of Osage City, at Reading, was vigorously celebrated, too vigorously, for the French were joined by others interested primarily in the beer that had to substitute for wine in Kansas. The celebrations became rowdy in character and the French, rather than reform them, dropped them. Such celebrations, however, provided a unifying force between communities during their

period of prosperity, for celebrants came from long distances to take part in them. The most important unifying force among the French was probably the leaders. None of importance appeared in the Crawford-Cherokee coal district, but everywhere else there was a tendency for some man to be outstanding and to develop his power by acting as a social nucleus (Pinaire in Leavenworth, Bonjour and Leroux at Neuchatel, Vigneron at Osage City, Bernard at Florence). But these men were likely to be interested in the whole community and were catalysts for Engl-izing. Even in the southeast mining district the tendency of leaders to fraternize outside their group probably explains the reputation that the French had of being easily assimilable, for the evidence is that most French immigrants learned English less rapidly than some other stocks. There were early attempts at French journalism in Kansas, L'Estafette du Kansas, Leavenworth, 1859, L'Etoile du Kansas, Neuchatel, 1873, but none endured and journals from elsewhere do not seem to have penetrated the state. All in all the French in Kansas lived up to their national reputation of being individualists.

- 44.6 The first French generation in Kansas, because it was made up of individualists, resisted Engl-izing for itself, but was incapable of influencing children bred in the same tradition. Thus the second generation, even more than in most stocks, did not often follow in the way of their elders save in doing as they pleased. What pleased its members was usually to do the easiest thing and use English. The traditional influence of old women, however, preserved French among the few that dealt with them.
- 44.7 French Canadians in Kansas settled almost exclusively in the Northern Pre-West and Near West. The Aurora-Clyde settlement of ultra-high importance of Cloud County on the Republican River with the Palmer-Greenleaf group (z

importance) that connected the Cloud County people with the early railhead at Waterville furnish by far the most important French Canadian group in the state. Those at St. Marys who persisted from the Pottawatomie-connected pre-territorial settlement remained of the lowest importance; they complete the list of northern Pre-West settlements. One hundred miles west of the Cloud County group, in Rooks County, the Damar and Zurich French Canadians, each of mid-importance furnish the only other significant group in the state. They make up the Northern Near-West contingent of French Canadians. Farther west French Canadian names appear here and there among landholders along the old Kansas Pacific Railroad (now U.P.) and become sufficiently concentrated in the Inner Far West in Logan County to count them as a noteworthy element in the Page-Monument Polyglot group. The Elivon group in southeastern McPherson County, established when the county there was first opened for settlement was choked by the surrounding Mennonites nearly to the point of extinction and was always of the lowest importance. Immixed French Canadians in Kansas have nearly always been connected with the Cloud and Rooks County centers, and the two centers have very close blood ties with each other.

- 44.80 History of French Canadian Settlement. The French Canadians in Kansas were among the earliest of the area settlers in all their settlements, 1848 at St. Marys, 1868 in Washington and Cloud Counties, 1874 in Rooks County. The first French Canadians at St. Marys came with the Pottawatomies as their liaison agents with white men, acquired land and carried on business. They and the traders who preceded them or were their contemporaries were plainsmen of the stock that further east were appropriately called coureurs de bois. The rest of the French Canadians were farmers, habitants from Canada or their sons or grandsons. Almost all had come through Kankakee, Illinois, and a great many were born in that area. For no other settlement in Kansas is there so

close a connection with a single colony in another state. Statistics on the chronology of the movement of French Canadians into Kansas, affected by the frequency of a sojourn in Illinois, do not fully show the currents of settlement.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
French Canada Resident in 1925 in Cloud
and Rooks Counties

(Shirley twp. + Aurora cy. + twp.)	Cloud	Rooks		Cloud	Rooks
		(Richland twp.)			
1847-8	1	2	1880-4	6	10
1850-4	2	4	1885-9	5	6
1855-9	8	1	1890-4	3	2
1860-4	4	5	1895-9	3	2
1865-9	6	3	1904-11		3
1870-4	5		1917	1	
1875-9	10	4	Total	54	42

Inasmuch as the mortality of those who had arrived in the United States seventy-five years before must have been very great, it is clear from the above table that Canadian Kansans who had spent fifteen or twenty years in Illinois after the mid-point of the century were numerous. The influx of those directly from Canada or those only briefly in Illinois was at a maximum between 1875 and 1885. Beginning with the hard times of the nineties fewer and fewer came to Kansas from Canada. There were some in the hard years who returned to Illinois. With better times there came a tendency to spread into neighboring areas, both farms and towns. Thus Clyde, which had not been within the Cloud County settlement in its early days became practically part of it and Damar, which was founded later than the arrival of the

Canadians, and is still not far from the edge of the settlement became the capital of the Rooks County groups. Dissemination into more distant but still easily accessible centers promoted Engl-izing.

44.81 For French Canadians the primary social institution is the Catholic church. In the Kankakee area in Illinois schism existed, but hardly a shadow of it reached Kansas. The priests in Kansas serving French Canadian communities were almost all French. Any influence of written French came to the settlers through the church. Non-religious societies have been of no importance. The people in the rural parishes near Concordia have been all French; the same was true at Damar for many years. Only diocesan attitudes led away from the maintenance of the French tradition.

44.82g The development of the French Canadians in Kansas, set forth in detail in the settlement histories has been remarkably parallel to the evolution in the Kankakee area in Illinois. The French in the two states were reenforced by immigration from Canada until approximately the same date. The pressures upon them were nearly the same. Concordia, like Kankakee, was polyglot in character, and mixed in religion. The rural settlers in neither case had the support of a strong urban group. The Kansans, being smaller in numbers, might be expected to succumb more quickly. What helped them in resistance was in part greater production of their own priests and almost no contamination from Protestantism. In any case the mid-1920's provide the critical date for both Illinois and Kansas Franco-Americans.

44.9 Among French Canadians in Kansas Engl-izing did not become effectual for many years, but after the break occurred, it went on as rapidly as in any other stock. The most important influence was probably the proliferation of the people which compelled many to leave the community and to feed back influences from outside.

- 45.00 Spanish in Kansas has been spoken as a native tongue only by the Mexicans to any appreciable extent. A few Spaniards (282 in 1910, 225 in 1920), mainly from Galicia, appeared in the coal fields and worked in the smelters of south-eastern Kansas during the period of the First World War, but they established no settlement.
- 45.01 Mexicans, as defined in the next section, are accorded a special place in this study because they are the latest stock to arrive in Kansas and in them Engl-izing has been slightly inhibited by stronger segregational and discriminatory influences than those to which other immigrants were subject. It has therefore been possible to observe Engl-izing at work in earlier stages than among other stocks. The accounts of Mexican settlements in Kansas great and small occupy a separate grouping with more attention to case histories and to a few very small groups than is accorded to other accounts. The phenomena found among Mexicans, however, are essentially the same as in other stocks; no surprising differences are recorded.
- 45.02g A Mexican, as the term is used in the present work, means a person born in Mexico, or in contexts which make the inclusion clear, a child or grandchild or later descendant of such an immigrant. In the case of Kansans the inclusion of generations later than the third is not likely. For the stocks which came from Mexico to Texas, Arizona, and California before their territory became part of the U.S. terms containing the word Mexican are used. For the old Spanish-speaking stock in New Mexico the word Hispano is used. When it is necessary to include the Hispanos and the Mexicans as above defined under one term they are here called Spanish-speakers; no stocks ultimately derivative from other lands than Mexico are included. In speaking of the southwest the word Anglo is here employed to refer to anyone who is not a Spanish-speaker or an Indian. The term is customary in the southwest;

95.1
this work seldom uses it for populations resident elsewhere. All these terms are to be understood without emotional connotations.

- 45.1 Mexicans in Kansas were practically non-existent until after 1900. The few persons born in Mexico recorded by the censuses did not all bear Spanish names. By 1907, however, Clark could write, "Kansas City, Missouri, is given as their destination by many Mexican arrivals at El Paso, and that city is resorted to by them as an employment center" /c1475. He also refers specifically to employment in Kansas /c1472, 477. The printed State census of 1905 did not yet have a category that could include those born outside of this country, Europe or Canada. Persons born elsewhere were presumably entered under the heading "not stated;" it included Syrians and Orientals (of whom there were a few) as well as Mexicans. For three cities "not stated" in 1905 recorded: Kansas City 35, Topeka 23, Wichita 52; in the same order the figure for their counties was 54, 34, 67. The dozen counties which showed numbers of "not stated" superior to these probably included no Mexicans in the case of seven, and may have for the other five. The census was taken as of March 1, when the railroads had not yet sent out the extra gangs to their summer's work. Such gangs made up of Mexicans were probably at work in Kansas by 1903. The Mexicans were soon working on section gangs (that is, crews occupied with routine maintenance of set "sections" of railroad tracks) and as unskilled labor at railroad division points. The United States census of 1910 shows 8405 persons born in Mexico in Kansas. Railroad employment occupied most of these, but beet sugar production was already under way at Garden City, salt mining had recently increased greatly at Hutchinson, Lyons, and Kanopolis, and there was work in the packing houses, particularly in Kansas City, but Topeka and Wichita plants also had a labor demand. Until

the period of the Second World War there were few Mexican workers outside these occupations.

- 45.2 The location of Mexican settlements in Kansas has been determined by the occupation of their members. The salt and sugar centers mentioned above attracted Mexicans for work with salt and beets only. Kansas City, Topeka and Wichita used them in meat packing, but these cities were also railroad centers. Not all rail lines employed many Mexicans. Perhaps the Missouri Pacific rather than the Santa Fe at Concordia provided work for 66 Mexicans in 1910, but the number living in that town fell to 17 in 1920 and dwindled still more. Work for the Union Pacific at Salina may have furnished the impetus for a settlement that became permanent, but even there the Santa Fe and the Rock Island were present. These two systems brought most of the Mexicans to Kansas. The Mexicans have felt that the Santa Fe has been particularly considerate of them, has done more to help their housing and was less hard-hearted in turning off tried employees during the depression of the 1930's. Both the Santa Fe and the Rock Island run into El Paso, Texas, "the most important distributing point for Mexican immigration" said Clark in 1907 /c1474. He says further that Mexicans "are working for these two companies in increasing numbers . . . through Kansas, Missouri, and even into Chicago and to central Iowa" /c1477; one labor agency at El Paso had in the first eight months of 1907 furnished 3523 Mexicans to the Rock Island /c1473. Throughout the areas served by the Santa Fe and the Rock Island Mexican workers on the section soon appeared and these laborers, in groups too small to be called settlements, lived at the scene of their activities for many years, sometimes into the present. All these individuals receive little further notice in this work. The difficulty of dealing with them statistically

and with the early comers to larger settlements is illustrated by this note of 1905 written by a census-taker at Herington: "I find a class of railroad men that it is impossible to get any information in regard to their names, age, or birthplace. [Part are] laborers in bunk cars that make headquarters here and are in and out, this being a division point." In the 1950's and 1960's the younger generations had left isolated spots and only a few veterans remained. Larger Mexican groups assembled at railroad division points or at the terminal of branch lines. Though some of these collapsed with the decline in the fortunes of the railroads, especially those along the Rock Island lines, the Mexican colonies have in general persisted in these towns. The falling off of the need for manpower in the salt industry has reduced the number of Mexicans in those centers too. To a lesser degree some-

thing similar may be said for the meat packing and sugar cities, though in these places other occupations have in general been able to absorb the released labor supply. Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita have settlements rather well integrated into the general economy. Along the Santa Fe main line the settlements at Emporia, Newton, Hutchinson, Dodge City and Garden City continue to be important, partly, as has already been explained in the case of Hutchinson and Garden City, because other industries have also given employment. These are the only towns in Kansas in which in 1900 the number of inhabitants born in Mexico exceeded 99.

45.3 ~~Geographically, Mexican immigration in Kansas~~ differed from all other for-ling immigration in approaching the state from the south instead of the southeast. It was however drawn in the direction of Kansas City by the occupational opportunities. The peoples of the "new immigration" penetrated into the state no **farther than Kansas City and the Crawford-Cherokee** ~~city and t~~ coal fields, probably because they met the Mexicans. In Kansas City the Mexicans gained a footing, on the lowest rung on the ladder. In the coal fields they did not, but in the counties immediately to the west of the mining area where Chanute, Parsons, Coffeyville, and Independence are located they established themselves, largely because this area in the days when the local gas fields were productive had industrial development that brought railroads much business. Elsewhere in the state the settlements became important where the Santa Fe and the Rock Island served the communities with the greatest variety of economic productivity

along their lines, that is, the Kaw Valley and the Arkansas Valley; the settlement at Emporia provided the most important intermediary between the valleys; those at Herington and Florence were others. Nothing carried the Mexicans into the Inner Near and Far West, where late arriving Volgans provided the Union Pacific with a labor supply no more expensive and somewhat more permanent than the Mexicans. To the north and west of Topeka and Kansas City the Mexicans in the railroad centers may be regarded as a feed back from those cities; the railroad network provided no direct access from Mexico. Consequently the Mexican colonies remained relatively small when they did establish themselves in that part of the state and never profited by the general movement of Mexicans toward larger towns when railroad employment decreased.

Census reports on Mexicans are more reliable for Kansas than for the southwestern states because in Kansas there was no question of confusion with old Spanish-speaking stocks, but reliability is still rather low. The censuses taken by the State of Kansas in 1915 and 1925 are rather patently unreliable because of under enumeration. They show fewer Mexicans in both those years than the United States censuses show in 1910, 1920 and 1930. No one accuses the Federal census takers of over-enumeration and everyone who was a witness to the phenomenon agrees that there were more Mexicans in Kansas in 1915 than in 1910, and probably more in 1925 than in 1920, certainly more than in 1930 when the tide had begun to recede slightly. The 1930 census reports did not distinguish the foreign born among "Mexicans" from their children.

Then "Mexicans" were classified with "Other Races," that is, not white or negro, and were defined, as "persons of Mexican birth or parentage who were not definitely reported as white or Indian." In 1940 the report revealed the fact that in Kansas 11,166 of the 19,150 "Mexicans" of 1930 had been born in Mexico, but no similar revelation has been made for the counties. Due allowance should therefore be made in comparing the 1930 statistics with reports from earlier years. Statistics published by Kansas have often been supplemented by direct study of the enumerators' own records, obviously in the case of "children at home."

The totals for the whole State of Kansas presented by the printed reports are as follows: (They are for persons born in Mexico)

1910 - 8,475	1930 - 11,166
1915 - 4,410	1940 - 5,122
1920 - 13,750	1950 - 4,204
1925 - 8,226	

For 1940 the statistics for those of Spanish mother tongue (all of whom were Mexicans in Kansas) are as follows: foreign-born 4580, foreign or mixed parentage 7760, native parentage 720. The 1940 statistics are derived from 5 percent samples. The comparison between 4580 and 4204 is an indication of accuracy. The total of 13,060 shows a smaller decrease of the total stock than is indicated by the drop in the number of foreign born. The 1950 statistics show that in the period 1940-1950 the Mexican immigrants became permanent residents; the linguistic development has not been disturbed by newcomers.

45.41

MEXICAN FOREIGN BORN OF 1915 AND 1925 KANSAS CENSUSES AND
OF U.S. CENSUSES, INCLUDING "MEXICANS" OF 1930 CENSUS*
FOR COUNTIES OF PRINCIPAL INTEREST

1910	1920	County	Principal Mexican Settlement	1915	1925	1930*	1940	1950
36	89	Allen	Humboldt	23	76	131	42	35
8	97	Atchison	Atchison	54	122	153	48	57
169	449	Butler	El Dorado	62	113	351	82	56
62	141	Chase	Saffordville Strong City	-	122	387	87	26
87	379	Cowley	Arkansas City Winfield	60	48 (sic)	470	117	94
125	257	Dickinson	Herington	104	245	341	50	31
81	38	Douglas	Lawrence	52	34	127	49	52
107	62	Edwards	Kinsley	-	53	140	42	21
67	96	Ellsworth	Kanopolis	52	122	229	95	46
137	234	Finney	Garden City	134	268	571	167	171
366	369	Ford	Dodge City	196	240	614	151	144
47	236	Franklin	Ottawa		46	209	49	56
395	387	Harvey	Newton	119	373	595	145	136
79	170	Johnson	North border	5	50	353	47	28
57	31	Kearny	Deerfield Lakin	46	128	134	58	35
9	229	Labette	Parsons	8	88	287	95	66
27	128	Leavenworth	Bonner Springs	33	33	274	98	50
224	428	Lyon	Emporia	232	207	591	153	119
133	406	Marion	Florence	233	182	369	73	36
230	328	Montgomery	Coffeyville Independence	313	143	358	83	85
46	496	Neosho	Chanute	41	70	420	104	54

1910	1920	County	Principal Mexican Settlement	1915	1925	1930*	1940	1950
45	57	Pawnee	Larned	3	22	290	47	35
94	62	Pratt	Pratt	27	31	109	28	23
456	467	Reno	Hutchinson	168	303	473	159	157
109	191	Rice	Lyons	22	159	318	110	66
49	108	Riley	Manhattan	29	67	179	48	61
35	167	Saline	Salina	31	145	334	58	50
562	893	Sedgwick	Wichita	357	741	1444	436	440
376	915	Shawnee	Topeka	469	962	1864	692	602
15	43	Sherman	Goodland	3	49	114	30	22
837	387	Sumner	Wellington	101	210	510	137	121
152	2209	Wyandotte	Kansas City	506	1752	2911	1008	860

*"Mexicans" as earlier defined.

45.42 Other counties with more than 100 Mexicans in 1930 were Barber 158, Barton 165, Brown (Horton) 463, Elk 355, Gray 103, Morris 119, Osage (O. City) 173, Phillips 102, Pottawatomie 154, Scott 107. The people of Elk County report that Mexicans were never numerous among them. The 1930 count there is to be explained by the presence of an extra gang. Similar explanations probably apply to Barber, Gray, Pottawatomie and Scott Counties. The Mexicans in Brown and Phillips Counties were mainly in the Rock Island towns of Horton (shops) and Phillipsburg (engine change). Mexicans in Barton, Morris and Osage Counties were distributed in several points, though the county seats contained the larger numbers. Mexicans in the Pittsburg coal fields were inconspicuous among the more numerous foreign stocks and they departed among the first when coal production declined after 1921. In Crawford County there were in 1910 216 persons born in Mexico, in 1920, 198, in 1930 only 89.

45.43g

CITIES OF 2500 OR MORE POPULATION IN 1950
CONTAINING TWENTY OR MORE PERSONS BORN IN MEXICO

Name of City (and County)	Born in Mexico 1950	Rail- road	Other Industry
Arkansas City (Cowley)	42	SF*	
Atchison (Atchison)	54	SF*	
Chanute (Neosho)	53	SF*	
Coffeyville (Montgomery)	35	SF MKT	
Dodge City (Ford)	100	SF*	
El Dorado (Butler)	33	SF*	
Emporia (Lyon)	103	SF*	
Garden City (Finney)	138	SF	Sugar
Goodland (Sherman)	20	RI*	
Herington (Dickinson)	21	RI*	
Hutchinson (Reno)	146	SF RI	Salt
Independence (Montgomery)	24	SF	
Kansas City (Wyandotte)	715	SF* RI*	Meat packing
Larned (Pawnee)	20	SF*	

Name of City (and County)	Born in Mexico 1950	Rail- road	Other Industry
Lawrence (Douglas)	41	SF*	
Lyons (Rice)	41	SF	Salt
Manhattan (Riley)	58	(RI) UP	
Newton (Harvey)	111	SF*	
Ottawa (Franklin)	52	SF*	
Parsons (Labette)	58	MKT*	
Pratt (Pratt)	21	RI*	
Salina (Saline)	48	(SF* RI*) UP MoP	
Topeka (Shawnee)	583	SF*	Some meat packing
Wellington (Sumner)	97	SF* (RI)	
Wichita (Sedgwick)	371	SF* RI	Meat packing
Winfield (Cowley)	45	SF*	

*Place of engine change or branch line terminus

45.50 The Catholic church has been the most important social institution among the Mexicans of Kansas. There have been national parishes at:

Deerfield	Hutchinson	Newton	Topeka
Emporia	Kanopolis	Parsons(briefly)	Wichita
Garden City	Kansas City	Salina	

Wherever there is a national parish the influence of the church has been conservative of Spanish by the very fact of the segregation of members, though in some places segregation has been practiced within the parish through the behavior of the people. If the clergy has been Spanish-speaking, the conservative influence has naturally been greater. The influence of the Recollect Augustinian Fathers at Kansas City, Topeka, and during guest appearances elsewhere, has been the most important in this respect: They have been Spaniards born. In the other dioceses a very few Mexican secular priests have had charges, and some pastors, regular and secular, have learned Spanish.

45.51g Protestants have made up a bare 10% of the Mexicans who stayed through the 1930's--fewer before. Protestant denominations, Baptists, Methodists and others capable of working in cooperation, early observed that here was an uncultivated missionary field and labored to make converts. Their success was slight, but congregations were formed. The Baptists worked by themselves and part of their ministers were converts made in Mexico. The influence of such men was very conservative of Spanish. Other denominations have sometimes had Spanish-speaking ministers, but not always, and the cooperation enlisted from Anglo Protestants has in general made for Englishing. More importantly, the Protestants have usually been cast out by other Mexicans and forced to accept Anglo associations such as they could find.

- 45.60 Fiestas are the best known social activity of the Mexicans. These are closely allied to Catholic activities, though the celebration is usually for Mexican Independence day, but the church is not always primarily responsible. The best known fiestas are probably those at Chanute, Kansas, and at Our Lady of Guadalupe Center in Kansas City, Mo. The July celebration in Topeka has also attracted attention. Anglo attendance is large, thus providing an Engl-izing influence directly counter to the exaltation of Mexican culture and Spanish language that characterizes the occasions.
- 45.61g The American GI Forum is the most important of the Mexican societies operating in more than one city in Kansas. It began to organize chapters in the middle of the 1950's and has been most active along the Arkansas Valley. It advances Engl-izing through the goals indicated by the name, but retards it by congregating Mexicans. The retardation is minor.
- 45.7 Economically the Mexicans of Kansas have not since 1940 been in as desperate straits as the Mexicans and Hispanos of the southwest. Still the Mexicans are for the most part on the lowest rung of the economic ladder, sharing it with Negroes. The exceptions who rise in the scale to positions as teachers or secretaries become fully Engl-ized. Those who become small entrepreneurs usually do also, for the clientele of, say, an electronics technician is not exclusively Mexicans.
- 45.8 Discriminatory attitudes toward Mexicans in Kansas vary much from place to place without any explanatory factor. In a railroad community the other workmen may exhibit the contempt and distrust which prevailed when the Mexicans first appeared, while Catholics who have become accustomed to their presence may demonstrate only a gently protective attitude. Full social equality can hardly be said to exist anywhere, but in general the attitudes

are more nearly acceptable to the Mexican than those found in the parts of Texas far enough from the border to include few Latins among the more or less well-to-do.

45.90 The closeness of Kansas to Mexico exerts an influence unlike any exerted on stocks directly from Europe. The easier the communication with Mexico the more pronounced the influence. In Omaha with a smaller settlement than Kansas City and more difficult access to the border, assimilation was farther advanced in all respects including Engl-izing. The pressure of discrimination was also less. The process of Engl-izing was undoubtedly going on everywhere. The friendliness of the second half of the 20th century toward bilingualism will doubtless preserve the use of Spanish among many, but inability to speak fluent English began to be considered as the mark of age by 1940 and became the mark either of advanced age or of an individual socially very backward by 1955.

45.91 Two developed opinions on Engl-izing about 1950 among Mexicans deserve special attention. They are those of Domingo Ricart and Hector Franco. The observations of both are frequently cited in the settlement histories. Prof. Ricart spoke from the point of view of a cultivated Spaniard who had made a thoughtful survey. The Rev. Mr. Franco was speaking as a Protestant minister of Mexican origin who was writing a thesis.

Ricart's general conclusions of 1950 on language usage in the five towns that he visited deserve quotation in extenso: "Although I cannot prove statistically the following statement, I feel confident that it is substantially correct: At the present time the majority of Mexican families still use Spanish as their habitual language. I do not say that all members of the family speak Spanish habitually, but the language most heard at home,

and the official one, if one may use the expression, is Spanish. The more or less numerous exceptions are newly married couples where both members had been previously exposed to strong American influence, especially if they have broken away from the Mexican colony or district. The general statement is particularly true in all cases where two or three generations live together.

"The general pattern is as follows: older people, say of fifty years of age and more -- men will know at least some English words and phrases, most likely will be able to speak some kind of broken English. Women would not understand spoken English, would know only a few useful words, but would not be able to talk it at all. These older people speak Spanish in the house and with their friends, living in a little world almost unaware of the existence of a completely different one outside. Families whose heads are from 30 to 50 years old would still use Spanish as their family language. In some cases the husband will have a fair or even a good command of English, and he will be proud of it and make a point of displaying it, but still the wife will know little English and use it as little as possible. Sometimes... . younger children going to school will teach English to their parents or make them use it a little more, but again the language of the family is still Spanish... .

"[As to younger people] any casual observer walking around a Mexican district will be struck by the sight of groups of children playing in the street, talking volubly in English, without accent, and suddenly bursting into a string of Spanish words and sentences. When interrogated in Spanish or asked for a direction they will look at you in surprise (an outsider is not supposed to talk Spanish), but always all or some of them will answer

you either in Spanish or in English or in both. . . . A friend informs me [concerning teenagers], "When they get stuck in English, they say what they want to in Spanish and vice versa." . . . Youngest children, will understand and speak only Spanish in most of the cases, since Spanish is the habitual language of the older folk. I have met many instances of this phenomenon. Children from 5 to 10 learn English. Very often they begin learning it in the first grade. In the parochial schools of Mexican districts the nun who is the first grade teacher knows Spanish. Usually Mexican children have to repeat the first grade. In a predominantly or exclusively Mexican school children would learn rather poor English, and not much, and then relapse very easily into Spanish at play and at home. Children in mixed schools have more opportunity to learn good English and to use it more, at least at play. Young people from 10 to 15 years of age with more years of English acquired by attending public junior high or high school, learn still more and tend to use it by preference. They speak Spanish less, even at home, thus sometimes creating difficult situations with parents who do not know English. But they understand Spanish well. Their vocabulary is limited. Their knowledge is mostly passive and aural. They neither read nor write it. Probably girls speak it more. They occasionally interject Spanish sentences into their discourse, or in many cases, conduct conversations in Spanish. Most frequently they shift from one language to the other in a conversation. Those aged from 15 to 25 have lived longer with Spanish speaking parents. Many in their early twenties now have not had much schooling beyond grade school or one or two years of high school. They seem to speak more Spanish at home. The girls (especially those working at poultry,

laundry and waitress or semi-domestic jobs) know enough English but seem to use Spanish more readily" /ri20-21; 26-27.

Franco, writing a few months before Ricart, assigns much greater prevalence to English. He details first the painful first steps of adult immigrants in acquiring a small vocabulary, and then emphasizes the rôle of children in Engl-izing. They not only learned English quickly; they acted as interpreters, and also as teachers to their parents. Franco summarizes the situation as he wrote in 1950 thus: "English has definitely supplanted Spanish in nearly all Mexican families, and Spanish is now only a secondary language, destined to disappear if the present trend continues. The Protestant church is the only place where Spanish is used, and then only in the preaching services as an accomodation to the older folk, but the young people and children prefer English even here. Slowly but surely English is being used by all the Mexicans in the state, and in a great many cases, Spanish is used only when absolutely necessary" /fr48. Though Franco was constantly exposed to his Mexican compatriots, it would seem that Ricart is nearer the general truth, first because Franco was constantly in contact with the Mexican element most subject to Engl-izing influences, Protestants in the south Wichita settlement, second because he considered that Engl-izing was progress, and he desired to paint Mexicans as progressive.

Summarizing the opinions to be derived from such statements we may say that in the 1950's there were few Mexicans who did not know English, but homes in which the young were rebelling against the use of Spanish were few. In many cases girls driven back into the home resumed the use of Spanish that they had much neglected during their high school years and gangs of high school boys used their language as a badge of belonging. There were,

however, homes of young parents where the use of English was habitual and all the young were bilingual unless migrants, even then if children. In general the larger the group the greater the degree of discrimination practiced against it.

45.92g Engl-izing of Mexicans in Kansas speaking as of 1967 could be long delayed only by new immigration, of which there seemed little prospect. The shift to English within any given community has been affected by the degree of racial hostility. The original immigrants were in the late 1960's vigorous linguistically and maintained acquaintance with Spanish among all Mexicans of the state. With their death the complete abandonment of Spanish may be sudden. Children and young people who could hardly understand Spanish were a usual phenomenon. In Wichita, Topeka, and Kansas City where the settlements are larger the proportion of the young which might be so characterized was smaller, but if the young were of the third generation they were essentially Engl-ized.

46.0 Welsh was the only Celtic language spoken by a group in Kansas. In view of the fact that most of the Welsh were bilingual before arriving in the state, the persistence of their language was great.

46.10 Distribution of Welsh in Kansas. In 1910 and 1920 one-third of the Kansans born in Wales were immixed in the general population (568/1615, 400/1170). Some of them were ardent Welshmen but necessarily ceased to be practitioners of the Welsh language.* The concentrated Welsh settlements all used Welsh

*Gomer Taliesin Davies (1855-after 1948), long editor of the Concordia Daily Kansan and well-known throughout Kansas, is an example. He came from Glamorganshire as a child of eight; his wife was Welsh, and they named one daughter Morfydd. See Connelley, History of Kansas Newspapers, p. 106.

in their beginnings. None is found in the West, either Near or Far (in 1895, there were 168 persons born in Wales in all the West), and those outside of Lyon and Osage Counties in the western part of the Inner East are all of Low Importance. Not far from the common border of these two adjacent counties are located the Emporia Welsh of Hi Importance (d), the Osage City Mining Welsh of Mid Importance, and the Arvonian Welsh, also of Mid Importance (k). Within a radius of one hundred miles of this center are found the other minor settlements (x-importance): Bala in Riley County to the Northwest, at one time ambitious and well-known, Padonia in Brown County to the north, Rosedale to the northeast now part of Kansas City and dissolved, the Crawford Cherokee mining area to the southeast (the Welsh were a minor and temporary element in a great complex) and Burrton in Harvey County to the west.

46.11g Counties containing more than 30 persons born in Wales in 1920 were:

Brown	42	Padonia	Osage	117	Osage City & Arvonian
Cherokee	32	Crawford-Cherokee mining district	Coffey	55	part of Arvonian
Crawford	76		Riley	33	Bala
Harvey	32	Burrton	Wyandotte	108	Rosedale (Welsh not concentrated in Kansas City)
Lyon	214	Emporia	Shawnee	55	The Welsh in Topeka were

immixed from early days. In 1895 the 42 f.b. Welsh were distributed evenly through the five wards. In 1895 there were 123 born in Wales in Cherokee and Crawford Counties, in 1910, 166, compared with those born in France, who were a minor but more important group of that area, 417 French in 1895, 1400 in 1915.

46.2 History of Welsh Settlement in Kansas. Welshmen came into Kansas among the first settlers; there was a kernel of settlement in Lawrence very shortly after that town was founded in 1854 when the territory was opened for settlement, and Lawrence furnished a way station to those who began the settlement in Emporia as early as 1856. All the other Welsh groups saw their first settlers between 1868 and 1871, which was likewise a period of great influx into Emporia. There was also a wave of settlement in the 1880's; a few immigrants came later. Congregational and Calvinistic Methodist Churches, more rarely short-lived Baptist groups, were founded in the settlements as soon as each denomination was sufficiently represented. But the Welsh gathered in union services before separate churches were founded. In other words they were strongly religious, and it was nationalistic religion with preaching and instruction in Welsh. The early immigrants remained faithful to their language, but depending on the strength of the settlement between 1885 and 1918 the communities passed the critical year in the use of Welsh. The singing of Welsh songs persisted, for musical organizations were, after the church, and closely connected with it, the most important cultural organizations. The eisteddfodau were not merely musical competitions, also elocutional, oratorical and exhibitiv of creative writing. They lasted until about 1890 and were in some sense transformed into the St. David's Day celebrations on March 1, mainly musical in character. These persist into the 1960's.

46.3 Engl-izing of the Welsh in Kansas was parallel to developments in other states in this country. Preaching in English began at Emporia shortly before 1900 and Welsh sermons disappeared between 1910 and 1920. Some families at Emporia were using Welsh in the home up until the First World War. In

the smaller communities except perhaps Arvonja, Welsh fell into desuetude somewhat earlier save for old people. A few speakers of Welsh could still be found in 1960.

46.40 Greek is the only Indo-European language spoken by a group in Kansas not so far considered. The languages of that family spoken in Asia are not represented.

46.41 Greeks born in Greece and resident in Kansas numbered seven in 1895, one in Parsons, one in Lancaster Township, Atchison County, five in Topeka. None of these places was the later seat of a settlement large enough for study. Topeka nearly qualifies. It contained 14 foreign-born Greeks in 1920, 4 in 1925, 22 in 1930. Canoutas reported in 1912 that there were 150 Greeks in Topeka and 300 Greeks in Independence, but in both towns they must have been members of labor gangs. There were 198 foreign-born Greeks in Montgomery County in 1910 -- 14 in 1920. Independence and Coffeyville are in this county. In 1925 Greeks in them numbered 5 and 3 respectively. All Greeks in Independence about 1915 were connected with a candy and ice cream store. There were 28 Greeks in Lawrence in 1920, but two-thirds of these left within a decade. Some of the small groups which remained after the period of shrinkage maintained their identity vigorously. In Hutchinson there were thirteen families in 1952 and those aged twenty were maintaining the use of Greek, though it had its imperfections. Marriage was usually with other Greeks.

46.42g Counties containing in 1920 more than thirty persons born in Greece were Sedgwick 37 (35 in Wichita) and Wyandotte 277 (273 in Kansas City). There were practically no rural Greeks, and the groups in Wichita and Kansas City are the only Greek settlements in Kansas worthy of the name. In most towns of over 3,000 inhabitants, however, candy stores, ice cream parlors, and

restaurants owned by Greeks appeared in the decade before the First World War. The owners of a few of these became permanent residents of their communities, uniformly successful. Those whose enterprises did not prosper went elsewhere.

46.50 History of Greek Settlement in Kansas. Greeks in Kansas, as shown above, were negligible in number before the opening of the twentieth century. The small Greek merchants began to appear about that time. Perhaps they were dependent upon work in packing houses to tide them over the period needed for gaining a foothold, but Greeks in Kansas have been regularly in commerce rather than industry. However, from about 1900 to 1915 they frequently made up the membership of "extra gangs" working through the summers on the railroads. In 1910 twenty counties contained more than 25 Greeks. Fifteen of these are so located as to indicate that the Missouri Pacific Railroad was employing Greeks on construction work. Eleven of these fifteen counties held fewer than 10 foreign-born Greeks in 1920. Mexicans had by this time replaced Greeks for such work on the railroads not already hiring them in 1910. The history of the settlements in Kansas, as well as the history of immisced individuals, is then a history of an element of small business.

46.51g Greek Orthodox churches have played an important rôle in the two settlements. As in other cities a school in connection with the church has maintained the knowledge of written Greek. In Kansas as elsewhere the Greeks cling to one another and disapprove of one another. Corporate individualism is upheld noisily.

46.6 Engl-izing inroads among the Greeks of Kansas are quite apparent, but because of the recent date of immigration and nearly voluntary segregation the

Greek language has been conserved more completely than the smallness of numbers would lead one to expect.

46.7 Speakers of non-Indo-European languages have not been numerous in Kansas.

After the territory was opened for settlement, various American Indian tribes held lands for some time. Three of these had reservations that have persisted into the twentieth century, the Pottawatomies, the Kickapoos, and the Sacs and Foxes. The displacement of their languages has been studied elsewhere (see, under Carman, Bibliography) and is not considered here. From Europe, other states than Kansas have significant numbers of Finns and Magyars to represent Ural-Altaic languages, but Kansas received almost no Finns (49 of Finnish mother tongue in 1910), and the Magyars present among the packing house workers of Kansas City and the coal miners of southeast Kansas were never very numerous considering the numbers of foreigners present (295 foreign-born of Magyar mother tongue in 1920, 70 in Kansas City), and so many moved elsewhere that the remnant may be regarded as immixed individuals. Of Asiatics, the Chinese and Japanese in the state were never more than a handful, and no immigrants came from elsewhere on that continent except from the Mediterranean coast, where the Lebanese lived. The Lebanese, as speakers of Arabic, represent the Semitic family of languages among Kansans. Though Hebrew appears on Jewish monuments and has played its usual religious role, the Jewish immigrants to Kansas were in most activities speakers of Yiddish, and in this work Yiddish has been treated as a variety of German. Languages spoken in regions not already named have sent no speakers to Kansas except as students.

46.8 Arabic, as spoken by the Lebanese, usually called Syrians until recently, is the only non-Indo-European language spoken by people immigrating to Kansas since the state's formation, except within the narrow limits stated above.

In Kansas the Lebanese formed settlements only at Wichita (123 born in Palestine and Syria in 1940) and in a still more minor way at Pittsburg (40 in 1940). They were present as merchants in a few other towns but in small numbers only (except for Sedgwick, Crawford, and Cherokee Counties, there was no county with more than 5 in 1940). Rurally they were very few, though there was a single man in rural Gray County in 1915 and there were two families there, one with ten children born in the United States, in 1925. In 1895 there were six persons born in Syria living in Wichita, five in Topeka, none in Kansas City. In Kansas City, no settlement on the Kansas side developed, though across the border a sizable settlement developed (358 f.w.s. in 1920). In 1920 there were only two Syrians in Topeka.

The social and linguistic development of the Lebanese in Kansas is so nearly only a matter of the history and characteristics of the settlement in Wichita that the reader is referred to the settlement history there for information.

46.90 Mother Tongue of foreign-born white living in Kansas

(by 1930 census -- Population Vol. II p. 362)

Languages of no significance for Kansas have been omitted, also Spanish because deceptive on account of the ^{ment} treat of Mexicans.

% in 1930 of f.b.		1930	1920	1910
20.0	English & Celtic (Welsh not listed separate)	13,909	21,200	30,344
42.5	German	29,634	39,526	51,560
.9	Dutch	626	812	980
.7	Flemish	483	991	517
10.6	Swedish	7,367	10,340	13,351
1.0	Norwegian	726	944	1,273

In Kansas the Lebanese formed settlements only at Wichita (123 born in Palestine and Syria in 1940) and in a still more minor way at Pittsburg (40 in 1940). They were present as merchants in a few other towns but in small numbers only (except for Sedgwick, Crawford, and Cherokee Counties, there was no county with more than 5 in 1940). Rurally they were very few, though there was a single man in rural Gray County in 1915 and there were two families there, one with ten children born in the United States, in 1925. In 1895 there were six persons born in Syria living in Wichita, five in Topeka, none in Kansas City. In Kansas City, no settlement on the Kansas side developed, though across the border a sizable settlement developed (358 f.w.s. in 1920). In 1920 there were only two Syrians in Topeka.

The social and linguistic development of the Lebanese in Kansas is so nearly only a matter of the history and characteristics of the settlement in Wichita that the reader is referred to the settlement history there for information.

46.90 Mother Tongue of foreign-born white living in Kansas

(by 1930 census -- Population Vol. II p. 362)

Languages of no significance for Kansas have been omitted, also Spanish because deceptive on account of the ^{ment} treatment of Mexicans.

% in 1930 of f.b.		1930	1920	1910
20.0	English & Celtic (Welsh not listed separate)	13,909	21,200	30,344
42.5	German	29,634	39,526	51,560
.9	Dutch	626	812	980
.7	Flemish	483	991	517
10.6	Swedish	7,367	10,340	13,351
1.0	Norwegian	726	944	1,273

				239
2.5	Danish	1,720	2,261	2,813
3.2	Italian	2,233	3,494	3,622
3.6	French	2,483	3,169	4,719
.8	Greek	540	641	1,664
2.1	Polish	1,459	2,130	2,614
3.5	Czech	2,416	3,548	4,119
.6	Slovak	390	612	343
1.5	Russian	1,038	2,335	118
1.8	Slovenian	1,262	1,416	998
2.2	Croatian	1,524	1,578	1,789
.1	Serbian	97	227	180
.2	Lithuanian	135	153	327
.6	Yiddish	442	569	747
.2	Magyar	174	295	250
.4	Arabic	250	270	182

46.91g Mother Tongue in 1940 of five for-ling Stocks in Kansas

	Urban			Rural Non-farm			Rural Farm		
	fb.	fmp.	native p.	fb.	fmp.	native p.	fb.	fmp.	native p.
French	38	900	560	320	1020	580	540	840	1280
Swedish	1400	2340	300	860	1960	100	1680	4500	660
German	4580	13120	4540	4980	13900	6440	7780	34120	20460
Czech	180	500	120	420	1240	400	720	3620	1840
Spanish	2920	5440	500	1560	2160	180	100	160	40

Part II

Selected Settlement Histories

47.00 Twenty-eight settlements or complexes of settlements are presented in the sections following. After them come surveys of all Mexican settlements deemed worthy of consideration, then surveys by counties. The Mexican division contains a greater number of case studies. The county survey allows observation of settlements great or small in connection with their geographic neighbors. The treatment in the twenty-eight Settlement Histories is in many instances not different from the treatment of settlements in the county surveys. The twenty-eight were chosen because they were large, like the Concentrated Mennonite District, or because they represent most significantly some particular for-ling group, the Denmark Danes for example, or because their history is long like that of the Scipio-Greeley Germans. For reasons explained in the Preface, the manner in which settlements are treated varies a great deal.

47.01 ANDALE-COLWICH GERMANS (U-Hi***-Sedgwick A)

Special Bibliog.: Jo -- St Joseph's [Ost] Parish History, 1930

Col -- Colwich Parish History

True settlement began in 1873, but in 1865, 4 miles east of the location of St. Mark, William Greiffenstein, /ch88, born in Frankfurt am Main, later Mayor of Wichita, set up a trading post with Indians. By 1870 P. Marks, earlier in Doniphan Co. and later of the parish at Ost, was in the area, but the earliest of those settling at the focus at St. Mark arrived only two years later. Example, J. Hilger, who spent 12 years in Atchison County before coming here /al417. The Santa Fe German immigration pamphlet of 1881 tells

of St. Mark's Colony "consisting of about 100 Catholic families from the neighborhood of Trier [near the Luxemburg border] ^{c 8/8 315}, they lived first in Minnesota for several years and moved to Kansas in 1873 because of the long winters prevailing there" /kq28:315. The number of families cited by the pamphlet is more nearly a count of those at St. Mark's in 1881 than of those arriving in 1873. Immigration was lively for some time, and partly from Minnesota--M. Schafer 1874 /a1404, Leiendecker 1875, Knoblauch 1876 /a1404. The Catholic missionaries of the period seem to have been so absorbed with service to railroad construction crews that for a year or so they passed over this inland settlement, but when a church and rectory were constructed at St. Mark in 1876, it was at once provided with a resident pastor /mo37; by 1878 there was a postoffice of Germania 1-1/2 miles west. The newcomers continued to be largely from the Rhineland and neighboring Luxemburg and Alsace with a considerable element of Westphalians later. There were families where the dialects differed much between husband and wife, but here Standard German often became the lingua franca.

In 1879 another group of Catholics settled 10 miles west at Ost including J. Ast, for whom the place was named after respelling by the post office department. /Jo. The Catholic Church /Jo as well as the Santa Fe railroad was spreading immigration propaganda. Indeed the Church continued to do so as late as 1893. /Jo [See note below]. Private promoters were also at work-- at Ost, Ast and William Hollis, a Protestant /Jo; at Andale the Protestant Anderson and Folquet. Ost was not at first prosperous but in 1881, the Andreas Cutler history says that the farmers near Germania were "very prosperous" /a1405

v 018

and refers to the "magnificent farms of the Germans" /al388. Railroads were soon built close to the settlement on the south through Garden Plain in 1884, on the north in 1886 /Jo through Andale, already almost surrounded by the settlement. St. Joseph's church at Andale was established in 1890 /Jo /mo65, the churches at Aleppo (15-27-3) in 1891 /mo66, at Garden Plain in 1900, at Colwich in 1901 /mo74, Col. In the beginnings of St. Mark and Ost homestead as well as Santa Fe land had been available. Additional territory was gained by purchases from previous settlers; the settlement spread through economic competence. Connections with Wichita were close from the beginning, but particularly after the establishment of the Diocese of Wichita in 1887. As an example, Father B. Schmiehausen, born in Munster in Westphalia, ordained in 1881, served at St. Mark from 1881 to 1884 and from 1889 till 1912. From 1912 till 1923 he was pastor at Andale. From 1912 to 1923 he also was Vicar-General of the diocese of Wichita, and administrator of the diocese during the interregnum of 1920-21 /mol18.

The unity of the settlement is still preserved through common social events, most notably dances held in turn at the various centers; to these guests go from the whole district. The fervent Catholicity of the settlement in all its parts has been apparent through its whole history. It has been as fervently German; the people still remember resentfully the effects upon them of the anti-German hysteria in the First World War. The use of German in the church and its accompanying institutions has reflected the character of the parishes. Only very late did church usage go over to English. In the paragraphs that follow, the chronology of the public use of German in the churches appears,

but prayers and confessions were still in 1952 frequently in German--one fifth of the confessions.

At St. Mark German was used in church exclusively until 1930; English was used in preaching once a month till 1935, thereafter all the time. The school used German as the language^{of} instruction; in its first days English was used only one afternoon a week. At the time of the First World War and for some years before, English was used in the forenoons and German in the afternoons, no German after 1917. In 1917 also the German-using clubs disappeared. Persons born in the early years of the 20th century were still using German habitually with each other in 1952, but those born later very seldom. Critical year for this section 1932.

At Ost Father George Hermann was priest from 1918 /mo100 till 1948. He preached in German all during his stay; until about 1941 only German, at the end once a month. His successor made one effort in German. Here all born before 1918 can speak German; there were children born after 1930 unable to speak English on entering school. German was taught to small children in the local school till about 1939. Trading still went on in German in 1950 when the older people made purchases. Critical year for this section 1935.

Andale was not German at its origin, and there remains a non-German element in the town. The town, however, early welcomed the Germans and their wealth. From its foundation in 1890 some English was used in the church, but for some time it became more rather than less German. German was not abandoned until 1940 after a period in which German sermons were delivered once a month.

At the parochial school German was used almost exclusively at least until 1910; thereafter to teach the catechism until 1925 when public and parochial schools were amalgamated. The critical date here may be fixed at 1918. Long continuance of German ecclesiastically is to be explained by the presence of people who had retired from the farms.

So also in Colwich. The church there was founded in 1901, but German services lasted till 1941. The Germans took over late but became almost the whole of the town's population. Garden Plain whose German Catholics also became important enough in 1901 to need a church never became so completely occupied by people from the settlement, but their character was much the same. Regular German preaching continued till about 1930 and German ceased to be used there about 1941. All over the settlement area the use of German has been decreasing during the nineteen fifties as adepts died or found their tongues growing rusty.

2016

Andale-Colwich Germans

Language of Inscriptions in Four Cemeteries of the Andale-Colwich Germans.

	St. Mark			Andale			Ost			Colwich	
	English	German	%	English	German	%	English	German	%	German	only
1870-9	1	9	90%								
1880-9	38	25	40%	1	1	50%	5	3	38%		
1890-9	25	29	58%	26	11	30%	15	9	38%		
1900-9	21	23	52%	35	19	35%	25	10	29%	2	
1910-9	29	20	44%	33	18	35%	22	8	27%	6	
1920-9	49	13	21%	42	6	13%	29	3	9%	2	
1930-9	58	7	9%	48	8	14%	No German later				

Dates of German	1931	1930	1931
Inscription	1931	1931	1936
after 1930	1933	1932	1940
	1935	1933	1941
	1937	1934 (3)	1945
	1938	1939	
	1945		

The late German inscriptions in Andale and Colwich bear witness to their popularity as centers for retired farmers. The greater strength of English inscriptions at Ost as compared with St. Mark probably results from pastoral preferences.

1069

Note. Pastor Loevenich in 1893 issued in German posters on the advantages of Ost. They are reproduced in German and in translation in the Ost Parish History of 1930 pp. 18-21. Here are passages from the translation. "In the first years of its existence the St. Joseph's Parish had but a small increase because in the neighboring parish which was older and nearer to Wichita, there was still plenty [of] land available for a very reasonable sum of money. . . . There are three other German parishes adjoining ours, thus constituting one of the largest [the original German says, "the largest"] German settlements in Kansas, which gives our young people sufficient opportunity to enter upon Catholic marriages. Consequently we have no mixed marriages. On days of public processions all settlers go forth chanting the divine praises without fear of ridicule. . . . a parochial school. . . . Particularly do I desire to draw the attention of isolated German Catholic families residing among English-speaking Catholics to this well-established German settlement [the original German says "large and solid German settlement"]".

47.02 AURORA-CLYDE CANADIAN FRENCH (U-Hi****-Cloud E)

Special Bibliog.: Y -- Voice of St. Peter

Settlement on the land that was to be Clyde began in 1860 but it was a number of years before any French Canadians appeared in the area. The Voice of St. Peter's Church, published in Aurora in 1918 says that Eugene Ouellette and his wife were the first French Canadian settlers at St. Jo., the hamlet six miles south of Clyde which is the focus of the earliest area entered by Canadians. The Ouellettes do not appear in Cloud County in the census of 1870 or 1875; instead in 1875 they were in Clay Center Township with a child born in Kansas who was six years old.*

*F. X. Manna, born 1836 /ch03:497 said that in 1867 he came with the Balangers to Clyde (an F. X. Mana 1805-1896 is buried there). These names do not appear in the Clay or Cloud County census of 1870, but in 1875 - F. Mona, born 1841, and the Belangers (E male, Born 1842; E, female, Born 1843) are in Mulberry township Clay County. The Balangers had a child, 6 years old born in Kansas. F. X. Manna was in business with Francis Gerard. C. R. Gerard was in Mulberry Twp.in 1875.

The presumption is that the census of 1870 is incomplete or that after locating in 1868 they left to return later. At any rate Eugene (1844-1924) is buried at St. Jo. The census of 11 July, 1870 shows two Bachand families and five other French Canadians families in the area. Joseph Brosseau had been born in May of that year in Nebraska, his sister Ellen born in Illinois

was a year old; Adgave Gagnon born in Nebraska was also a year old. Abraham Bachand (1804-1870) was recorded as having died in the county within the year. Father Bergeron (Colored Harvest, Feb. 1949 p.4) speaks more dramatically of what happened: "Into this land of 1870 came a caravan, a band of settlers from Kankakee, Illinois. They were largely Franco-Americans, not more than one generation deep in this country. They had traveled 750 miles in the old, familiar covered wagon." The influx went on for some time. The Ames Advance, 4 Sept. 1885, says, "An excursion from Kankakee, Illinois, consisting of 120 French arrived here on the 8:30 express Wednesday evening. Some stopped here, and the balance in Clyde and Concordia. We understand that most of them intend locating in Cloud County."

The settlement in the Kankakee area (61, 146) included not only Kankakee, which was not exclusively French, but also a considerable area around including Bourbonnais, the original point of diffusion founded in 1832, Mokence, St. George and St. Anne. Most of those who occupied the land there came from Canada in the 1840's and early 1850's. The area continued to be a way station for families coming from Canada for at least a generation afterward. Usually settlers in Kansas had stopped there, but some came directly from the province of Quebec. The immigrants most frequently named as the original home of their families the area around Trois Rivieres (also called Three Rivers, particularly in histories of the American Revolution) Trois Rivieres is on the St. Lawrence River, halfway between Montreal and Quebec.

Settlement proceeded rapidly, Father Rimmele in a summary for 1870-72 reports 60 families in the "French Settlement" /ga2:43. In 1875 growth is shown by the following table:

French Canadians in the Aurora-Clyde Area 1875

Township	total population	Fr. Canadians and Illinois-born wives	co-resident children	Total
Shirley	592	96	85	181
Aurora	313	31	34	65
Colfax	340	61	56	117
Nelson	387	16	25	41
Mulberry(Clay Co)	521	34	36	70
	2153	238	236	474

A score each of Belgians and Swiss had also appeared by then. For the Canadians in the five principal townships, the average date of arrival of those present in 1875 was late in 1871. Most of them (about forty families) had come from Illinois (Kankakee neighborhood); some ten families came from Nebraska about 1872 where they had made brief sojourns, in certain--probably most--cases after having been in Illinois.

A few of the families had older children born in Canada and younger children born in Illinois; three of these families left Canada about 1855--one about 1849, two others in the sixties. The oldest child in most of the older families was born in Illinois, two in 1850, most of them in the decade centered at 1859, four after 1870. Some Canadian-born had spouses born in Illinois; of these spouses, three men were born, plus or minus three years,

in 1844, and six women were born, plus or minus two years, in 1853. Almost all were young and vigorous in 1875; two-thirds of the grown men were under forty (61 out of 89)--the women were about five years younger.

The wagon caravan of 1870 was replaced to a great extent by trains going to the railhead established in 1868 at Waterville forty miles to the east. Between it and the Cloud County settlement French families dropped off in these early years establishing small colonies that did not, like that begun at St. Joseph, become large, Greenleaf French, Palmer French, Clifton French. Eventually many of these families were attracted to Cloud County, for few stopped in Washington County after 1877 when the Central Branch was built on through to Concordia. Before 1873, when the church at St. Jo. was organized, the French parish in that neighborhood was called after Beaver Creek. There were French also in the Mulberry Creek basin to the east as early as at Beaver Creek. To the west of Beaver the next affluent of the Republican River is Elm Creek. When the French arrived, there were few lands left along the river and after taking those in the upper part of the Beaver Valley the French (Demars, Letourneau) still in 1870 /ch03:899 went on to occupy the longer upper section of the Elm Creek Valley. The town of Aurora near its head was not to come into being until about 1887 when the Santa Fe line from Strong City to Superior, Nebraska, was constructed. The early center which the French formed on Elm Creek was located two or three miles to the north. Here St. Peter's church was founded in 1874 as one of the missions attended from St. Jo. In 1892 it was moved to Aurora. Certain

stores had been moved from near the church to the town four years before /ch03:899.

The town was incorporated in 1910. In 1918 George Malo was mayor (had been for some time); of the five councilmen, three were French: Ed Quennelle, F. P. Aslin, and Art Mercier (with them was A. E. Thompson of the first settling family and J. B. Wood, the banker). Two grain and lumber companies were run by non-French, but George Chaput, who later moved to Concordia, dealt in furniture and undertaking; Henry Demars sold monuments; and W. E. Desilet oil. The parochial school had been begun in 1910, but the high school was of recent establishment. During the depression of the 1930's, the community was light-hearted despite the necessity of relief.

As soon as the French began to congregate Clyde had its share of them, for it was, so to speak, the port of entry and the liaison point with the people in Washington County.

With the coming of the railroad in 1877, it enjoyed a boom; and in 1885 it contained 1770 inhabitants of whom 121 were Canadian-born. In 1895 the population had fallen off one third (1129), and the number of Canadians had diminished by more than half (54), of whom one third were not French. In 1875 and 1880 the printer and newspaper editor there was Joseph S. Paradis, Canadian-born, presumably the son of J. B. and Isabelle (Brouillette) (1806-1884), born in Acadie, buried in the Elm Creek cemetery (French tombstone inscription). Clyde has become increasingly French, and most of the business men are of Canadian origin. It is the most French shopping center

in the region. The decrease in the size of the St. Joseph congregation is largely to be explained by French families moving into this town (Napoléon Charbonneau). In Clyde in 1948 and 1949, an informant reported no French on the street. Others contradicted him.

Concordia is properly speaking outside the Aurora-Clyde district, but as the nearest urban center it received increments of French population almost as soon as it was founded. Before the Federal land Office opened there in January 1871 it had practically no inhabitants. It became speedily thriving. It was incorporated in 1872, and F. La Rocque then became one of its councilmen. He was a French Canadian merchant. It was in La Rocque's Hall that mass was first said in 1876.

"The Concordia Mills, owned by H. Lanoue, J. R. Letourneau, A. Berard, A. Gosselin, and E. Gastineau was first started in 1872 by Mr. Lanoue [a French Canadian] as a grist mill"/a1017. Gastineau was from France. In Concordia there were in 1875 six persons born in France and a number of European French have continued as an element in the population.

Concordia, however, has never been primarily a French town. Within it the Scandinavian element, based upon the Swedish and Danish settlements just to the north and northwest, has been nearly as important. Other immigrants, Germans, Welsh, Irish, have been present there too. Indeed in 1888 the town boasted that "An advantage of no mean kind possessed by the inhabitants of Concordia is that while studying any desirable modern language, the pupils may daily mingle with those that speak that language" /ch88:8. Still the

✓029

older American stock has from the beginning until now dominated business. Besides, Concordia is a railroad division point (Central Branch, later Missouri Pacific) with the heterogeneous and shifting population of such towns.

French Canadians was in the 1950's important in Concordia's business life. An old established store was the Bon Marché owned by the Lasnier family who came in the late 80's from Canada by way of Kankakee.

There have also been Belgians. The three elements together justify calling them a separate French settlement (Concordia French, Cloud County C). Outside Concordia a few of these two European French elements have been present within the Canadian group, but they also grouped themselves in separate settlements, which the Canadians have tended to invade. The Belgians congregated at Rice (Cloud Co, F) five miles east of Concordia. The Huscher Germans separated them on the south from the Canadians. The French from France settled on the west edge of the county (Summit Township French, Cloud Co.) separated from the Canadians by poor land of light population. They regarded Jamestown as their shopping point. These small settlements have been conservative linguistically considering their size, but were not as slow to accept English as the Canadians. Their importance to the present discussion is that they furnished a buffer to keep the Canadians from full contact with non-French-speaking populations. The French in Concordia furnished a similar buffer, but at the same time a catalytic agent ^{for} Engl-izing.

There was to the east in the Mulberry Creek region of Clay County another small buffer, a Swiss group originating by 1871 that was partly of French origin. These people were Presbyterians (probably Reformed in Switzerland), and so were the Belgians. These two separated elements attempted to keep up a French Protestant Church for twenty-five years. Abiel or Samuel Ledoux, a Belgian, served as minister for services held in school houses farther south than Rice in the neighborhood of Huscher. Hollibaugh in 1903 records /ch03:841 that Mr. Laruex (sic) preached in the French language at the Plum Creek Presbyterian Church, which had combined with a Mulberry group in 1897 to form a church - 27 members.

The Presbyterians were struggling for French in an area where all other French speakers were Catholics.

As we have seen, the Catholic missionaries began looking after the Canadians as soon as they appeared in Cloud County. The Beaver Creek organization of 1873 established L. Mollier there as a missionary in charge of missions in the Republican Valley /b.105 . His missions disappeared, leaving him as pastor of St. Joseph's, where he remained until 1910, the year before his death. He was born at Chevron in Savoy in 1846; in 1869 he came to the United States and to Kansas because Bishop Miede was his compatriot, was ordained in 1873 and sent immediately to Beaver Creek. He was, then, completely French in background, and French was maintained by him. For Hollibaugh /ch03:568 in 1902, he said that his parish extended 3 miles north, 4 west, 8 south and 6 east, that is, well into Clay County--160

families, 911 persons. That year 113 were attending the school, the preceding year 175. "Sister Eupbrasias teaches the French language as many descendants of the French families are English speaking." This statement is testimony by a source evidently hostile to incipient Engl-izing. As late as 1948 half of the sermons were in French, and in 1953 on solemn occasions Father P. O. Bergeron at St. Jo., 1935-1960, a French Canadian from New Hampshire, preached in French. But by 1948 the parish numbered only about seventy-five families; many had moved into the towns. There were still six or seven parishioners who did not understand an English sermon well.

St. Peter's which was at first on Elm Creek, later at Aurora, enjoyed an initial pastorate of great length also. The Rev. Pierre Fortier (1852-1912) lies buried in the cemetery of the church that he served from 1883, when Father Mollier ceased to serve it, until 1911. Both St. Joseph's and St. Peter's were served successively in later years by one of the settlement's own products, the Rev. Samuel Fraser who in 1960 was pastor at Beloit. He was born in 1890, the descendant of a Scottish soldier who remained in Canada in 1759 among the French. His father Francois X., born at Trois Rivières in 1840 came to Bourbonnais, Ill., in 1849, and to Cloud County in 1886. Samuel, later a monsignor, was ordained in 1914 after training in Louvain, Belgium. He preached part of the time in French at St. Joseph's, but not at Aurora after 1935. He ended his pastorate at Aurora in 1957. During his time at Aurora the great festival was on Thanksgiving, a dinner and a supper

very

at the church and two dances. Later the festival to some degree abandoned the ancient policy of utilizing non-Catholic celebrations for sacred Catholic observances. The dancing was left on Thanksgiving Thursday, but the feasting was moved back to the preceding Sunday. The celebration was a home coming and those from far away were present. For that reason it was not an occasion conservative of French. The home comers liked to bandy a few words in French, but they and their hosts spoke in the language to which they had become accustomed, English.

The principal of Aurora High School in 1918 was Sister Bertille. There was "on Friday a graded course in French, open to all, and also free to all." One of the sisters had been teaching this course in Parisian French the year before; the enrollment was not entirely French Canadian.

The linguistic testimony of the cemeteries is shown by the following table:

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in two Cemeteries of the Aurora-Clyde French

	St. Jo.			Aurora		
	English	French	% of French	English	French	% of French
1870-9	10	6	38%		2	100%
1880-9	26	13	33%	5	8	62%
1890-9	15	12	44%	8	3	27%
1900-9	36	9	20%	21	5	19%
1910-9	31	3	9%	26	1	4%
1920-9	27			32		0%
1930-9	35			24	2	8%

no later inscriptions in French

The low proportions of French before 1910 are probably to be explained by the length of the sojourn in Illinois.

As pronounced, the French of the inscriptions is good. There are sometimes mistakes in agreement not affecting pronunciation and in the use of accent marks.

The following case of an inscription using both French and English is of interest both because of the date and because it commemorates one of the first of the Canadians to arrive

Exilime, Epouse de
E. Belonger
Born
Mar. 25, 1843
Died
Feb. 20, 1885

In the Catholic cemeteries at Clyde and Concordia, there are few inscriptions in French. At Concordia the stone of Hubert, 1853-1939, and Denise, 1856-1927, Lemoine is of interest because of the late dates of its French inscriptions and the fact that it records the birthplaces of the two in Canada as West Farnham and Sainte Marie de Monimes. Farnham is near Montreal; Sainte Marie near Quebec, both toward the United States.

As at St. Jo and Aurora the first pastorate at Concordia was a long one. It appears that Father Mollier did not say Mass there until 1876, and it was not until 1880 that the town had a resident pastor.

He was Joseph Perrier (1839-1917, /b88), another Savoyard; he was ordained at Chambéry in 1863, recruited for Bishop Miège's clergy in 1866. After various assignments, in 1873, he was sent at missionary work with headquarters at Emporia. There he attracted some of his relatives and the little settlement of French in Southwest Lyon County, West Olpe French, was

the result. After he was transferred to Concordia in 1880, he straightway became a force of importance. When in 1887 Concordia became the see of a new diocese, Father Perrier began to take part in diocesan government; he was named Vicar General in 1888, and during the period of hard times 1891-1897 when Concordia had no bishop and Bishop Hennessy of Wichita was administrator, Perrier was the chief resident official. It was not a happy period for the diocese, but Father Perrier seems to have been a valiant fighter in its interests.*

*30 Nov. 1893 the Aurora News remarks. "Father Perrier continues his defense against the Empire through the Blade." Anti-catholic feeling was strong in Concordia; see Gomer Davies in the Concordia Kansan, 6 October 1898; he defends himself for riding in a procession at the installation of Bishop Cunningham.

Diocesan organization was modified somewhat with the coming of Bishop Cunningham in 1898. Father Perrier was in 1900 the Very Rev. Joseph Perrier, V.F., dean and rector of the Pro-cathedral of Our Lady of Help, dean "over the two northern tiers of counties of the old diocese", a consultor of the diocese and moderator of the Court for Matrimonial Causes, that is, a holder in all the categories of diocesan offices listed by the Catholic Directory. He became a monsignor in 1911 at the age of seventy-two. Obviously a missionary priest in Kansas and a diocesan official must have carried on much of his work in English, and the Aurora News compliments him on giving at the

✓ 02m

dedication of the new church in Aurora 22 June 1893 "a very good sermon in English," an evident novelty at Aurora. Apparently Concordia did not know him much as a speaker of English because in introducing his successful speech on Memorial Day 1898 he began by saying that "he was not as familiar with the English language as he was with his native French."

Catholicism in Concordia began to flourish with a new bishop and better times. Construction of a cathedral began in 1901 and the building of Nazareth Academy for the Sisters of St. Joseph was completed in 1903.

French sermons continued regularly up until the first World War. For four years they continued reduced in number, and then in 1921 Bishop Tief said "no more foreign language." But in 1950 pastoral work in French was still going on. And until the see was moved to Salina in 1944 local visitors would talk French in the diocesan offices to the discomfort of some of the staff.

French in business life began to be less of advantage in the Canadian settlement toward 1917. Toward 1935 on the periphery and among the more socially advanced it was not often used in homes where there were growing children. In 1939 it was no longer the dominant language among large groups of Canadian extraction. It had by then become the language of older people. By 1948 many of those born after 1900 used it only with the old or in bits as a game. At family reunions it became less and less current during the 1940's, though as late as 1964 those over 50 conversed sometimes in French at such gatherings. In that decade those of middle age capable

of speaking did not find it worth while to make the effort to use it out of deference to the old.

This schedule of development was not altogether uniform over the larger settlement. In the heart of it between Aurora and St. Jo a few children born in 1933 entered school ignorant of English. The phenomenon had been common among those a decade older. In the early 1940's they still heard enough French so that they picked up at least phrases. All during that decade the old talking after church or on the street usually conversed in French.

By 1950 even those most partial to the language agreed that very few born after 1930 could really speak it. But in the heart territory during the 1950's after the shock from the Second World War became less, there was a recrudescence of usage among those who knew the language. Couples who had brought up their children so that they heard little French at home began using it rather frequently in talking together, probably because deference for the old had again become proper and they had resumed its use in dealing with them. Such was the situation in 1961, though those born after 1940 could speak only English. In 1964 Mrs. Brunel in the hardware store at Aurora was reported to find great pleasure in talking French with her old customers.

PRIMARY CATHOLIC RUSSIAN GERMANS (Super*****-Ellis B)

The year of arrival in the United States of persons born in Russia and resident in Herzog Township in 1925 is presented in Section 40.22.

47.03 The Six Villages. The Primary Catholic Russian German settlement of Ellis and Rush Counties has been treated in well executed and generally accessible studies and consequently their general history needs only comparatively summary treatment here.

The Catholic Volgans first settled in this area in February 1876. The earliest comers had arrived in Baltimore in Nov. 1875, /dr,j,kcll, but they had spent months deciding where they would buy land. Their headquarters had been at Topeka where part remained to found the Volgan colony there. Parties arriving in the following years also used Topeka as a way station. In Ellis County they established definite villages on the Volgan model as soon as they had chosen their land. The dates of first settlement are:

Liebenthal Feb. 1876

Munjor Aug. 1876

Catherine Mar. 1876

Pfeifer Aug. 1876

Victoria Apr. 1876

Schoenchen Apr. 1877

The mass immigration lasted from 1876 to 1878. The area's historians /dr,j,kcll, emphasize this fact--perhaps too much, for the immigrants to Ellis County surviving in 1925 include 42 who arrived in the US in 1892 as compared with 293 who arrived between 1875 and 1879. Later immigrants

found no land in the main settlement, though they stopped temporarily and went on to Ellis (particularly in 1907,8), Park, St. Peter, Garden City, and Marienthal. Sometimes groups from Ellis County joined other Catholic communities already founded by Reich Germans. Important examples exist at Offerle and Salina. Even so they doubtless exerted linguistic influence.

The German of each of these Kansas villages had, and still has more or less, its own particular characteristics because each of them drew its population primarily from one or two villages on the Volga and maintained the distinctions between villages that existed there. The dialects were maintained partly because of isolation of the villages from one another, partly because local patriotism was involved. The differences were great enough so that one informant claimed that two students at St. Joseph's, one from Munjor and one from Catherine could not understand each other. Apparently the two preferred to use English as a lingua franca; they probably could understand each other, but the differences were great. The people in Victoria came from a number of villages because the town was often a way station for new arrivals and some from various points remained in it, but it was made up overwhelmingly of people from Herzog and others were largely from villages near by on the Karaman (Graf, Marienthal, Louis). In one way or another it collected most of the people with skilled or professional background. Munjor's people too came from several villages, largely from Obermonjour, but also from a cluster of villages not far off up the Volga (Gattung, Schoenchen, and especially Wittman). All were near

the northern confines of the German territory above Katarinenstadt. From this city, as the name suggests, came the settlers of Catherine, Kansas, and most of the inhabitants of Liebenthal came from the town of the same name, and those of Pfeifer came largely from Pfeifer. The rest came from two neighboring villages on the Bergseite, Kamenka and Rothammel. All the rest of the settlers were from the Wiesenseite, and the Pfeifer citizens differed from them not only in dialect, but to a certain extent in mores. These Bergseiders have the reputation of being more outspoken and violent. The people of Catherine also had sufficiently marked characteristics to set them off; they were "proud city folk." In the villages other than Catherine and Victoria there was early dissatisfaction with townsites, presumably some wrangling, since the sites were moved short distances. There is no question about the quarreling at Liebenthal; the Hays Sentinel took note of it /j23, and since it led to the founding of Schoenchen, all historians of the area have felt obliged to chronicle it. The first comers to Liebenthal were not only from the village of the same name: even more of them were from a neighboring village, New Obermonjour and a lesser number were from Schoenchen. Because of the debate over location, the people from New Obermonjour and Schoenchen moved out and founded Schoenchen. The people from New Obermonjour made no effort to call the village where they preponderated New Munjor; they tried to call it after their patron saint St. Anthony, but gave in to the people of Schoenchen, and consoled themselves with naming the church. Of the three villages in the Volga domain from which these people

came, Schoenchen, founded in 1767, was one of the early settlements on the Volga bank to the north while New Obermonjour and Liebenthal, founded in 1859, were up the Karaman in new territory adjacent to that of the old villages, but opened late with overflow population from the original settlements. Presumably the families that came from the Upper Karaman had earlier come from the Volga bank and so had connections with Schoenchen. The restive nature of the group was natural in people who on coming to Kansas had not had time to put down roots after a migration less than twenty years earlier.

Very few of the settlers were well-to-do in any of the villages. The motivation for leaving Russia was ostensibly to escape being drafted into service in the Russian army, but basically it was need for more land, since land furnished the only means of livelihood. The short duration of the period of migration to this area is explained by the exhaustion of land opportunities as well as the passing of the flurry of sentiment against conscription, which had no foundation in religion.

The poverty of the settlers was such that, like new settlers farther east along the Kansas Pacific railway line, they hired out to work on railroad track gangs, mainly in Colorado. In 1905 Father Hyacinth Epp (Feb., p. 21) remarked that the practice gave the workers an "opportunity to learn the English language," but this stimulus toward bilingualism produced only minor effects.

The Kansas Pacific was responsible for their settling in this particular spot. Its agent Adam Roedelheimer, "an old friend", took them in charge

after C. B. Schmidt had failed to interest them in sandy lands along the Santa Fe. Roedelheimer too nearly lost the people from Herzog when he tried to interest them in land near Hogback farther west in the country where the character of the terrain furnished the name for the railroad station. He apparently held back the land where settlement finally took place in the hope that the colony of Englishmen at Victoria would grow, for he had located the Liebenthal group to the south of it and the Catherine people to the north of it. He would doubtless have had more trouble with the Katariners if they had recognized that by separating themselves from the railroad they were giving up the advantages they had as city dwellers. The history of Catherine shows more cultural shrinking than the history of the other villages. On the other hand the cultural advance of Victoria can in part be explained by the railroad, which not only helped it commercially but led to the establishment of the center of the Capuchins there. The existence of the English colony, founded in 1873 at Victoria influenced the history of the people from Herzog, who established themselves half a mile northwest of the station and called their settlement Herzog, whence the township formed in 1879 /a1289 took the name Hartsook. [The name reveals dialectal peculiarities in the Volgan's German, just as did Schengen, the spelling used in the first years for Schoenchen. It appears in the official atlas of 1887]. When the English settlement withered away, the Russians became their successors, so that Herzog and Victoria were one community. The union became complete with village incorporation in 1913 /j17.

1036

For the present purposes the chief interest in the political and economic history of the villages* lies in the effort to adapt American

*The German American Advocate published at Hays from 4 Oct., 1882 to Nov. 18, 1884, mainly as an anti-Prohibition sheet, contains in its German language section a few items that throw light on the character of the Volgan settlements. They are here translated or summarized to make them more readily available:

6 Dec. 1882 - "Last week the schoolmaster at Catherine took French leave."

24 Jan. 1883 - The sheriff announces township elections officially in German.

21 Feb. 1883 - Beginning of a polemic on Motz.

28 Feb. 1883 - "All those who took up their land in 1876 are summoned so as to confirm their deeds [this word in English], as the required time has elapsed." The next week there appeared in English a number of final proof notices.

25 April 1883 [All accounts of the Volgans speak of their lengthy wedding celebrations; elsewhere this work neglects them as having little relationship to linguistic development. This item reproduces their spirit more accurately than more cautious writers.] "Monday things were jolly here in Herzog. Franz Dreiling's son was welded into the fetters of matrimony with Nicholas Dreiling's daughter. The day was spent with dancing and music, and who knows how long the celebration will last. The old folks have now taken it into their heads to begin over and cele-

V039

brate the 'clean-up'. The old people [i.e., those past 40] are merry and sensible people."

2 May 1883 - A wife at Catherine whips a drunk husband. [This was news, not so much because the husband was drunk as because here was a man who could not control his own wife.]

2 May 1883 - Notice from Felix of Catherine to all those worrying about the treasury in Catherine to tend to their own business. Next week, a mysterious reply.

4 July 1883 - Almost a riot between Russians and Yankees over a dog that belonged to a man in Munjor.

social organisms to a persistence of Volga traditions. At Herzog a government by Vorsteher and town meeting was organized at first, abandoned in favor of township trusteeships to gain legal status. At Catherine and Munjor companies were organized to hold the town lots and to manage the common grazing land adjacent to the village. This organization lasted till about the close of the first decade of this century. In Catherine township officers and company officers interlocked; in Munjor the town meeting appears to have had more importance. The village property in the three south colonies, made up of people from the Bergseite and the new colonies on the Karaman, did not try to maintain a common, but their village government was similar, leaders checked by town meetings that were sometimes tempestuous.

1036

Laing, writing about 1910, remarks: "The communistic [Marxism is not meant] character of the villages has served to unite the inhabitants more closely in social life, so as to give it the appearance of family life on a large scale" /kc11:516. This condition evidently made for linguistic conservatism. Laing also says "The different colonies in Ellis County were united by no legal bond, as the colonies in Russia had been. On the contrary, a degree of rivalry existed, which the years have served to mollify." The rivalry also made for linguistic conservatism, both by keeping everyone at home, so that marriage outside one's own village was difficult until about 1900, and also because the rivals communicated their dissatisfactions to each other best in German. Laing was not altogether correct, in saying that the settlements were "united by no legal bond"; all but Liebenthal were in Ellis County. The north part of that county and some of the west has low population. With their tendency to spread the Volgans therefore were soon in control of elections in the county. Laing himself says that the settlers "for more than a decade have decided elections." They gained a voice early. By 1883 they elected a county commissioner.* Linguistically political power had both

* Conrad Leiker was Commissioner in 1887; Jacob Karlin was the first, B. Brungardt the second.

conservative and contrary effects. The elected individuals demonstrated powerfully to the rest the advantages of being bilingual, and ultimately

the superintendents of schools elected from their own ranks (the first in 1899) were a potent force in making English a real, not merely a formal, language of instruction and thus finally the cultural language of the community. On the other hand their agents in power saw to it for almost two generations that the Volgans were undisturbed in their ways; the outside world let them talk as they pleased.

If general community organization fostered linguistic conservatism, the character of the Volgan family tended still more in that direction. For at least a generation after arrival, it was the custom as it had been in Russia, for newly married couples to move in with the groom's family. An article in the K C Journal 23 Sept. 1903, hostile and inaccurate but graphic, describes the situation thus: "At one time there was a family of 85 persons living in Catharine, all under the control of one old granddaddy" who handled all money and chastised even his 50 year-old daughter-in-law.

Several couples with children were thus housed under one roof with the oldest generation directing every one. Sister Mary Eloise says in 1943, "By 1900, the patriarchal family was weakened" /j41. But Laing in 1910 says, "Even at the present day it is not unusual to find several married children remaining in the home of the parents all forming one large family" /ch11:517. Laing is reliable; the weakening was doubtless in the departure of many young families to new settlements where more land could be had. The patriarchal system may be therefore considered as true till about the time of the first World War. The obvious linguistic result would be most conservative.

Another peculiarity of family life was the two-home system. Not only did it affect language usage, but it offers an interesting index of the settlement's independence of general conditions. All Russian Germans had on settlement in the United States an intention of maintaining village life as it had existed in Russia--group residence and journeys out to the landholdings. The Mennonites abandoned the system speedily in favor of living, as was then the exclusive American custom, on the farms. The Protestant Volgans, probably because they did not arrive in very large groups, made attempts that were still more abortive. The Catholic Volgans, however, persisted in the establishment of villages. Many of them were used in Russia to taking their families and journeying out camping as they went from one distant holding to another. Here the holdings were not fragmented as in Russia, but since there was no repugnance to passing the summer, so to speak, in the open, the people began to live in their village through the winters and on Sundays for purposes of church and school attendance, and to spend the rest of the growing and reaping season on the land. Besides the linguistic results of thus strengthening village life, this custom had other repercussions on language. It militated against school attendance, at least to the extent of shortening the school terms; it allowed little escape from the 3-generation family; it made interference from outside more difficult because general measures adopted were never in harmony with this situation and were thus hard to enforce, and because it became very difficult to set up neighborly relationships with those who were not "one of us", with outsiders,

1036

especially since there was no will to establish them. Gradually the summer homes on the farms became the more important of the two residences and there followed a period when practically every farmer resided on his land like other American farmers. Latterly the Catholic Volgans have shown the same tendency in residence patterns as the general rural population. A few quotations will bring out the chronology of this cycle.

20 Mar. 90, "Finer houses than they or any of their fathers ever hoped to occupy in Russia."

26 June 01, K C Star. "The Russians live in communities. They have no farmhouses. A reporter for the Star drove Saturday from Hays City to Catharine a distance of 13 miles and did not see a farmhouse on the way. . . . Some of the more prosperous ones hav[ing] little square shanties on their farms . . . cook and sleep in them during harvest."

Michael Dreiling, born 1887 describes life in his youth at Victoria thus: "This part of the city [the old Herzog] was systematically laid out . . . The houses were built in straight rows and very close to the streets. This was a typical German setting. In costume, custom and language the residents were German. Very few spoke English . . . The dominant spirit of the town was joyful. The people were very sociable and given to mutual visiting and amusement. In the evening the Angelus bell was the curfew bell for the children . . . The older boys, however, would often times stroll up and down the streets in groups and sing popular songs at eventide. Families moved to town from the farms and

spent the winters in town. During the rest of the year the deserted village became a ghost town except on Sundays and Holy Days of Obligation . . . The village possessed a 'superiority' complex. Foolishly, its citizens criticized neighboring villages in a sarcastic way. This trait was peculiarly common to all Herzogers, even in Russia. In spite of this braggadocio, the people were deeply religious and cheerful" /dm37, 38.

1910 Laing /ch11:526 "Some of the small houses in the villages have their explanations in this, that they are not designed to be a home (which is on the farm), but a temporary shelter on Sundays and holy days when attending divine service."

1943 Johannes: "It was not until after World War I that the majority of the farmers really lived on the farm to the exclusion of the town house /j35 n 38. Small houses were built on their respective farms where in the winter, part of the family resided during the week; the school children and the mother or perhaps an older sister lived in the village home, the entire family going to the village for the week-end. In the summer, the village was practically deserted except on Sundays" /j34.

(written in 20's) B. M. Dreiling in Ellis County News

The colonists "erected houses in the village while also modest homes were placed on the homestead. This system of dual homes is still in vogue."

The Golden Jubilee Book of 1926 contains pictures of farm homesteads of the better-to-do. Their architecture in general indicates construction in the first decade of the present century.

The curve of economic prosperity in the settlements has been different at certain points from that of much of Kansas. The first years were very hard, but the late eighties were so prosperous that aid could be sent to drought-stricken Russia. The hard times of the 90's did not begin till 1893, but the situation from then till 1897 was probably worse than elsewhere: an overflowing population depending wholly on wheat crops that failed. After that the general curve applies, the 30's were as bad here as anywhere.

The six original villages have so far been treated as if they made up the whole settlement. They never did multiply by founding colonies in the immediate neighborhood, but a fringe of country churches discussed later grew up, and the Catholic Volgans became important in the towns of Walker and Gorham to the east of Hays and Ellis to the west. In Ellis they mingled with the Bukovinans and in Walker and Gorham with Reich Germans and Poles or Polish Germans. Gorham even today remains a frontier where competing cultural influences meet. We have seen how Walker was taken over. Ellis is treated elsewhere.

47,04 The Outlying Centers - Cemeteries - Education. Hays is of much greater importance to the Volgans than the others. Victoria was originally considered their capital, but for many years Hays has been their important urban center. Still much of the city of Hays is non-Volgan and because of the importance of Fort Hays State College will remain so. The town is now the most frequent place of retirement for the superannuated, and

this element remains linguistically conservative. It has also from the beginning been the first haven of the ambitious, particularly through courthouse employment, and these people became speedily bilingual. St. Joseph's College discussed later has brought many of the young to it. The foundation of St. Anthony's Hospital in 1909 brought the ailing. Besides, very early there were Volgans who lived in town, engaged mostly in humble occupations. Their section was the northeast which has remained German, but gradually they have been emerging from it. For many years much of the business life of the town has been in the hands of men of Volgan origin.

The Catholic religion set the Volgans of Ellis County and their bit of Rush County apart from most of their neighbors as much as the rest of their social organization. The settlement of Reich Germans at Walker just to the east was Catholic, and a part of the Bukovinan Germans who came to Ellis a little later were too. But almost all their other neighbors including the Volgans of Russell and most of Rush County were Protestants. But the Walker "Germans" (Volga Germans have never liked to be called Russians, but the Ellis county Volgans called their neighbors from the Reich "German") were Catholics. Their settlement, beginning in 1876, grew up about a group of people from Lancaster, Ohio, and its neighborhood who were seeking a Catholic German settlement. Their Catholicism, however, was not enough to draw them within the magic circle for some time, as the following quotation from the Golden Jubilee book shows:

"Their language was the 'Plattdeutsch,' [they were largely Hanoverians] which is not easily understood by the rest of the Germans. In manners, habits, and customs, they differed greatly from the German-Russians, hence, although associated together in the same church, there was very little social intercourse between them. Inter-marriages for many years were thus prevented. This, however, has all changed now. It was inevitable that the smaller number would become merged in the larger. All distinctions, especially among the younger generation, have disappeared; marriages between them are of common occurrence, even the language of the more numerous element has been adopted by the Germans, who now use the dialect of the German-Russians almost exclusively" /dr32.

The cleavage was so complete that Reich families moved from Walker to Angelus in 1898 to escape the Russians. The general opinion is that the hostility began to die down soon after, however.

It was doubtless the Catholic church that accomplished the reconciliation. With it abetting the young could not be kept apart. The Rev. Adolph Wibbert, the missionary pastor at Salina, began to serve the Volgans very shortly after their arrival (Apr. 1876). In October the Rev. Valentine Sommereisen began serving the colonies from Hays. Both these men were Germans, one a Westphalian, the other an Alsatian. Father Sommereisen served till May 1878. He did not leave the area then, for he "died on his estate northeast of Hays, January 25, 1897". The task among the Volgans was too much for one man. Bishop Fink interested the Capuchin refugees from Germany in 1873 in

the problem, came out with their Commissar, the Rev. Hyacinth Epp of that order in January 1878, to visit, and succeeded in persuading the monks to take over the settlement. Two Capuchins began the work in May, making their headquarters at Victoria. They still had charge in the 1960's of the work in Ellis County where thirty-five of their priests maintain two monasteries and a college. By their own unity, they have contributed to the continued isolated unity of their parishes, but when it became possible, they acted as a discreet force for bilingualism and even, when the interests of the young demanded it, for the abandonment of German. In 1884 they ceased to care for Pfeifer, Schoenchen, and Liebenthal, as being farthest from their center at Victoria. They never regained Liebenthal, for at the time of the erection of the dioceses of Wichita and Concordia in 1887 it fell to Wichita; the other villages went to Concordia. For a number of years at the turn of the century Pfeifer and Schoenchen were again theirs, but in 1906 were returned to the secular clergy. The three villages not served by the Capuchins had frequent changes of pastors during the early years, but during the critical period for linguistic change the pastorates were long (Pfeifer: Burkhard 1906-1925, Weber 1925-after 1948; Liebenthal: Stollenwerk 1899-1931; Hackenbroich 1931-1941; Uhrich Russ-Ger. b. Collyer 1941-after 1948; Schoenchen: Wenzel 1910-16, Hoeller 1916 after 1926, Riedel 1932-1961. These long pastorates favored conservatism, particularly as some of the pastors, Fathers Burkhard for example, much preferred to express themselves in German. Father Wibbert

1098

and Sommereisen began to serve the people of Hays as soon as they did the others in 1876. The parish has become the guardian of more souls than all the other Volgan parishes put together. It has been a charge of the Capuchins who have established monasteries there as well as at Victoria.

The dates of organizations of the ring of country churches around the edge of the Catholic Volgan district are given below (the order is from the north clockwise):

Hyacinth 1906 offshoot of Hays

Severin 1916 offshoot of Catharine

Emmeran 1899 offshoot of Victoria

Vincent 1907 offshoot of Victoria

Loretta 1912 (says Stremel) 1901 (says Dreiling) offshoot of Pfeifer

Antonino 1906 offshoot of Munjor

Cordia 1920 offshoot of Liebenthal.

The names here set down are the names of villages that their founders thought would grow around them. They originated, however, from the desire of families to have a church near their farms, not from any stimulus to residence or trade.

Villages did develop at Antonioⁿ and Loretta, but not elsewhere. However, except for Cordia, which disappeared before 1948, the parishes have continued to exist. The 1960 Catholic Directory records pupils receiving "special religious instruction" in the five parishes in Ellis County.

There were 174; the 1948 recorded those attending "religious vacation school"; there were 171. The southern parishes grew, the others shrank. As many attended at Antonioⁿ as at Munjor or Catharine. The linguistic history of these outlying parishes may be assumed to be similar to that of the rest of the district; perhaps they were a little less conservative, but the poor land to the west and north and the Protestant Volgan settlements to the east and south did not provide neighbors to promote Engl-izing.

In all the older parishes preaching and pastoral work was uniformly German up until the First World War except possibly in the city of Hays. A great deal of pastoral work was still done in German in the 1950's. Sister Mary Eloise Johannes thus summarizes the situation at the time she was writing, 1943. "German is still used in church services to some extent. Out of deference to older people who are not conversant with English, one sermon on Sunday is given in German and the announcements are also made in German at nearly all the masses." In Hays German preaching ceased altogether about 1926. At Liebenthal, English preaching was the exception until 1931. For the next decade the languages were used in equal proportions in the pulpit. After 1941 preaching was exclusively in English to the regret of a few who could speak only German. At Catherine preaching in German occurred occasionally in 1949 but it was rare. In Victoria English preaching began in 1917 for the 8 o'clock mass, but the main service continued to be in German for many years. In Vincent English

began at the priests' insistence in 1912; certainly after 1929 there was no preaching in German. At Pfeifer in 1948 the Reverend George Weber used German in the pulpit half of the time. Preaching in English resulted almost everywhere from clerical and not popular decisions, and the clergy made up its mind frequently only because of hierarchical pressure or strong though distant public opinion. Once it was established, the people soon accepted it as a matter of course, but without applause. Only in Victoria in 1950 would the old admit that it was necessary because of the linguistic habits of the young. Confessions of those born before 1910 were generally in German.

The history of language usage as shown by the cemeteries is not so reliable for early years as in many other places. Graves were frequently marked with wooden or iron crosses, many of which may never have had an inscription upon them; the painted inscriptions that did exist have been weathered away. On iron crosses ceramic plaques may remain. Also, early monuments were frequently sand stone whose outer surfaces have scaled off carrying away whatever inscribed characters they bore. More conventional monuments become common about 1900, and after that the iron crosses usually have ceramic plaques.

Language of Tombstone Inscription in Three Ellis County Cemeteries
Catharine Schoenchen Victoria

	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger
1870-9	1	2	67%				0	3	100%
80-9	1	4	80%	1	1	50%	5	10	67%
90-9	3	9	75%	3	6	67%	45	21	32%
00-9	12	15	56%	14	6	30%	35	29	45%
10-9	20	10	33%	20	9	31%	54	31	36%
20-9	26	4	13%	one German 1920;			72	5	7%
30-9	21	2	9%	none thereafter			70	3	4%
40-9	25	0	0%				65	2	3%

At Liebenthal, where graves were arranged chronologically, German was abandoned as the language of inscription in 1892. At Munjor the few stones with legible inscriptions made before 1900 were German; in the period 1910-9 there were 28 German inscriptions; in 1920-9 there were 9; only one is later, 1932. Burials at Loretta began in 1913 - monuments erected for deaths before 1919 bore 5 German inscriptions, 8 English; there was only English inscription later, 1921. The situation at Pfeifer is very like that at Schoenchen. At Victoria there are two family vaults. One without exterior dating is labeled, "B. Brungardt's Familien Gruft." A plaque in memoriam of eight persons is in English. The other is labeled, "April 1920 Peter A. Dreiling and Family Gruft." The state of German is demonstrated by these inscriptions one from Emmeran, the others from Victoria. All end with the German equivalent of "Oh Lord, give him (or her) eternal rest."

Her Ruth im Fredan Margaretha Gaboren den 26 May 1876. Gestorben den 11 August 1911
O Har Gab er Dea Ameg (sic) Ruh.

Hiaruth Barbara Dreiling Gaboran 21 September Gestorben 13 Novambar 1900 O Har

Gib ehr dea Aiwege Ruh

Her Ruhd Kathrenna Schack Gaboran 7 April 1883 Gestorben April 18, 1910 O Heer

Geber die Eiwig Ruh

✓ 048

Here are two eloquent of the State of English:

John Geist was born June sixt eateen forty tree died June the tent nineteen fifteen

John M. Brown born in August Eateen sixty seven Died in May twenty fort ninteen twelf

General conclusion on inscriptions: After the First World War English was generally accepted as the language of record. ProBABly ecclesiastical influence was important.

The earliest historians of the Catholic Volgans, Father Hyacinth Epp, found the educational situation among them lamentable, but Father Francis Lang and B. M. Dreiling do not offend their local readers by their introductory statements on education; they agree, however, that the start was poor. Father Francis speaks guardedly of progress at the time he writes (1910). Mr. Dreiling in 1925 feels that the situation is good, but here is what he says of earlier days:

"Due to a number of causes, progress was rather slow in the early days. Many of the older people were not very enthusiastic about education, attendance at school was irregular and intermittent, the children frequently being kept on the farms as long as possible in fall, and removed from school very early in spring; not accustomed to special assessments, the fee of fifty cents per month per child proved to be quite a burden to many parents; at home and on the village street the only language used was German, and as a result, the children made but little headway in English. Though they learned to read and write it, fluency in speech was lacking, a defect which to some extent is noticeable even today." /dr31.

The older people were "not very enthusiastic about education" because of their own past. Sister Mary Eloise says, "The immigrants, for the most part were uneducated many of them not knowing how to read and write." A person with this ability was a "gelehrter Mann," i.e. educated. Certain Schulmeister from the Volga continued to be teachers here and had a status similar to that they had enjoyed in Russia, perhaps more honored, frequently worse paid. His only stipend was from voluntary contributions in kind, and he had to farm also for a livelihood; one can imagine that school did not keep when crops had to be put in, especially since the parents kept the children out to work for them.

"In the course of time, however, all these hindrances to progress were removed," said Dreiling /dr31. At least by the time he wrote the Volgans were doing as much for education as any rural community. The schools after the early Schulmeister period, and in some places after being district schools a short time, became parochial schools until the time arrived when state aid made it more profitable for them to become public schools. The final period of transition lasted from 1935 until some time in the 1950's. Since in each case the whole school district was Catholic and the teachers were sisters, the difference in management was not great, especially as county superintendents in Ellis County, who have often been of Volgan origin, were sometimes benevolent. Superintendents in Rush County in charge of Liebenthal have sometimes been exasperated by the persistence in old ways. Certainly the schools were not, until about 1940, and in some cases till later, as efficient Engl-izing agents as they were in many communities, not even so effective as in many communities solidly for-ling, because here the teachers were soon for the most part Volgans themselves, speaking German except in the classroom and not subject to the irritations aroused in instructors who have no idea what the children are saying to their very faces. Furthermore the schools had less opportunity than in many places to influence children, because, as implied above, of poor attendance. There was "failure of children to attend school regularly, the difficulties arising from the bilingual system and the opposition of parents" /dr53. The Rev. H. Epp in 1905 had spoken strongly on the matter: "It is to be lamented that parents very frequently do not take that interest in schooling which it so richly deserves."

1048

"In Russia schools were also in their infancy, so that many who passed their school years there cannot write nor even read. The consequence is that they care nothing about regular schooling for their children. There are exceptions, to be sure, but exceptions are nothing but exceptions. Besides that, school terms are short. As people regularly have not only a residence in the willages, but also on the farms belonging to them, which are often at a great distance, they betake themselves in the spring as soon as field work requires it, with their children and chattels, to their land, and stay there till the end of October or the beginning of November. There can of course be no question of school attendance during this period, and so for most children schooling runs only from mid-October to April. Even in this short time significant results could be accomplished if the children came regularly to school every day, but that is often not the case, and children are not infrequently kept at home for trifling reasons."

Father Hyacinth does modify his scathing words to say that in some villages there is a certain comprehension of the need of education in order to get along in the world. (Seraphische Kind, Apr. 1905, p. 38). High schools were not organized rapidly. Of course there was the public high school in Hays, but it was non-sectarian and impatient of anything but English. An attempt to open a Capuchin advanced school in Hays unhappily was undertaken during the years of hard times 1893-5 and perished before the harvests improved. The order opened St. Joseph's College, in its early years essentially a high school, in 1905; Victoria built up its high school from one year to four beginning in 1917. Schoenchen's high school developed from a two-year to a four-year course between 1921 and 1926. A teacher arriving at the high school in 1927 had to talk English slowly to make himself

107K

understood, and the students talked no English to each other. His social visits had to be carried on in German, and his children learned the Schoenchen dialect. In 1933 no change had developed. But this situation changed as the Second World War progressed. English then became the ordinary social language of the high school generation, though in 1944 the students still used their German as a way of hiding information from teachers from the outside world.

The chronology of usage at Victoria has been quite similar. Until the First World War grade school instruction there in spite of certain gestures for the benefit of the state law, was essentially in German.* Standard

*Dreiling says in the Golden Jubilee book (p. 50) "As in the other colonies, learning [at Victoria] was imparted in both English and German, the mornings being reserved for German and the afternoons for English." Oral informants speak as our text does. The two statements can be reconciled if we remember that there can be a long morning and a short afternoon, and that religion--a most important subject--had to be taught before or after the official school hours. Sister Mary Eloise Johannes speaks thus on the subject: English "remained definitely a school language until the period around 1910-15 [this date is early]. Children of pre-school age rarely spoke any English, and school children used it only in the classroom. Even there, the two languages were used, since German was spoken one half day and English the other half. Religion was always taught in German and the children were taught to read both languages. The English language was just 'words' to most of the children so that conversation was ordinarily carried on

in German (Interviews with teachers). The two languages proved to be liabilities, at least in the grades, because they retarded the learning process and made for dual teaching in some subjects" /j96. A cultured commentator is not in full agreement, but says: "I was a grade school pupil in Munjor from 1909 to 1917 and recall very vividly being taught Religion both in English and German; other subjects too. Every year the County School Superintendent and also a Diocesan examiner came to visit the schools and I can also recall their commending the children on their attempt (at least) to study the English. I do feel the home atmosphere largely determined the success of these efforts. In the homes where the parents encouraged some use of the English language, the children made progress, and went on to higher education in other towns, Hays and Victoria, for instance."

German was the language of the classroom; the local dialect was used on the playground; most children arrived at the age of sixteen practically ignorant of English.

The first two years of high school were instituted in Victoria during the First World War, and to provide an absolute need for the use of English a Sister of St. Agnes, unable to speak German though of German descent, was added to the otherwise exclusively German instructional staff. English thus made a real entrance into the classroom, but schools that had athletic relations with Victoria found that the Volgan students were using German with each other until after the Second World War. The situation at St. Joseph's Military Academy was not much different. After attending there in the year 1917-8 a Volgan student, ambitious to enter into the general American atmosphere, left St. Joseph's for a school in Missouri so that his English might improve; he heard little of it at the academy.

✓0400

These remarks on language among the school population are sufficient proof that all through the Catholic Russian German area the language of normal intercourse between people of child-bearing age was German until 1942. There were even cases where bilingual abilities were limited among persons born in this country. A draftee of the First World War was discharged because he was unable to understand commands. Persons returning from sojourns elsewhere became so Germanized that their English grew rusty. In 1914 some of those born in 1896 were afraid to try to talk English when they went to town. In 1961 there were still among the old certain persons not immigrants, who were unable to speak English.

47.05 Early testimony to the linguistic habits of the community appeared from time to time.

26 Aug. 1895 Kansas City Journal (a hostile article) "To this day many of them cannot speak a word of the English language. . . . The young Russian who cannot read and write a little now is the exception." The main informant seems to have been a traveling salesman who as a baby had been brought from the Volgan area.

105a

27 Oct. 1901 - Topeka Capital (another hostile article) - "Not more than 25% speak English with any degree of fluency."

April 1905 - Rev. H. Epp in Seraphisches Kind (p. 57) "German is spoken in all the Russian settlements, in a dialect to be sure, for which no grammar has yet been written and never will be. Doubtless the English language in the course of time will become a citizen in these places, but that will require a long process lasting generations. In the Catholic parochial schools instruction in the English language is imparted and the sisters who teach in them spare no pains, but great difficulties stand in the way of this effort. Almost without exception the children hear only German sounds at home, and they themselves speak only German when talking and playing together, and therefore English remains for them a foreign language which they, even if they learn to read and write it, only half understand or do not understand at all.

1909-10 Laing: "Owing to their seclusion the colonies in Russia retained their native language (German), but few acquiring a knowledge of the Russian language*."

^{FN}Alexander Schmidt of Schoenchen who came to this country in 1913 at the age of 16, linguistically quite proficient himself because his mother was Ukrainian, stated that in his Volga village of 7000 not more than twelve families spoke Russian.

The settlers of Ellis County Still speak German and there is today not a child in these settlements that cannot speak German as well, and frequently better, than English; this heritage is still fostered at home and in the parish school. The spoken German has much similarity to that spoken in the Palatinate and in Bavaria. Some varieties in the language of the different villages still obtain" /kell:522. Laing continues to describe the peculiarities of the Volgan's German. Elsewhere his account of customs makes clear that all social life was in German.

8 October 1911 Kansas City Star. The young people are breaking away from old tradition says the article. "They beg to be allowed the English language and use it as they do in the schools. Their mothers will not learn it, perhaps, but they are

proud to have their children do so." Evidently many children were not "allowed the English language." The article speaks of a girl who worked for a family in town and came back and civilized the rest. This phenomenon, as betokened by advance in anglicization, is frequent in many rural immigrant groups, but the girls here had less influence than is usual.

1925 - Dreiling /dr26, "The settlers in Ellis County still speak German, and even today there are but few children in the settlements who cannot speak it. This heritage is still fostered at home, and to some extent, in the parish schools." Dreiling here repeats Laing textually except for a few changes to indicate some advance in anglicization. As we saw above, Dreiling also says that lack of fluency in English was "noticeable even today."

1937 - Marjorie G. Raish in Victoria, the Story of a Western Kansas Town (thesis of 1937, published 1947) Ft. Hays 1947. She summarizes Laing and Dreiling. The following is her own: "The older folk did not encourage learning English. They always said, 'Let the children learn the German first. They can always learn the English when they grow up.'" A commentator says, "Most older folk--some exceptions."

25 July 1938 - Kansas City Star - A feature article reproduces the first two sentences quoted above from Dreiling (omitting "but"), and quotes Father Roechel as their source (Ildephonse Roechel was pastor at Munjor).

1939 - Bondurant Ft. Hays Ks. St. College Studies, Soc. Series - A study of 100 Farm Security Administration Grant Families in Ellis County, Kansas, 1939 - published 1941.

"It was found that 73% of the families spoke German in the home, 12% spoke German and English, while 15% spoke English entirely. A few of the parents were not teaching their children to speak German at all because they

105c
106a

felt the children learned better in school if English was spoken in the home."

The 15% who spoke English entirely were doubtless from families where father, mother or both were not German. 90% of the fathers, 80% of the mothers were Germans, born and reared in Kansas.

1943 - Sister Mary Eloise Johannes Thesis (p. 101 - thesis published 1946 but data collected 1943)

"The present tendency seems to favor the speaking of English much more in the home than formerly. In some instances the children do not learn to speak the German language fluently, but they can understand it. German has not been taught in the schools since 1919 when it was forbidden by the state school law. No doubt in time the German language will meet the same fate as so many of the old customs and practices and it will be a memory for the Ellis County Russian Germans."

1943 Keroher, Grace (in Common Ground, III, No. 4, p. 102)

"This young generation [has] broken traditions, discarded old customs, changed its language."

47.06 On mid-century language use, here is a report for the several villages

Catherine

1949 - There were some small children unable to speak German - everybody born before 1935 able to speak - Equal amounts of German and English heard in the store.

1953 - Young children using both languages indifferently with each other.

1961 - Almost all children speaking English at home. Those born ca. 1910 using both English and German in talking together - those born ca. 1915 habitually using Eng. to each other.

✓ 066

1964 - (informant born 1924) "The children don't talk much German anymore, and I don't think that's nice. I think they ought to practice and keep it up. But their parents don't talk to them in German."

Hyacinth (northwest of Hays)

1964 - Many of the people here were immigrants of about 1900. They could barely get along in English and did not want to try. There were five or six families with children, all using English at home, but one family with daughters aged 15 and 8 had been persuaded to do so only recently so as to make schooling easier for the girls.

Liebenthal - The most conservative village - returned to greater use of German after some abandonment but the tide is again ebbing.

1929 - adolescents not at home in English

1940 - children ignorant of English on coming to school

1949 - Those born after 1939 mostly speaking English to each other but knowing German. Adolescents using either language indifferently; German the language heard most frequently.

1953 - Recrudescence of German such that all children spoke German; the old sometimes using better English than the young

1955 - Account in Rush County papers of trouble because German was used on playground. Iron clad rule against such use instituted by a teacher brought up in the community.

1961 - Those born 1934 or before frequently using German so steadily that their English is difficult to understand unless the armed services have removed them from the community for a while. Those born 1942 still use German habitually together but are bilingual. Many children born after 1955 at best only able to understand German. Young parents use mostly English together for their children's sake - "Dat German, it's goin'."

106c

1964 - A few schools in this part of Rush County still had language difficulties, apparently because of the quality of English rather than the ignorance of it.

Munjor

1951 - Those born after 1945 usually not able to speak German - Those born about 1937-8 sometimes able - Those born 1930 able to speak, but do so now only under pressure

1961 - Some born as late as 1951 able to speak German, but others not even able to understand. The retreat of German in the decade has been slow, but those born after 1930 use English to each other.

1967 - Those in their sixties still using German but not their children.
(Daughter settlement Antonino much more Engl-ized)

Pfeifer

1949 - a very few children not able to speak German - business regularly in English - otherwise German the usual means of communication.

1961 - Those born 1943 can speak German somewhat but use it so seldom that they do not know whether younger brothers and sisters can speak or not - Those born even shortly before 1943 speak much more German. Teen-agers addressed in German answer in English.

Pfeifer's daughter settlement - Loretta

1940 - children knew English on coming to school, but also knew their dialect

1961 - much as at Pfeifer - Those born 1951 know a little German, but don't display it to older boys and girls.

106d

Schoenchen

1949 - Those born 1940-43 acquainted with both German and English, used German somewhat, those born 1917 or earlier still using German together.

1961 - Those born 1948 or after said they know no German, did not even understand, though their parents sometimes talked together; those born before 1917 were still fond of using it.

1964 - An informant born 1939, said everybody can speak dialect, but a sister born ca. 1952 only understood. He was unmarried; out with the girls he used English, and if he were married, he would continue to do so in the home.

Victoria

1949 - An informant born ca. 1896 living toward Walker said: "There was a party yesterday and we talked German all day; we had the most fun, but at home we speak English most of the time. The children hardly understand German. Our oldest son and daughter can speak enough to get along. The other children try once in a while and we correct them, but it's a long time between tries."

1951 - An informant born 1872 says: "All my children speak German because my wife doesn't speak English much. Only three or four of our grandchildren know just a little German. Those that can speak are from 20 to 25 years old. Their German is very faulty; we have kept after them to keep up their German, but they don't. Our children write home in English. My wife understands when I read to her in English." The informant was a cultured man active in county affairs.

1961 - An informant born 1886 describes practically the same situation as did the informant born 1872. He too was active in county affairs. He feels that children can understand but not talk.

Mrs. Hall visited Victoria in 1961. She said: "There is much German spoken. One sentence in English, one in German. She went on to describe her father's wedding there that year at age 75: "It was to have been a quiet wedding --- the church wedding was superb, beautiful, with a German Love Song sung at the end of wedding Mass. There was a dinner, a dance in the afternoon, keg beer, much talk of old times, of new times, of the change of things. Old women wept for what had been and for what might be. Language was mixed, so mixed you couldn't tell it from one cocktail to another. Four generations (with some) were uninhibited gay, full of food, both the old German-Russian dishes and the new exotic ones."

1964 - A butcher born 1940 was not glib in German until he went into business. He learned to speak fluently then; his customers could speak English, but did not like to. Two brothers born before 1946 were speaking passably. Three others born in late 1950's were not proficient.

Victoria is at once the most nearly Engl-ized of the villages and one of the most conservative because the old retire here. The difference between the generations is marked but into the 1950's high school students have been actively able to use German.

Hays

Like Victoria, Hays has been a town where many retired people have lived. German is therefore actively used in the town, though it was early a center of anglicization. Boys and girls who came to town to work in stores or as domestic help learned English in the eighties and nineties, though their accomplishment often became rusty later. The Russian quarter

Volg

has been the northeast part of town, of course the most conservative area. But as the town expanded, particularly since 1942, Volgan families have moved into new districts with other population elements. These families have tended to be affected by their new environment and become Engl-ized, but even so, because of the strongly conservative retired people, the shift to English has been little more rapid than in the villages. In 1950 a half-Volgan informant living in a rather distant town reported that cousins "even the tiny ones" who lived in the south part of Hays spoke German well; the older ones used it as a means of teasing their visitor. At the same time another informant of non-Volgan origin reported concerning a Volgan family which lived next door to him in the northwest part of town. "The grandmother regards German as the language of the chosen and uses it exclusively; her daughter normally uses English now, but she and her husband used German in the family until their children had acquired it. Their children now use English." At St. Joseph's College English was gaining ground, but "when the village kids get together, they start using German." The wall between the Volgans who were Catholics and the general Protestant population was beginning to show some fissures at that time. There was intermarriage and even some social intermingling - 2 card clubs made up of young women had both elements in it; older Americans of colonial stock were tolerated at typical Volgan affairs (wakes, weddings); the Volgan business men were accepted as part of the social as well as economic structure.

In 1961 Engl-izing had made much progress. In the heart of the Volgan section of town the old people still spoke German exclusively. Those forty

1069

"talked whatever came handy;" those just a little younger usually talked English at home, so much so that their children born after 1942 knew very little German and use English habitually.

1967 - The parents of girls born about 1947 used German habitually, but the girls did not; it was the same with the boys - true, generally through the district.

From very early the Catholic Volgans exported population, at first mainly to daughter settlements but increasingly individuals were thrown in to the general population. The two-score priests and the long list of nuns which the area has proudly offered to the Kansas dioceses are obvious examples, but industry, commerce, and the professions have taken many. The armed services have taken some permanently, very many temporarily. Any grandfather or great-grandfather in the villages will tell you that most of his children live far away, use German little, and that his grandchildren know no German. A little consideration of the birth rate is sufficient explanation of this situation. Here is Father Raphael Engel's account of the birth rate in Catherine as published in the Hays News centennial edition 6 July 1961:

1876-1890 -18.4

1910-1920 -35.8

1930-1940 -11.3

1890-1900 -22.5

1920-1930 -27.3

1940-1961 -11.2

1900-1910 -28.9

Father Raphael said that his parish contained 320 souls. By 1903, 222 immigrants had come to Catherine; its population:

1903 - 551

1922 - 800

1908 - 670

1936 - 620

1943 - 532 (village 350) /j 16

The other villages offer comparable figures. Quite apparently more descendants of the first comers live far away than in the area. The impact of this great element mixed into the general population upon the language of the area was surprisingly slight for many years. Those remaining there knew that German was a superior language, and those coming home accepted their belief to the point of reassuming old habits as soon as they arrived, or had the good grace to be apologetic if they were too rusty. Even the return of soldiers from the Second World War had in the more conservative areas little effect. If they had married outside, their wives did not find the atmosphere congenial and took their husbands elsewhere; otherwise they assumed the old ways. This situation was less frequent than elsewhere; there the returning soldiers had more anglicizing effect. Finally, however, these distant connections have been having their effect.

Since Helen Linenberger Hall has put her biography into print (p. 314, These Are our Religions, a Genealogy, 1959) there is no need for anonymity in speaking of her. She is the daughter of Herman, the son of Joseph (immigrant). Born 11 November, 1912, Victoria. Schooling: 4 years parochial at Victoria, 1 year Liebenthal, 3 years Hays; graduated Girls Catholic High School, Hays, 1931. Worked 1931-3 at various jobs in Hays. Left Hays 1933 for nurse's training at Great Bend; R.N. 1936. X-ray training and nursing 1 year. 1937 married Edwin B. Hall. On farm several miles east of Seward, Kansas 1937-1947; sons 1943 and 1946. "She took care of the sick in the neighborhood. attended knitting school at Great Bend, Kansas, kept books for Hall and DeBusk, dirt contractors, and still remained the 'farmer's wife'." Moved near Hutchinson 1947, still

1062

there 1961, school board member and the like, author. Intensely interested in genealogy and in her roots. (Mrs. Hall's energy is typical of many who left the Ellis County area.) Here is her own statement concerning the use of German in her family.

"For two years [during World War II], I went into the home of the Lutheran preacher's and took care of his invalid wife. He spoke German beautifully, correctly. I understood it all, but I had been out of practice of speaking it for so long, that only once in a while can I carry on a conversation in German -- if it is simple."

"As to the German-Russians of the Ellis County communities--called the Volga Germans by Gunther and other authors--these third, fourth and fifth generations still speak it [German].

"I have a sister [presumably Loretta Brungardt born ca. 1909 of Grainfield, Kansas] who is a whizz at it. She married into a family who speaks it always. She knows all the dialects. [Grainfield, adjacent to Park, contains a Volgan settlement].

"My father, [born 1886 at Victoria], the only living son of Joseph Linenberger, my grandfather of "Grandfather's Story" (born in 1838) still speaks it whenever it is possible. He and mother [Maria Weigel, born 1889, at Victoria] spoke it exclusively when they were along. Since he lives here with us I encourage him to speak German so my children will pick up a few words anyway. I speak English, of course.

"I was ten years old before I could speak English. We learned to read and write it. I can still read it when the German is in English letters. But we learned the German version at the time. My brother, Fr. Herbert Linenberger, CPPS of St. Charles Seminary, Carthage, Ohio, speaks it fluently."

The brother and sister mentioned are older than Helen; she says nothing of the linguistic accomplishments of her two younger sisters, one of whom lives in Topeka and the other in Seward. Both married men with German, but not Volgan, names; Edd Hall too is of full German ancestry. The scattering exemplified by this family is characteristic of all the branches of the immigrant stock recorded in Toeffer and Dreiling's Linenberger Genealogy, 1955.

The 31st of July 1946 the Kansas City Star published a long story entitled "A Storm over 'Accent'." It began: "A report by Dr. H. B. Reed, head of the psychology

department of the Ft. Hays State College, that "the German accent" is the most prevalent speech defect [this seems hostile phrasing] among the 2,732 grade school children in Ellis County has evoked a storm of criticism. . . . Parents, many of German descent, are aroused by the survey, which they consider may subject their children to ridicule . . . an outsider is meddling in their affairs. . . . The German accent . . . was found in 1,226 children or three out of every five. . . . Instead of saying, "we have pigs with big teeth," the report stated, they say, "vee haf picks wit big teet." [Probably they said "vit pick teet."]

There is no doubt that this accent exists and is quite marked even among men who have been prominent in county affairs, and in outlying areas among those born as late as 1942. It is not universal; it is not perceptible among professional people in Hays, and it is not frequently marked among those who went into the armed services at an age less than twenty. Interviews in 1961 with children born since 1950 at Loretta, Schoenchen and Munjor did not reveal its existence to any degree that would attract the attention of most Kansans.* The attitude reported by the journalist of 1946 indeed

*A native of the region commented, "It has always seemed somewhat puzzling to me that a German accent is a mark of ignorance or illiteracy whereas a French accent or even an Irish brogue or a southern drawl is a mark of distinction." This is the only Settlement History in which extensive comments are made upon the pronunciation of English of the people in the settlement. It seemed appropriate here because the phenomenon has been the subject of public controversy, and similar phenomena have not been the subject of public discussion elsewhere in the state. There are of course other settlements in which the language

100

department of the Ft. Hays State College, that "the German accent" is the most prevalent speech defect [this seems hostile phrasing] among the 2,732 grade school children in Ellis County has evoked a storm of criticism. . . . Parents, many of German descent, are aroused by the survey, which they consider may subject their children to ridicule . . . an outsider is meddling in their affairs. . . . The German accent . . . was found in 1,226 children or three out of every five. . . . Instead of saying, "we have pigs with big teeth," the report stated, they say, "vee haf picks wit big teet." [Probably they said "vit pick teet."]

There is no doubt that this accent exists and is quite marked even among men who have been prominent in county affairs, and in outlying areas among those born as late as 1942. It is not universal; it is not perceptible among professional people in Hays, and it is not frequently marked among those who went into the armed services at an age less than twenty. Interviews in 1961 with children born since 1950 at Loretta, Schoenchen and Munjor did not reveal its existence to any degree that would attract the attention of most Kansans.* The attitude reported by the journalist of 1946 indeed

*A native of the region commented, "It has always seemed somewhat puzzling to me that a German accent is a mark of ignorance or illiteracy whereas a French accent or even an Irish brogue or a southern drawl is a mark of distinction." This is the only Settlement History in which extensive comments are made upon the pronunciation of English of the people in the settlement. It seemed appropriate here because the phenomenon has been the subject of public controversy, and similar phenomena have not been the subject of public discussion elsewhere in the state. There are of course other settlements in which the language

of immigrants has affected the English speech of their descendants. A few passing allusions to the phenomenon occur in this work, as a background for the study of the shift from f-lang to English. The purpose of the discussion at this point is the same. There is no intention of making a value judgment.

Similarly there has been no intention to give the impression "that the Volgans are backward because of their persistence in the use of German, and at the same time they are criticized for not passing on the heritage." No criticism on either score is intended; even if scholarly standards permitted such statements in a work of this character, there would be no criticism, for we see nothing to laud or condemn.

reveals a sensitivity on the matter preparing change. Still casual conversations anywhere show one is in a f-lang area.

With one exception, the Amish at Yoder, the main Catholic Volgan area is by a narrow margin and only in its more isolated parts the district most conservative of an immigrant language in Kansas. But even here it is doubtful whether any children at all will learn to speak German after the settlements have completed their first century. Though the reasons are not hard to find, the contrast with the results of a century's stay in Russia is striking.

CRAWFORD-CHEROKEE MINING AREA (Super*****-Crawford D)

- Special Bibliog.: Br -- Brunetti, Louis, "A Follow-up Study of the Graduates of Frontenac, Kansas, High School, 1920-51." Unpublished thesis at the Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas, 1958.
- L -- Layden, Frank, "A Study of Some of the Problems of Settlement of Crawford County," Unpublished thesis at the Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas, 1958.
- M -- Minckley, Loren Stiles, Americanization through Education, 1917 (privately printed, probably at Pittsburg).
- PC -- Pierce Courtier, Geology and Coal Resources of the Southeast Kansas Coal Field, Kansas State Geological Survey, 1937.
- P -- Pursley, Alice J. Owens. "The Effects of Foreign Language Spoken in the Home and in the Community on the Actual Achievement of Elementary School Children." Unpublished master's thesis, Kansas State College at Pittsburg, 1961.
- R -- Rankin, Nellie R. "The Extent to which Junior High School Pupils from Foreign Speaking Homes are Handicapped in English." Unpublished master's thesis, Kansas State College at Pittsburg, 1931.
- S -- Stephens, Sara. "A Comparison of the Achievement in English of the Pupils in whose Homes a Foreign Language is Spoken." Unpublished master's thesis, Kansas State College at Pittsburg, 1930.
- T -- Taylor, Ted Rollen, "History of Naturalization in Crawford County, Kansas," Unpublished thesis at the Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas, 1934.

47.07 Nationalities--Economic History--Geography. The Crawford-Cherokee coal mines drew to the area immigrants of many different origins. The present study will be concerning itself primarily with Italians, Slovenians, and speakers of French from Belgium and France. At one time Poles were of some importance in numbers, but they arrived late and most of them departed soon. By 1925 so few were left that they numbered only about 250 out of approximately 8000 foreign-born in the district. At Franklin, where they were most concentrated, the Slovenians outnumbered them 83 to 53. The proportion soon decreased still further. Croats are difficult statistically to differentiate from Slovenians because both groups usually were labeled Austrians even by themselves, often, even after the creation of Jugo-Slavia. The Croatian element which was left after 1940 was, however, small and hence we neglect it. There were, especially in the earlier days, numerous Germans either from the Reich or from Austria. Except for those treated with the Pittsburg Rural Germans, the Ger-lings are neglected because, in the presence of elements contrasting more sharply with those of Colonial American blood, they were absorbed rapidly into the English-speaking population. The earliest miners were largely from the British Isles, but neither the Welsh nor Gaelic elements were numerous enough to have weight linguistically, and the Britons were assimilated to the dominant population even more rapidly than the Germans.

The history of coal mining in the Southeastern Kansas, or Pittsburg, field conditioned vitally the development of immigration into it. Although small quantities of coal were removed earlier by almost as much as twenty years, for-ling immigrants did not appear in the district until about 1880.

✓ 024

-305-

And important development began only a very few years earlier.* The most

*A reliable and rather complete account of mining history in the Pittsburg field appears in /ya; PC as a technical account supersedes it because of its later date. Various local accounts add details of interest but usually echo each other. Sometimes, depending upon the writer's or some informant's recollections, they are chronologically vague. The facts stated below are usually derived from several sources, and when none is made, acknowledgment has seemed unnecessary.

potent factor in the development of the Pittsburg field was the need of the railroads. The first line into the region, however, the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf, the "Joy Line," which had a land grant, was by no means aware of the full extent of the treasure in its possession. It built its line to the west through Girard in 1870, mines were exploited for two years at Stilson just south of Scammon (110, Point N on Map I) at the southern edge of the district, but the railroad depended in its early years for its supply on mines at Fort Scott, which were soon exhausted. Not the locomotive, but the smelter, first drew attention to the importance of the coal deposits. The zinc ore in the Joplin field to the southeast, which at Galena extended into Kansas, needed refinement, and since a ton of ore required more than three tons of coal for the smelting, it was more profitable to move the ore than the coal. A small smelter was established in Weir (Point M) in 1872 /yal69, or 1873 /kc11:114, 166, but the ore was hauled there by wagon. In 1876 Moffett and Sargent built a line from Joplin to Girard with the express purpose of bringing ore to the coal fields. The town of Pittsburg was

107
founded, and in 1878 the Lanyons began constructing smelters there. In 1891 Pittsburg had six smelters employing 1000 men. Many of the workers were of foreign extraction; most of these were soon absorbed into the coal industry (C40), for the smelting business in Pittsburg collapsed with the development of gas wells at Iola beginning in 1894. The decrease at Pittsburg began about 1898 and proceeded rapidly.

While the mines were supplying coal to the smelters, the railroads had become the dominant developers of the Pittsburg field. The Frisco took over Moffett and Sargent's line in 1878, and their coal company, The Kansas and Texas, became important. The Kansas City, Fort Scott and Gulf, formerly Missouri, Fort Scott and Gulf, built another line in from the north by 1882, and by 1886 the Missouri Pacific had come in from the northeast and the Santa Fe from the northwest. The Santa Fe's coal mining company, known as the Mount Carmel, through most of its career, was important. When this railroad arrived, it founded and set up a terminus at Frontenac (Point i) and soon ran a line on to Pittsburg and beyond to Chicopee (Point k), which it also developed. In the developments of the prosperous period of the early twentieth century, mining seems to have been less dominated by railroads than earlier, but the characteristics of the mining companies were similar throughout the important era. They owned company stores and company housing, and by their credit system controlled the life of the miners. The statistics in the accompanying table show rising production, except for years of important strikes, until the First World War, then decline.

Crawford-Cherokee mining statistics

Year	Labor Force			Production in thousands of tons		
	Cherokee Co.	Crawford Co.	Total	Cherokee Co.	Crawford Co.	Total
1885				371	222	593
1886			1,856	375	250	625
1887				385	298	683
1888				450	425	875
1889	1,196	1,629	2,825	550	827	1,377
1890	1,413	1,447	2,860	725	900	1,625
1	1,609	1,785	3,394	832	998	1,830
2	1,777	2,234	4,011	825	1,309	2,134
3	1,978	2,883	4,861	698	1,196	1,894
4						
5						
6				935	1,271	2,206
7				1,005	1,353	2,358
8	2,548	3,036	5,584	1,111	1,654	2,765
9	2,321	3,335	5,656	1,162	1,952	3,114
1900	2,968	3,657	6,625	1,547	2,307	3,854
1	2,821	5,038	7,859	1,550	2,709	4,259
2	2,861	4,671	7,532	1,850	2,881	4,731
3	3,461	5,337	8,798	2,063	3,133	5,196
4	4,053	5,912	9,965	2,379	3,399	5,778
5	3,648	6,190	9,838	2,132	3,730	5,862
6	3,702	8,163	11,865	2,015	3,415	5,430
7	3,803	6,606	10,409	2,326	4,381	6,707

-6-

Year	Labor Force			Production in thousands of tons		
	Cherokee Co.	Crawford Co.	Total	Cherokee Co.	Crawford Co.	Total
1908	3,726	8,291	12,017	1,826	3,918	5,744
9				2,202	4,328	6,530
1910	3,606	7,458	11,064	1,478	2,986	4,464
1	3,510	6,464	9,974	2,036	3,778	5,814
2	3,436	6,759	10,195	2,332	4,255	6,587
3	3,415	7,332	10,747	2,259	4,614	6,873
4	2,898	8,474	11,372	1,883	4,752	6,635
5	2,834	9,094	11,928	1,707	4,843	6,550
6	2,164	8,849	11,013	1,529	5,053	6,582
7	1,614	7,988	9,602	1,396	5,574	6,970
8	1,750	7,887	9,637	1,311	5,984	7,295
9	1,542	7,458	9,000	884	4,148	5,032
1920	1,393	6,915	8,308	1,090	4,509	5,599
1	1,095	6,576	7,671	570	2,713	3,283
2	1,351	7,071	8,422	549	2,419	2,968
3	1,198	7,460	8,658	725	3,410	4,135
4	1,122	6,424	7,546	827	3,222	4,049
5	1,149	5,584	6,733	1,100	2,928	4,028

076

Year	Labor Force			Production in 1000's of tons		
	Chero.	Crawf.	Total	Chero.	Crawf.	Total
1926	1,127	5,922	7,049	1,048	3,090	4,138
7	956	4,957	5,913	931	2,250	3,181
8	787	4,140	4,927	775	1,813	2,588
9	592	3,591	4,183	523	2,267	2,790
1930	533	3,456	3,989	433	1,822	2,255
1	289	2,594	2,883	251	1,584	1,835
2	356	2,395	2,751	280	1,483	1,763
3	455	2,371	2,826	304	1,736	2,040
4	361	2,318	2,679	269	2,020	2,289
5	303	2,359	2,662	312	2,120	2,432
6	292	2,164	2,456	333	2,344	2,677
7	272	2,064	2,336	319	2,278	2,597
8	295	1,761	2,056	575	1,788	2,363
9		1,614			1,725	
1940	266	1,522	1,788	518	1,994	2,512
1	379	1,433	1,812	1,025	1,871	2,896
2	351	1,048	1,399	1,250	1,880	3,130
3	387	918	1,305	1,117	1,499	2,616
4	426	731	1,157	1,395	1,639	3,034
5	416	679	1,095	1,265	1,702	2,967

The available labor force in the 1920's except in the initial years, in the great strike, was much larger than the actual need. Production declined and the great shovels were displacing manpower. Both these trends continued operative, and by 1950 the labor force was only a small fraction

✓079

of what it had once been. The release of manpower naturally meant departure from the area,* but a few of those departed returned here to retire, and the

*In 1915 the population of Frontenac was 3,338, in 1940 it was 1,766 (1,713 in 1960). Layden (154) says in 1938, "It is today losing its citizens for lack of employment."

relief laws of the thirties held part of the excess population in place, particularly the older portion of it, so that linguistic development was less conditioned by population shift during this period than it had been by earlier strikes and pulsations in production.

There were important strikes in 1893, 1899 (the Big-Four Strike), 1906, 1910, and 1920-21. The statistics quoted show decrease in the coal production in each of those years except 1899 accompanied or followed the next year by decrease in the labor force. Observe particularly low production in 1910 and 1911 and the slow recovery in the succeeding years. The U.S. Government Mineral Yearbook for 1910 (pp. 135 ff.) notes as one bad effect of the strike the moving away of miners. Miners numbering 10,436 were out that year in Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Kansas. The strike did not affect other areas, so that miners could leave to find jobs. The report for 1921 notes: "The year 1921 passed without strikes of magnitude, except in Kansas, where 88% of the men employed were idle for nearly three months in protest against the imprisonment of Alexander Howatt and August Dorchy." The southeast Kansas labor force never recovered from the blow of that year.

The Pittsburg coal field exchanged population more or less with other mining districts. Early comers had frequently worked first in Pennsylvania or a little later in Illinois. And miners from those two areas continued

to come on west for some time. Later as mining declined there was a movement back to Illinois followed sometimes by return to Kansas for retirement. Particularly close were the relations with Henryetta, Oklahoma, slightly less with McAlester. Movement back and forth between these centers was frequent.

It is difficult and needless to trace the history of all the various mining camps within the field.* Some existed very briefly. The establish-

*T. R. Taylor in his thesis lists the "unincorporated mining towns" thus (T 11):

Table of unincorporated mining towns of Crawford County and year of highest population

(There is also a list of the mines in Cherokee County in q04, 118)

B = Baker Twp. L = Lincoln Twp. W = Washington Twp.

	Location	Year Opened	Max. Pop.		Location	Year Opened	Max. Pop.
Camp 50	W	'20	200	Fuller	W	'05	291
Camp 51	W	'20	150	Fleming	Sher.	'00	233
Croweburg	W	'20	700	Franklin	W	'17	1800
Capaldo	W	'15	416	Gross	L	'20	300
Chicopee	B	1901	1064	Jacksonville	W		
Cockerill	W	'10	150	Litchfield	B	'92	1098
Coalvale	L	'07	125	Midway	B	'92	497
Chapman	L	'17	203	McCormick	W		
Curranville	W	'07	1131	Nelson	W	'04	338
Dunkirk	W			Ringo	W		
Edson	W			Radley	W	'17	2096
Foxtown	W	'20	300	Sheridan	L	'20	138
Scott-Chambers	L			Yale	W	'06	1219

ment of new post offices went on from 1875 to 1915. The towns already mentioned or that it will be most necessary to mention are (1905 population in parenthesis), beginning at the north: to the north; Arma and its close neighbor, Franklin (neither separately enumerated in 1905); a central group, Frontenac (2,790), Pittsburg (15,012), Chicopee (955), and Cherokee (1,647), all in Crawford County; Weir City (2,583), Scammon (2,373) and West Mineral (1,109) in Cherokee County. Of these Pittsburg (population 18,678 in 1960), Arma (1,296), Frontenac (1,713), and Weir (699) could be said in 1962 to have business centers. Scammon (429) and West Mineral (262) had practically lost theirs. Cherokee, (797 in 1960) on the county line and on the oldest railroad line, had one. Though old, it has had a smaller proportion of foreigners, in 1905 only 49 foreign-born. Its publicly posted honor roll for the Second World War contained about 250 names; of these 16 were Italian, 26 Slovenian; many were Scotch or Irish. Weir City and Scammon too have been predominately British and Irish. At Weir City there have been a rather large number of Germans, a number of French and Belgians. Scammon deserves our attention primarily because the Cherokee County section of Italian and Slovenian population begins immediately to the west of it. School District 54 which included 84 square miles erected its Honor Roll for the Second World War at West Mineral. The names upon it are distributed linguistically as follows: Eng-ling 34, Slovenian 12, German 11, Italian 11, and French 4.

Early mining in Cherokee County was near Weir and Scammon. The foundation of Pittsburg in 1876 brought activity there soon afterward and production in Crawford County remained close to it and to the northeast at Frontenac, Midway, and Litchfield, which was largely English for almost two decades. It was not until 1889 that this neighborhood produced more coal than the Weir-

1073
1074

Scammon section. The West Mineral region began to blossom shortly before the turn of the century. The first of the post offices there appeared in 1895; others in 1899, 1902, 1905. The northern area, Arma, Franklin, and the camps to the northeast of them (Gross, Croweburg, and particularly Mulberry) became active about 1908. The last area to develop was the Radley-Ringo-Dunkirk area in the northwest; post offices were established there in 1913 and 1915, though mines had been opened almost as early as in the Arma area. There were shafts by 1907. The coal field did not stop abruptly at the Missouri line but it went little beyond it, only two miles to the neighborhood of Minden Mines (population 1940 - 550; Italians in Barton County, Mo., numbered: 22 in 1900, 98 in 1910, 101 in 1920). The Missouri section is left out of consideration.

47.08 South Crawford County Centers. We saw above how Pittsburg originated and something of its industrial history. The establishment of the smelters made it the metropolis. Shortly after 1900 it attained the size, approximately 15,000, that it was to maintain with slight increase for more than half a century. When the smelters moved away, other industry of various types established themselves: brick making, foundries, Kansas City Southern railroad shops, so that the town could remain the industrial center. There were originally mines in its immediate neighborhood, but its mining as well as smelting population decreased early in the twentieth century; the commercial needs of a prosperous area more than made up for these losses. The replacing population was not, however, so largely foreign as was general in the neighborhood, and the second generation of foreigners who moved from mining into other work did not care to emphasize their foreignness. Even with this element already present, persons of foreign or mixed parentage formed only 13% of the population in 1930 as against 74% in Frontenac. The pres-

✓088

-512-

ence of a college (Pittsburg State) also added to the anglicizing environment. Pittsburg tended to regard itself as somehow apart from its immediate surroundings,* but received hospitably those who moved into town. On the

*For example, the Pittsburg State theses analyzed later (Stephens, Rankin, Pursley) all select towns outside Pittsburg for study of the foreign element.

Italian newspaper, Il Lavoratore italiano, published in Pittsburg, see #44.23.

As time went on, the descendants of immigrants into the coal field became the merchants and professional people and they supported each other. A youth with a German name, partly French and partly Scotch-Irish, answering a questionnaire of 1949 declared: "In my opinion my life and speech have not been affected at all by the Italian and Slavic population. Most of my acquaintances among that element were second generation since immigration. None of my friends spoke with an accent." The authors of the Guide to Pittsburg, Kansas, published in 1941, speak in a similar vein. "Since there has been no appreciable influx of foreign-born miners since 1900 [they evidently did not examine the records for the first fifteen years of the century], the great majority of the people are thoroughly Americanized and only occasionally is the Italian language heard in Pittsburg. Children of the foreign-born miners have been well schooled in American ways. Many of them have gone into the legal, medical and teaching professions. There is little evidence of clannishness, and social barriers between racial groups are practically non-existent." Perhaps there were no social barriers between "racial groups," but a barrier based on some sort of consideration, perhaps economic, did exist. About 1950, a young lady, whose father was in the professions, but whose grandfather was a Scottish miner said: "None of my fellow students

at high school showed any sign of knowing anything but English, but most of those people go to the Catholic high school." Such attitudes in Pittsburg exist in others of similar background.

In Pittsburg the use of English, at least apparently, to the exclusion of any foreign language has been for a long time a sine qua non for gaining social acceptance. Since a part of the old people from the mining fields have dwelt in the town after retirement, foreign language in the home was not unknown in 1962, but it was, so to speak, sub rosa.

Lebanese in Pittsburg, usually called Syrians, formed a small element which deserves treatment because it remained permanently unlike some other small groups and because it represents speakers of a language who are found elsewhere in Kansas in sufficient numbers for study only in Wichita. In 1952 the Pittsburg Lebanese immigrants and their descendants were estimated to number about 80 persons. None appear in the census of 1895 but by 1899 the first comers had arrived. The 1915 census shows 37 persons born in Syria; that of 1925 shows 31. Twenty-five of the 31 failed to state when they arrived in the United States, but most came before 1910. Of the six who recorded their date of arrival one came in 1906, two in 1908 and three in 1925.

There was apparently an effort to maintain a Syrian Orthodox church at some time after 1926, for the 1936 census of Religious Bodies shows two such churches in Kansas. One of these, which was also recorded as the only church in Kansas in 1926, was at Wichita; the other must have been at Pittsburg. The disappearance of this church left the Lebanese without other recourse than to join the large Catholic church, with which the Uniates among them (Maronites and Greek Catholics) were already connected. Not all the

Syrians made religious connections, but the large proportion that did were socially deeply affected by the connection.

As an example let us take Peter Murhab (1875-after 1952), who altered his name to Murray; he came to Pittsburg in 1899. He was from Hulta near Beirut and most of the others who came to Pittsburg were from the same area. He had seven children and only one married a Lebanese; the others all married Germans or Irish. The family had not at first been Roman Catholic, but became so before or at the time of their marriages.

The marriages indicate acceptance by the rest of the Catholics, but in early years segregational forces were strong against the Lebanese. The boys had to fight their way home from school.

Murray was the owner of restaurants and rental properties which were lost after the prosperity of the coal fields declined. The Lebanese in general engaged in small businesses, and their success has been on the level with that of others in similar positions.

Murray worked on the railroads before coming to Pittsburg, among other places at Okmulgee, Oklahoma. Lebanese were more numerous in Oklahoma than in Kansas.

The Lebanese of Pittsburg, subject to forces of segregation, learned Arabic in the second generation, particularly the girls. Persons born before 1930 were in 1952 generally able to speak Arabic, but miscegenation and acceptance and desire for acceptance deprived the third generation of that ability.

Frontenac and Chicopee, both founded as we have seen with the coming of the Santa Fe railroad, have histories different from Pittsburg and different from each other. There were two Chicopees, East Chicopee or Chicopee proper, and West Chicopee. A gap of land separated the two. East Chicopee contained North Italians and people from several other stocks. East Chicopee was relatively tranquil. The "mean ones" were among the South Italians who lived in West Chicopee. The town withered earlier than other mining camps - between 1905 and 1910, because the mines were exhausted. Most of the population moved out to the camps that were growing to the north. The people who remained were the less ambitious, those satisfied with established conditions, satisfied too with keeping linguistic habits in their status quo. To cite an example of their conservatism, as late as the 1940's the people resisted the piping in

1079

of running water. They were satisfied to draw their water in buckets. Even pumps were regarded askance. These are things that part of the population said about the rest of it; not everybody was of such a nature, but the community as a whole remained set in its ways. Not because everybody was in agreement; one knot of settlement was composed of three houses, and the inhabitants of each of the houses did not speak to those who lived in the others. The Italians in Chicopee seem to have frightened away the assessor of 1895, so that his census records show only nine foreign-born Italians and only 16 more in rural Baker Township (excluding 8 at Midway). Other censuses, though more reliable, probably are inaccurate for similar reasons. The assessors of 1906 accorded a population of 1040 to the place, which represents its apogee in official records, for the mines gave out soon afterward. The assessor of 1905 attributed a population of 955 to Chicopee, of these 747 were for-ling immigrants or children living with them, largely Italians as shown in the table below.

For-lings in East Chicopee 1905

	foreign-born	co-resident children	total
Italian	458	174	632
Tyroleans i.e. Austrians with Italian names	25	2	27
Slovenians	7	1	8
French	44	12	56
Germans	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>24</u>
	551	196	747

This count was only for Chicopee proper. The Italian names indicate that everybody was from the North. A number of children were born in France.

If the assessors and census takers avoided Chicopee, they were like many

028
092

others; violence marked the place. Here the Black Hand, the Mafia, reigned, as nowhere else in the Pittsburg coal fields. It was the "town of mysterious murders" (Topeka Capital, October 23, 1911). According to well-supported tradition there were 125 saloons. In one of the worst years, tradition has it, there were 56 murders, and all remained mysteries but three. Perhaps this year was 1908. Of it the 1909 Investigators remark: "There have been numerous murders in the different coal camps surrounding Pittsburg, Kansas, and in few instances have the guilty parties been apprehended because of lack of witnesses. It is universally stated that the South Italians are responsible for these crimes, as they have occurred in localities occupied by these people and the victim has generally been a member of this racial group" /s69:111. By 1911, lawlessness was less, but even in the 1930's there were unexplained killings. By 1950, however, the inhabitants were fishing in the coal pit ponds where formerly they had thrown the bodies of the dead.

47.09 Frontenac did not have so sinister a reputation as Chicopee, but it was nonetheless regarded as a "wild town." During the first third of the century it was considered by most Kansans as the typical town of the coal fields, a bootlegger's paradise. But it was something more than a mining camp, it was a town in its own right. Though the developments of the twentieth century have made it into little more than a suburb of Pittsburg, it was long a center of affairs and retains its individuality because its inhabitants are descendants of the stocks which came into the mining era. Since 1930 it has been essentially Italian (85% in the '30's by a conservative estimate).*

*176 respondents to 304 questionnaires addressed to persons who

1198

graduated from Frontenac High School between 1926 and 1951 show for-ling names as follows: Italians, 67; French, 6; Slovenian, 12; German, 24. The number of German and English names in this list is out of proportion to the population. The distribution of the other names is illuminating. The names appear in Br.

In 1915 the Slovenian element was almost as large, but the Slovenians have not maintained the position. More important for the character of the community is the fact that the Eng-ling section of the population was originally strong. In 1915 three-fourths of Franklin was of for-ling stock, in Frontenac the proportion was about two-thirds,* but 10% of this proportion was German,

*The proportion of those of foreign or mixed parentage in 1930 was 74%; allowing for Eng-ling immigrants the proportion is nearly the same as in 1915.

most of whom had arrived early; the German stock in 1895 was almost as large as in 1915. The atmosphere of the town was therefore rather cosmopolitan, especially as residential segregation in the larger southern section of the town was not great; the north was Italian. General good feeling between the for-ling stocks developed rather slowly. In the early days mining activity was in great part to the east where the miners were mostly Eng-ling and seem to have had more influence upon the town than the Eng-ling neighbors of Chicopee. When the field developed to the west and northwest the influence was predominantly for-ling, and then Frontenac came to be regarded as largely Italian.

In 1917 Loren Stiles Minckley, superintendent of Schools at Frontenac,

issued his volume, Americanization through Education. His Preface contains these passages:

"A survey of Frontenac city is given to show the conditions in a city ninety per cent of whose inhabitants are of foreign parentage. . . . As our principle (sic) argument is that fear and worry should as far as possible be eliminated from the world for the best good of the country, . . . a system of no grade marks and no rivalry among students is used " (p9). Mr. Minckley is sentimental and sometimes somewhat incoherent, but his book deserves our attention. His survey of Frontenac begins with statistics on population:

Minckley's Population Data for Frontenac /M17. These data published 1917 are presumably for 1916 or 1917. They do not precisely correspond to either the Federal Census of 1910 or the State Census of 1915. The totals are not Minckley's, and he was probably unaware of the small contradictions.

"Americans having American parents" 428

"Americans having foreign-born parents" 1393

"foreign-born" 1572

Grand Total 3393

Cannot read or write in any language 199

"Those having foreign-born parents are:"

Austrians	200*	Hungarians	10
Syrians	12	Irish	76
Belgians	50	Italians	1518*
Canadians	19	Mexicans	48
Danes	25	Norwegians	20
English	128	Russians	10
French	275	Scotch	140

Greeks	20	Swedes	10
Germans	278	South Americans	14
Hollanders	20	Welsh	<u>10</u>
		Total	2883
		"Americans having American parents"	<u>428</u>
		Grand Total	3311

"Ten years old or older"	2397
of these: foreign-born	<u>1464</u>
born USA	<u>932</u>
	2396

The foreign-born less than ten years old should be (1572-1464) 108

*The contrast between these two figures on the one hand and on the other hand the membership data for the lodges presented below and the data for 1915 presented by Vol. I suggest that probably Minckley's census takers were unable to distinguish Slovenians from Italians.

After presenting these data Minckley comments: "One would think that all would [be] chaos and disorder among a people of such varied nationalities. That is not the condition. Very few arrests are made. The miners go to their homes when they have finished their day's work " /M18. Minckley states that the coal loadings from Frontenac* in 1915 amounted to 45,600 cars or

*It is not clear whether Minckley speaks of Santa Fe loadings only or includes those made on the Kansas City Southern Railway.

1,596,000 tons. (M26) By data presented earlier in this volume this output

would be 17-1/2% of Crawford County production. The income to the miners at 78 cents per ton was \$1,244,880, somewhat less than \$400 per inhabitant of Frontenac. "During the past year one large mine laid its men off seventeen weeks" /M23. "It becomes necessary for the boy to stop school as soon as the law will permit, to go with his father into the mine" /M24. The importance of this practice as a linguistic conservative has been pointed out elsewhere. Minckley laments the limitation to education, and consequently, to training in Americanism.

The lodges in town with the specific foreign background were /M50-53:

"German Aid Association," organized 1889 = 100 members

"Austrian Lodge Number One," organized 1892 = 500 members

"The work is all done in the Austrian language"

"Santa Barbara Number 47," (Austrian), organized 1900 = 61 members

"Austrian Firol (sic) Andrea Hofer," organized 1910 = 100 members

"Polish National Alliance," organized 1906 = 83 members

"The Gambella, a French order," (Gambetta?), organized 1900 = 40 members

"La Vittoria (sic)," Italian, organized 1891 = 200 members

(a membership card reproduced on p. 52 identifies as La Società Vittoria)

"Foristers (sic) of America Court of Pittsburg Number 14," Italian,

organized 1896 = 225 members

1098
"Stella d'Oriente," Italian, organized 1908 = 102 members

The Italian lodges all met in the "Italian Hall."

At the death of a member of la Stella d'Oriente "it was estimated that 2,000 people attended that funeral. All the different orders were out accompanied by the band. The funeral was preached at the Methodist Church by the pastor. The services at the grave were given in Italian by the order." / M54,

Among the other places of amusement there was the opera house. "A few plays are given in German and Italian and are well-attended by the foreigners." / M56. The only churches were the Roman Catholic and the Methodist Episcopal. The Catholic Church is treated elsewhere. The Methodists, like the Catholics, began services in 1890. From 1890 until 1917 the Frontenac congregation had been part of various circuits. It had then 70 members as contrasted with 1,500 Catholics, / M62, leaving many unchurched. Even the benevolent Mr. Minckley could not conceive of Americanization going on in any other language than English. "The Austrians, Germans, and Italians," he says,

"each have their own hall where they assemble and have their social times in their own native tongue, so we see that they have no chance to learn patriotism in the social gatherings. Many of them never attend church so that it is not here that they learn patriotism. This surely must be the task of the teacher of our public schools." / M63. He found the task difficult with a maximum legal school income of \$6,814 in that town of 3,400 inhabitants. In 1911 one year of high school, freshman year, was saved from extinction by self-sacrifice from the teachers. After that the full high school course developed.

There were in 1917 three beginning classes for 6-year olds, "each holding about 35 pupils. Of this number 95% have foreign-born parents, and in the Columbus building 95% are Italians. Many cannot speak English when

they start to school, at six years old. Those who cannot speak English generally take this work two years so that at the end of the first year the number that goes on is about 55 or 60 " /M110. Mr. Minckley then sketches the methods and content of schooling at Frontenac throughout a student's career till his graduation. Then "on the platform are seen a company of young people who are thoroughly Americanized....Although some of their parents speak broken English, there is true assimilation of interest. All prejudice, all caste, all national differences have been lost," /M135.

Pupils who entered school after living elsewhere, often immediately after immigration, provided a problem. The answer was "as much individual instruction as possible....Many come direct from Europe and cannot speak one word of English. These...make good progress" /M144. Latin was the only foreign language taught.

"The principle (sic) object of (the first) year's work is to review the English language and better impress the English tongue upon the mind of the pupil...There is no German or French offered because there are so many of the homes that speak the foreign languages that it is necessary to put more time on the English in school" /M166-7.

"There is a lesson given in English every day to every pupil and student in the school system. It must be remembered that 90% of all the children of the Frontenac schools come from homes where the parents are foreign-born. In many instances the children hear only the foreign tongue spoken at home. These children must be taught at school the English language and they in turn must teach it to their parents. Much oral language is required" /M172.

The adults with children in school were propelled toward English by various means. Many parents of beginners "cannot speak English and the only English the children know has been learned on the street. As these children begin

to learn the language they talk about it at home and their parents immediately become interested" /M228. Parents were invited to hear their children recite. "There were about 150 of the parents present, many of whom could not speak English. . . . The parents of different nationalities are getting better acquainted with each other's ways; but the different nationalities do not mix only as it is done through the working of the public schools" /M229. In night school "it is difficult to have a class composed of the different nationalities, for they do not care to mix . . . will do better if they can be taught in classes composed only of their own nationality. There is, however, an advantage gained socially in bringing the nationalities together" /M229. Mr. Minckley insists further on the need for social gatherings, particularly for women. "The men are on the streets and mix far more than the women" /M230. He finds school entertainments served this purpose well, when often, "the little child had to be the interpreter between his mother and his teacher" /M231 (similar in 234 and elsewhere). Parents cooperated well because "the school was the only chance for their little son or daughter to become a great man or woman" /M231.

Minckley was also concerned for "the foreigner who has no children. These are mostly younger men who have come to this country past the school age. It means a great deal of personal work to arouse their interest and lead them to see that there are more advantages for a man who can read and write the English language than for one who cannot" /M24. "Those who can read and write in their own language avail themselves of the night school to learn to read in English. They learn very fast. The class that began to read at the beginning of the school year is now in March reading in the fourth reader" /M242. Night school also attracted those who had had to interrupt their education to go to work in the mines. It was harder to bring the totally illiterate into the school. Desire to become citizens was the most frequent force motivating men

v09i
v10a

to undertake night schooling. A class of 15 prospective naturalized citizens unable to read and write English received their initial lesson in both reading and writing through the preamble to the American Constitution. Numbers of Mr. Minckley's high school graduates were going on to college. Apparently they had their difficulties, for the last twenty-five pages of Minckley's work are a plea to colleges to cease regimenting freshmen and to provide friendly faculty advisers for every newcomer. But definitely there were sons of immigrants going to college from Frontenac and ultimately entering the professions and business life, more frequently the professions.

In its home life Frontenac did not swiftly become Engl-ized. It was about 1936 before families with young children usually communicated in English.

Even before the period of population decrease arrived, some Italians were finding their way into the general population, and this tendency was more general in the 1920's and 1930's than in many parts of the coal fields, whence people departed for other for-ling settlements. The subsidence of coal mining took from Frontenac its importance as a business center and then the population ceased to receive new elements. Work in other towns and relations with family members living elsewhere furnished the primary influence for change.

47.10

When the northernmost part of the Pitts burg coal field was opened about 1907 Gross, Mulberry, and Arma were on the railroad lines and began to receive population. In 1915 Mulberry and Arma (792) were very nearly the same size, Gross much smaller (618). One-third of Arma's, one-third of Gross's and one-sixth of Mulberry's population was of for-ling stock. Mulberry had had a post office since 1869 but in 1895 had among its 211 inhabitants only one for-ling: an Italian. In 1905 it had 448 inhabitants; the great influx was beginning. The town never became, however, a for-ling center of sufficient importance to interest

✓10a

us. The neighboring camps, particularly Breezy Hill, were truly concentrated. Breezy Hill in 1915 had 333 of Slovenian stock and 109 of Italian stock out of a population of 675. Breezy Hill lost its population quickly,*

*Breezy Hill had a post office from 1916 to 1919.

however, probably because murder was nearly as rampant there as at Chicopee.

On the other hand, Arma, which in 1905 lost a post office that it had had almost fifteen years, and which was then too insignificant to deserve the census taker's attention as a separate unit, eventually came to be regarded as the most typical for-ling center, succeeding Frontenac in that respect in the 1930's. As the twentieth century advanced, its communications became better than those of any neighboring point, and the population of the shrinking mining camps tended to draw into it. Frontenac in 1940 was half the size it was in 1915; Arma was nearly the same size in both years. Later developments have been slightly favorable to Frontenac. Arma had lost nearly 40% of its 1940 population in 1960; Frontenac has been nearly constant. Arma's for-ling element has been largely Italian, two-thirds of the for-ling stock in 1915, more than one-fifth of the total population. The proportion of Italians has increased as time has passed. In 1931 sixty per cent of the students in Arma Junior High School were of foreign or mixed parentage. To these may be added enough children of the third generation to bring the proportion of for-lings, nearly all Italian, up to two-thirds or three-fourths.*

*For Washington township which included Arma and Franklin, the 1930 census showed 66% of foreign white stock.

Arma is a town with a definite sense of its own significance as a unit, but

104

the sentiment seems to have formed slowly, to be largely the work of the decade following 1915. Though not as resistant to innovation as the Chicopee neighborhood, Arma has been conservative in its attitudes, more generally preferring, for instance, as late as 1950, washboards to washing machines. "They like to do it the hard way."

Franklin was granted a post office in 1908; in 1915 it was of nearly the same size as its neighbor Arma. It never incorporated, and separate Federal census data are lacking for it. Although a feeling of rivalry existed between Franklin and Arma, Franklin never achieved as great a sense of unity as Arma. Its predominant for-ling group in 1915 was Slovenian and probably still is,* but a larger proportion of Slovenians than of other

*The 1925 census showed 186 foreign-born Italians and 83 Slovenians, however, the census taker, having no corporate city limits to guide him, evidently included a very restricted territory. In Washington Township outside all camps he found 297 Italians and 862 Slovenians. Many of these people were rather certainly in the neighborhood of Franklin because the most prosperous mines of the period were in the western part of Washington Township. The 1915 Italians assigned to Washington Township rather than camps numbered 426 foreign-born, Slovenians 775 foreign-born.

stocks departed from the area. The Slovenians have lived mostly in the northern section. Franklin was a community or collection of communities quite cosmopolitan in character. Poles were important and so were the Franco-Belgians.*

*The 1915 census shows as much. Leading to this same conclusion

✓100

for 1925 we might cite arguments similar to those in the preceding note.

Although much more unorganized than Arma, Franklin possessed a spirit of its own, apparently gentler and more good-natured than that of most of the mining camps, no more given to initiative, but more or less tolerant of divergent points of view, ready linguistically to let various media of expression exist side by side.

The eastern edge of the coal field revived briefly about 1915. Yale in that area somewhat north of Litchfield had a post office beginning in 1892, but lost it in 1914. However, the next year it had 610 inhabitants, including 226 Slovenians. In 1925 the assessors did not find it worth while to count these places separately. But the western edge of the mining district which had begun rapid development about 1915 was still active. Capaldo, which in 1915 had 153 foreign-born Italians, who with their children accounted for 308 of the town's 416 population, had shrunk to 118 foreign-born. Ringo, population 301 in 1915, 113 foreign-born Slovenians, 45 foreign-born Italians, in 1925 had 97 foreign-born Slovenians, 114 Italians; Radley, population 1183, 183 Slovenians, 121 foreign-born Italians, 67 foreign-born French. Radley in 1961 still had its post office opened in 1913; Ringo lost its post office of 1915 in 1957; Capaldo never had one. The dates of arrival in the United States of the foreign-born in these camps was similar to the general pattern presented elsewhere. Practically everybody had arrived in this country by 1915. The Capaldo-Ringo-Radley contingent largely moved in from other parts of the field, the Chicopee and Cherokee County sections in part. From here, if they stayed in the Pittsburg area, they moved into the more firmly

✓ 10C
✓ 11a

established towns. In 1962 Arma, Franklin, and Frontenac had immigrants who were first in Cherokee County.

The geographic shifts in development were in part the result of mine exhaustion (Weir-Scammon area); in part of increased demand; and the eventual shrinking was in part because certain sections had been mined out, more because of the decrease in the demand for coal and the abandonment of deep shaft mining in favor of the great shovels.

47.11 The Report of 1910. The first investigators to be concerned with the beginnings of foreign immigration into the Pittsburg coal field were those employed by the United States Senate in 1909. Their information, secured from interviews thirty years after the events, probably has some inaccuracies, but is essentially correct, and more nearly contemporary than any other source, for local reporters in the Pittsburg area ignored the immigrants except when they stood in the way of conditions as others desired them. The report to the Senate says:

"In 1877 coal was taken out in small quantities by strip openings, but no immigrants had come into the field until 1878 and 1879. When the first shaft mines were opened English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh came from Mercer County, Pennsylvania, to help work and develop the new mines. These men were not shipped in, but came of their own accord upon the advice of some fellow-countrymen. There were about twenty men of these races who came during the years 1878 and 1879, and this was the first immigrant labor employed in the bituminous coal field surrounding Pittsburg. During 1879 other companies opened mines, and as there was no local labor to be had, agents were sent to other coal fields and to New York, and immigrants of other races were brought to the field. . . .

"The immigrants from Austria-Hungary in the Pittsburg field are Croatians, Germans, Poles, Magyars, Slovaks, and Slovenians. All of these races were at first brought into the district by the coal operators. The first shipments came in 1879 and 1880 from Pennsylvania and included representatives of all of the above mentioned races. They went to work in the mines in the vicinity of Pittsburg, but are now to be found all over the field.

"From 1880 to the early 1890's many were brought direct from New York as soon as they landed. Agents of the operators questioned newly arrived immigrants on landing in New York as to what work they had been engaged in before leaving Europe. All who had been coal miners were given transportation and were brought to Pittsburg and put to work in the mines. A Croatian, who was one of the first to come into the field, said he had been engaged in mining in Pennsylvania, and was approached by the agent who told him that work was plentiful and wages good in the coal mines of Kansas. He with several of his countrymen consented to go and were brought out with a party which included Poles, Croatians, Magyars, and Slovaks. Conditions were found to be as represented, and he and some of his friends wrote to their friends in Pennsylvania and induced them to join them in Kansas. None of the men who first arrived were accompanied by their families, and later many sent for their wives and kindred. After being in the field a short time they also induced friends from Europe to come, and thus immigration from Austria-Hungary was started in the Pittsburg district.

"After 1885 a few began to purchase homes and each year more have made Kansas their permanent home. Since 1903 immigrants from Austria-Hungary have not arrived in as large numbers as previously,* but immigration is

*Remember this is the strike year of 1910. See above, and 1925

110

survivor statistics below.

still steady. The reason given for the decline in immigration during the past few years is that the development of mining operations has not been rapid. The number of immigrants in the field constantly varies, as many go to other localities when work is slack and return when mines in the Pittsburgh district are running regularly.

"The first immigrants from Italy were brought into the field in 1880 as strike breakers. These men were brought from Pennsylvania and Illinois and there were about thirty in the party. From the above-mentioned year until about 1895 agents employed by the coal companies continued to bring them into the district from other sections of the United States, usually in parties of ten or fifteen. This started immigration on the part of the Italians. Those brought in by agents induced friends and relatives to join them, and since 1880 the immigration of Italians to the coal fields of Kansas has been steady. As is usually the case with the Italians, they are segregated and have formed colonies in different localities. The town of Chicopee, near Pittsburg, is composed almost entirely of this race, of whom about 1,500 live in and around the town. Many own homes and are permanent residents. All of the Italians have engaged in coal mining, and it is this industry alone which has drawn them to Kansas.

"In 1879 a few French were induced to come from Illinois to the Pittsburg coal field, and in 1880 others were brought from the same place and from Pennsylvania. This started immigration on the part of the French, and they continued to come until about 1897. Since that time they have been immigrating in smaller numbers. After 1884 many French came direct from France and Belgium. Immigration of French to Kansas has practically ceased, however, and fewer of this race are engaged in mining than was the case four or five years ago. Those who have left the mines have engaged in farming and other pursuits. A number of farms in the section are owned by the French, and many own homes in the different towns of the coal field. The French are not segregated. The cause assigned for others coming was the over-crowded condition of the mines in their native land, and the desire to earn more. A great many of the French own their homes and are permanent residents. /s/69:25-27.

"The method of securing men, as first practiced by the coal companies in Kansas and Oklahoma, was to send an agent to other coal fields, who obtained as many as were needed. A special car was chartered and the men were transported directly to the coal field. At a later date this plan was discontinued and men were given transportation to the mines. The railroad fare was collected in installments from their earnings. In some few instances immigrants returning from Europe were employed to bring over men. They were paid for each miner brought over, the coal companies supplying steamship tickets and paying all expenses, such practices being perfectly legal at that time. The cost of transportation was collected in monthly payments from the immigrants thus secured. This method was discontinued in 1890 because of contract-labor legislation by the Federal Government. The companies also let it be known among the men employed that anyone wishing to bring in relatives or friends could do so,* the company supplying transpor-

*Taylor corroborates this statement /T12.

tation and enough money for expenses, provided two or more men in their employ were willing to stand good for the amount expended. Many immigrants brought over their wives and families by this plan and in most instances they have become permanent residents. The officials of the companies encouraged immigrants to send for their families for the reason that the men could be held more easily and were more contented" /s69:61.

As noted above the U.S. Mineral Year Book states that the labor force in the Pittsburg field was 12,017 in 1908, 11,064 in 1910. The Senate investigators fixed it at 12,000, and give round numbers also in detailing its constituent elements. These data /s69:27 seem less interesting than the specific statistics which they secured from 3,687 employees /s69:27 given

below:

Stock of 3,687 Pittsburg Coal Field Employees in 1910

	Number	% of Total Group
Native-born white with native father	727	20%
Eng-ling father	356	10%
foreign-born father	153	4%
Negroes	146	4%
Foreign-born - Eng-lings	365	10%
Germans	147	4%
French	155	4%
Belgians	92	2.5%
North Italians	587	16%
South Italians	244	6.5%
Slovenians	160	4%
Austrians ("race" not specified)	390	10.5%
Poles	33	1%
Slovaks	58	1.5%
Others	<u>74</u>	2%
	3,687	

The mines where the Senate investigators made the above count were doubtless those most heavily for-ling; it was their mission to investigate immigrant labor in the mines. It is of most interest as showing the proportions of the various foreign stocks in 1910. The Senate investigators also gave statistics on the distribution of the foreign-born in five mining towns /s69:28, 29:

	Pittsburg	Frontenac	Scammon	Weir	West Mineral
Total Population	15,964	2,790	2,373	2,500	1,800
Eng-ling	1,050	350	1,200	775	300
Germans		250		50	
Italians	500	620		175	500
French		300		125	400
Polish		250			50
Croatians*		370		125	250
Others	<u>200</u>	<u> </u>	<u>300</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	1,750	2,140	1,500	1,250	1,500

*Where the investigators said Croatian one must understand Slovenian; the table of the 3,687 employees shows as much.

The Senate investigators state that:

In Pittsburg there had formerly been more immigrants in town; in the last five years they had been moving out to the camps.

In Frontenac the first comers of all stocks but Italian had come from near by. In 1886 an agent had brought ten Italians from Spring Valley, Illinois, and more from other fields in the next four or five years. Spontaneous immigration thereafter.

At Weir, a few French appeared by 1880; Italians had been brought in as strikebreakers in 1881; in 1882 Croats and Germans had come from near by.

At West Mineral the Italians were shipped in by coal operators in 1901.

The Senate Report of 1910 and the state census of 1925 give indications as to the length of residence and date of arrival of the immigrants.

Length of Residence in the Crawford-Cherokee Coal Fields
as Reported in 1910 to the Senate Investigators

	Total	Before 1890	1890-94	1895-99	1900-04	1905-09
French	155	44	15	11	43	42
Croatians	14	0	1	5	7	1
Germans	144	60	27	6	20	31
North Italians	585	38	45	61	243	198
South Italians	240	4	7	26	104	99
Poles	33	0	0	0	9	24
Slovaks	58	7	7	5	18	21
Slovenians	159	11	17	15	54	62
Austrian (not spec.)	384	11	29	13	162	169
Belgian	91	27	15	1	27	21
Eng-ling	348	239	20	7	37	45
Others	61	18	10	2	10	21
Total	2,272	459	193	152	734	734

Year of Arrival in the United States of Foreign-born
residing in Crawford County in 1925

	Totals	Before 1880	1880 -84	1885 -89	1890 -94	1895 -99	1900 -04	1905 -09	1910 -14	1915 -19	1920 -24	Undated
French	474	5	23	55	35	12	96	66	87	6	10	79
Italian	1615	0	14	53	120	99	364	338	331	75	53	168
Poles	239	0	2	1	8	5	54	63	71	5	0	30
Slovenians	1727	0	15	51	99	92	390	478	426	17	61	98
Belgian	389	8	15	52	80	15	34	48	48	11	7	71
Total	4444	13	69	212	342	223	938	993	963	114	131	446

✓ 118

The statistics for 1925 from Cherokee County do not alter these proportions, 121 French and Belgians, 159 Italians, 96 Slovenians.

The above tables emphasize:

1. the importance of the immigration in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century
2. the overwhelming preponderance which the Italians and Slovenians gained through this late immigration (shown also by the table of 3,687 employees)
3. the small number of new arrivals after the beginning of the First World War in Europe
4. the resumption of French and Belgian immigration after a pause in the 1890's
5. the absence of Poles from the field in the nineteenth century

The conditions under which the for-ling immigrants worked were closely connected with their linguistic development. They were under constant pressure to learn to understand English. It was the price of safety.

"Many accidents are due to the fact that the foreigner is not able to speak or understand English, and it is hard to make him understand a warning.

Ignorance . . . not only brings great danger to himself, but to every man working in the mine with him." /s69:69 It was also the price of promotion; without English they could not pass examinations for more advanced positions. But the practice of "buddies" working together at pick-mining tended to preserve original speech. "These men are to some extent isolated . . . almost the only other employee they see during the day is the driver . . . the two men will become very intimate. Consequently it is almost an unheard of situation to find an American and an immigrant from continental Europe working in the same room. Possibly the force of men working the entry may include five or six different nationalities, but on entering the rooms, the "buddies"

or partners, will be found to be men of the same race. . . . With the company or day men the case is different. [They] are often of different races, and Americans work side by side with Italians, Lithuanians, Poles, or Slovaks.*. . . The miner chooses his own working partner, while the mine fore-

*Elsewhere however, /s69:40 the investigators say that the new immigration (Italians and Slavs) were nearly all miners, not company men.

man hires the company men and places them together regardless of race. While outside the mine there may be racial prejudice and little association between the races, during working hours little of this is seen" /s69:70.

In company-housing projects, "racial prejudice" was recognized to the point of keeping for-lings separated from Eng-lings, sometimes even separating Italians from other for-lings. The Senate investigators of 1910 noted these facts /s69:71, adding that in some places north and south Italians lived mingled together, but where Italians were numerous the northerners and southerners lived in separate colonies. This was clearly a factor for linguistic conservatism. It was augmented by the Italian tendency to purchase their homes so that they became less mobile than "American" miners. The Slavs too purchased but were less likely to be segregated.

The reasons for segregation were in part the low opinion held of the immigrants and especially of the south Italians by the "natives." The feeling was that more of the north Italians came to make permanent homes and were therefore ready to learn English. Though they were considered slow in acquiring American ways, they were given more opportunity to become Americanized. Still, the process was hindered by the fact that they were managed by a few leaders and were suspicious of Americans. The "natives"

felt that these characteristics were more marked among the south Italians. With them segregation was not only willed by others; it existed by their own volition. Perhaps it is fairer to say that it existed by the will of the Black Hand, the Mafia, for that society controlled not only the actions of the mass, it inspired fear in the general population and kept them away from South Italian quarters as from the plague. Indeed for two generations the whole mining area was regarded as wild and lawless. The situation was doubtless worse during the early years because of the low proportion of women. 61.7% of the foreign-born workers were married, only 52.6% of the Italians. In any case, violence was widespread enough to slow down the forces of assimilation, including Engl-izing, since no one outside felt it worth while to interfere seriously as long as the miners kept their violence among themselves.* This state of affairs persisted longer than

*Frank Layden in his thesis of 1938 speaks of the violence as of a rather distant past. Other evidence shows that it approached his time more nearly than he stated, but his description of procedures is graphic. "Saloons existed in Crawford County from 1897 to 1910. They could easily be recognized in those days by the high wall fence around them. The purpose of the fence was to keep out the undesirable people, usually the law enforcement group. Fights were frequent in the saloons. Many a person who visited them on pay night woke up in the early morning hours to find that his money was gone. The saloon keeper usually picked his hired help from the ranks of immigrant groups. Choosing always the one who was the leader, in this way he would get the rest to visit his place frequently to buy drinks. The saloon keeper

✓ 118

was always willing to help the foreigner. He helped him write letters home, or swore before a naturalization court with others of his group that he knew the person applying for citizenship papers to be of good character." Ted Taylor also speaks of the laxness of law enforcement /T11..

would otherwise have been the case because national prohibition happened to exist during the period of decline in the fortunes of coal mining, and moonshining and bootlegging became an important source of income. The Mafia furnished a ready-made organization to carry on such traffic. It did not spread geographically much beyond the Italian areas, but it did somewhat.

Among the south Italians in 1910 "many in the coal regions who have been here fifteen or twenty years are scarcely able to speak English" /s69:106. Even children were slow in acquiring English, for they were taken from school early, and they "hear only Italian spoken in the colony and at home, and their only opportunity to learn English is at school." It is clear that both the Senate investigators and their informants felt that there was no Americanization without the use of English, and it occurred to no one that the process might be advanced by others learning Italian. The Slavs were more popular with the "natives" than the south Italians, but they were considered almost as resistant to assimilation.

The Senate investigators were discreet as to the existence of the Mafia, but they found occasion to speak of other organizations among the miners. For the Italians only it spoke of fraternal and beneficial societies. They bore the names of "La Minatura," "La Società di Vittorio Emmanule III," "La Società di Cristoforo Colombo." Among the North

✓/12

Italians there was also "La Società Piemontese" and "La Società di Norte Italia" /s69:107. The Senate investigators found too that no church but the Catholic worked among the miners. We shall see later the limitations of its accomplishments.

By 1910 the United Mine Workers were well established among the miners. But the mass of the for-ling immigrants were not important factors in making its decisions. Eng-lings, said the Senate investigators, were "the leaders, though Italians and other races may hold the balance of power" /s69:67. The mass of the Italians were tolerant of the Union, the Slavs were somewhat ill disposed toward it. The Eng-lings complained that "a few of the more highly Americanized members of the race generally control the remainder in all questions coming before meetings." As might be expected, the controlling element was made up of the sons of Slav and Italian immigrants, who were enthusiastic members of the Union because the others were "blindly led." Apparently the United Mine Workers' attempt to reach immigrants through their own languages did not take form in Kansas, at least not as early as 1910. The failure was perhaps caused by low-literacy; only 78.2% of the south Italians claimed to read and write /s69:89. In spite of the Senate investigators' report of slow assimilation the reference to "more highly Americanized" members of the second generation shows that process was under way, and there is other evidence to the same effect which will be presented later.

Visits by Immigrants in the Pittsburg Coal Field
in 1910 to their Native Country

Stock reporting	Total Reports	Percentage of those reporting making visits abroad after residence in US of:			
		Less than 5 years	5-9 years	More than 10 years	Percentage of Total Reports
English	194	18.2	10	13.2	13.4
French	178	6.3	12.5	13.3	11.2
German	156	0	4.8	10.5	7.7
North Italian	1063	7.7	27.7	37.5	22.7
South Italian	398	8.3	24.5	49.5	24.1
Polish	179	7.9	23.6	27.1	17.9
Slovenian	183	5.3	8.3	12.8	8.2

This table shows that Italians made visits home twice as often as other stocks.

The Senate investigators of 1910 found the use of English such an important index of assimilation that they recorded specific data set forth below:*

*These data included the Oklahoma field. The facts concerning the stocks present there and not in Kansas are not presented in the table below. The number of French, Austrians, Croatians and Slovenians was negligible in the Oklahoma field, the numbers of Germans was small, the numbers of Italians, and Slovaks was about the same as in Kansas.

There were more Poles there.

Ability of Foreign-born in the Pittsburg Coal Field to Speak English

A. Study of Households

Stock	No. Reporting		Total	Percentage of those speaking English			By age at arrival		By years in U.S.		
	Male	Female		M	F	T	14-	14+	5-	5-9	10+
Croatian i.e. Slovenian	29	28	57	79.3	71.4	75.4	81.3	73.2	54.2	86.4	100
North Italian	190	105	295	51.1	23.8	41.4	85.0	34.5	20.6	50	76
South Italian	65	40	105	47.7	27.5	40.0	68.2	32.5	34.5	39.5	66.7
Polish	57	41	98	38.6	22.0	31.6	60.0	24.4	6.5	24.0	81.5
Slovak	63	53	116	60.3	41.5	51.7	64.0	48.4	16.1	42.8	80.0

B. Study of Employees

Stock	Number Reporting	Total	Percentage of those Speaking English				
			By age at arrival		By years in the U.S.		
			14-	14+	5-	5-9	10+
French	206	74.3	94.5	66.9	51.9	66.7	89.4
German	177	91.0	97.4	89.2	62.9	87.0	100.0
North Italian	1129	62.4	98.0	60.8	35.0	73.8	87.9
South Italian	418	66.0	92.3	64.3	43.6	75.2	91.8
Polish	209	65.1	90.9	63.6	35.3	80.3	91.4
Slovak	124	65.3	100.0	64.2	35.2	85.3	91.7
Slovenian	185	68.1	100.0	65.7	44.6	78.7	90.0
General For-ling	3482	69.1	95.7	66.8	43.0	77.4	91.1

In the first table the evidence of sexual linguistic difference is very clear.* The evidence of the influence of age at arrival and of length

*The same conclusion may be arrived at by comparing the two tables.

The six columns on the right of Table A contain partly women; the corresponding columns in Table B do not, and the percentages in Table B are larger.

✓ 110

of stay in the U.S. in both tables is as clear, but less in need of proof. The sexual difference is partly to be explained by longer residence of men, but primarily by the influence of the linguistic environment in the mines. It did not always make for the abandonment of foreign language, but quite evidently brought about bilingualism. The first table shows that about half the males in the households were able to speak English. For the same stocks, the second table credits about two-thirds of the males with the ability; the necessary conclusion seems that life in the family tended to preserve mono-lingualism. Those free of such ties picked up English faster.

In Table A the number of males is greater than the number of females. If we grant that children will be evenly divided between the sexes, the difference in number between adult males and adult females resident in households becomes even more marked. Other statistics printed in the report to the Senate /s69:53 show the truth of the inference to be drawn from the last statement, namely that for-ling households frequently had lodgers. We may now extend the conclusion of the last paragraph to a statement that even lodging in a family using the same foreign language as the lodger inhibited the acquisition of English.

It is remarkable that while the French were most acceptable among Romance and Slavic peoples to "natives," the older among them were somewhat less proficient in English than the other stocks. A similar statement can be made of the north Italians as compared to those from the south. Now the French were early a strong stock in the coal fields and the north Italians were introduced before the south Italians. We may therefore

71/p
412 a

conclude that the pressure for Engl-izing was greater after 1900 than it was before that time.

Finally the tables show that bilingualism among for-lings was more common than monolingualism and that there were few males who had been in the United States ten years who did not know English. Though observations among the old made about 1960 must make us conclude that a very rudimentary knowledge of English qualified an informant as a speaker in the eyes of the Senate investigators, their evidence is indubitable that Engl-izing was progressing rapidly in 1910. And it must not be thought that prejudices of the investigators influenced their data. The general American belief of the period, expressed in the anxiety that led to the Senate inquiry, was that assimilation was next to impossible among "new" immigrants.

47.12 Three Later Reports--Religion. Two decades after the Senate investigators had surveyed the Pittsburg coal fields, the Master's theses of Sara Stephens (1930) and Nellie R. Rankin (1931) studied the effect on junior high school pupils' English of residence in homes using foreign languages. Both studies found that such residence handicapped the pupils in their use of English, and incidentally, other studies. They made no effort to determine whether anything but association with foreign language brought about this state of affairs. Here, however, we are interested less in the results and methods of their studies than in the accessory information which they gathered concerning language usage in the homes from which the pupils came. They made no effort to determine whether one foreign language had a different effect from another. Miss Stephens says, "The languages listed in order of frequency included Italian, Austrian [i.e. Slovenian], German,

French, Polish, Bohemian, and Slavic [probably she meant Slovak]" /S1.
Her study was on Frontenac. Miss Rankin's was on Arma; she does not tell us what foreign languages the pupils were familiar with, but she too would doubtless have put "Italian, Austrian" at the head of the list.

At Frontenac Miss Stephens studied 111 pupils of foreign language stock, of whom 70% came from the families of miners /S15. "The pupils in Frontenac can speak English upon entering the first grade" /S30. For 91 of them she tells the place of birth of the parents /S12:

	U.S.	Italy	Austria	Germany	France	Mexico
Both parents born in	32	20	12	6	3	2
Mother born in U.S., father in		10	2	4		

Her analysis of the language of the homes is of the most interest to us /S14:

Language Used in the Homes of 111 Junior High School Pupils
at Frontenac in 1930

Pupils in what gr.	No. in each gr.	Eng. only lang. of home	Eng. usually some f-lang	Usually 1 f-lang	Mixed* parents	% of Eng. usually	% of 1 f-lang usually	% of mixed f-lang
7th	37	13	6	16	2	51.35%	43.24%	5.4%
8th	33	11	6	13	3	51.51%	39.39%	9.09%
9th	41	17	13	10	1	73.17%	24.39%	2.43%
Total	111	41	25	39	6	59.45%	35.13%	5.4%

*"Mixed" means "usually speaking f-lang, but different f-langs."

At Arma Miss Rankin studied 201 pupils of for-ling stock. She did not break down the parentage by specific stocks. The following table shows what she has to say on the place of birth of the parents and of foreign language usage.

Parentage of 201 Junior High School Pupils at Arma in 1931

and Language used in their Homes

		Language used in Home							
Pupil in what gr.	No. in each gr.	Both parents b. U.S.	Both parents f. born	One parent f. born	Eng. only	Eng. usually f-lang partly	Usually f-lang	% usually Eng.	% usually f-lang
7th	52	20	20	12	19	13	20	61.5%	38.5%
8th	72	29	28	15	40	7	25	65.3%	34.7%
9th	77	34	29	15	38	16	23	70.1%	29.9%
Totals	201	83	77	42	97	36	68	66.6%	33.4%

By comparing these two tables we find that Anglicization at Arma in 1931 was somewhat more advanced than it was at Frontenac in 1930. Let us grant that in homes where each parent used his own foreign-language, the language of the children would be English as the best lingua franca. The difference of the totals between the two tables is insignificant. If we compare the 7th and 8th grades at Frontenac with the 8th and 9th grades at Arma because containing children of the same age, evidence that Englishing was

at work is clear. It also seems to bear some relationship to the number of native-born parents, but the data on the Frontenac parents is not sufficiently complete to allow a reliable conclusion.

Clearly the situation in 1930 was radically different from that in 1910. Apparently neither Miss Stephens nor Miss Rankin thought of considering foreign language as anything more than a language of the home, a Heimsprache. They regarded English as the language of group life. They were doubtless justified in this only as regards the group life that they could observe, the language of the children with each other at school, the language of business, the language that they used in dealing with parents. Evidently there were very few who were not bi-lingual; two-thirds of the homes of foreign stock with growing children were using English habitually. In 1910 English in the home was evidently very rare because only about one-fourth of the women were able to speak English.

Since all the children studied in the theses of 1930 and 1931 were able to speak English on coming to school, it is evident that by 1918 English had become a language which pre-school children heard very often. The advance of ~~Englishing~~ from 1910 to 1918 was phenomenal.

In 1961 Mrs. Alice J. Owens Parsley produced another thesis studying approximately the same question as those of 1930 and 1931. She concluded, "The foreign-language groups achieve significantly more than the non-foreign language group." (P4). Again our main interest lies rather in her incidental data on language usage. She was studying pupils in the elementary school, and took it for granted that they were English-speaking monolinguals. Foreign language existed only among their parents and grandparents. She interviewed families, parents and grandparents, of 31% of the elementary school children in Arma, Cherokee, and Frontenac for a total of 233 interviews (P8). The

children lived in 134 households (derived from her table on page 16), of which 18 contained only one of the children's parents (deduced from statements on page iv and page 17) and 129 contained at least one parent of for-ling stock; total number of parents, 250. The number of grandparents was 168 (page 28), of whom 49 lived in the same house with the children.* The foreign languages that were spoken in more than two house-

*Any effort to balance statistically the above numbers will be fruitless. Mrs. Pursley does not furnish all the data necessary.

holds are as follows /P16:

Parents with Latent or Active Ability to Speak Foreign Language

Having Ability to Speak*	Father <u>or</u> Mother	Father <u>and</u> Mother	Total	Non-For-ling parents with co-resident for-ling grandparents	Grand Total
French		7	7	1	8
German	5	4	9	13	22
Italian	25	38	63	12	75
Slovenian**					
Austrian	5	9	14	15	29
Yugo-Slav	8	17	25	2	27
	13	26	39	17	56
Totals	43	75	118	43	161
F-lang actually used (P 21)	39	31	70	35	105

*Our interpretation of the point which Mrs. Pursley wishes to show by the two tables on pages 16 and 21 is as indicated (ability, p. 16 and actual use, p. 21). Any other interpretation makes the tables contradict each other.

✓128

****Mrs. Pursley (page 24)** was puzzled by individuals who insisted they talked Austrian and not German; she was apparently unfamiliar with the situation in Carniola stock.

There were two German and one Italian families where neither parent could speak foreign language. The table establishes the continuing numerical superiority of Italian and Slovenian elements. Since none of the children were speakers of foreign language, it also is evidence that abandonment of foreign language took place for these parents (45% of all parents studied, p. iv) when they were young, that is about 1935. In the light of the other data, it seems natural, as is shown by the tables, that the majority of the couples able to speak foreign language to each other should have dropped its use. What seems remarkable is that, when only one of a couple was able to use foreign language, this for-ling should continue usage. The explanation must be that all 1961 parents of school children using foreign language used it in speaking to the children's grandparents, who might live in another household.*

*All these for-lings had learned foreign language from their parents; there were also three who claimed to have learned French in high school, one German in high school and one in the armed services /P24.

Languages of Grandparents (not all co-resident with children)

Possession of an ability in a column includes abilities in all columns to the left of that indicated.

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write	Total
French		11		9	20
German	2	18	1	4	25
Italian	2	37	2	26	67
Slovenian	1 } 4	17 } 36	2 } 2	4 } 8	24 } 50
Austrian	3 }	19 }	4 }	4 }	26 }
	8	102	5	47	162

The comparatively large number of Italian grandparents able to read and write Italian is probably to be attributed to a priest at Arma who conducted a school for the purpose /P26. As a general thing, Mrs. Pursley says, "It is not common for the older people among the population to read and write in the foreign language which they understand and speak" /P11. The grandparents all claimed to be bilingual, "but," says Mrs. Pursley, "there were many who displayed a marked preference for conversing in a foreign language" /P27. The next generation sometimes "for complete understanding" had to re-state to them in foreign language some remark Mrs. Pursley had made /P29.

Mrs. Pursley's whole study shows that when foreign language was used, habitually, in 1961 in the Crawford-Cherokee mining area, it was used in addressing old people. Only the older members of the second generation were able to do this. She analyzes the way in which this state of affairs came about thus: "In most cases the older brother or sister in the family had kept the ability to understand and speak the foreign language. It was necessary in many cases for this older child in the family to interpret

for his parents during childhood. Indeed it is, at times, still necessary to do so for complete understanding. As a rule the parents had either increased their ability to speak English or the older children in the family had become such proficient interpreters that the younger ones did not always learn the foreign language /P30.

In her summary Mrs. Pursley says further that while many grandparents were still using foreign language, it was only "in 45% of the families sampled, [that] this ability was transmitted to the parents of elementary school children." /P iv, that is, 45% of the parents still were using their foreign language in 1961.

Mrs. Pursley also studied the linguistic background of the children's teachers and of the members of the Boards of Education.

The teachers, high school and elementary, included 20 of Italian parentage, 3 of French, 1 of Slovenian, and 2 of Polish. They had all learned foreign language at home /P31 & 33. Mrs. Pursley summarizes their abilities and attitudes thus: "No teacher in any of the school systems had a college major in foreign language; none had the equivalent of 2 years credit in any foreign language at the college level." "Some of the teachers who lived in the area in which they taught and had approximately the same home background as their pupils, did know a foreign language which they had learned within the home. In most cases they hesitated to teach this language to any of their pupils because they so keenly realized that their language was a dialect, and they felt that their pupils should learn only a 'pure' language. A few felt that learning a foreign language first had hampered their subsequent development of a richly expressive English."

On the school boards 11 out of 14 members were men who had learned

foreign language in the home.

Mrs. Pursley also studied religious background. Seven (50%) of the school board members attended Catholic Church regularly; there were six Protestants, who averaged about half-time attendance, and one man with no church preference. Among the pupils, "in families in which both parents speak a foreign language the Roman Catholic religion is retained" /P iv.

Linguistic and religious conservatism, had gone hand in hand; another conservative linguistic force in the coal fields was the character of the family. "Families appear to be close knit. Daily visits to relatives are common, and participation in the family business is the general rule" /P v. The family was strongest in families where both parents were for-ling /P82.

There was no conflict of cultures /P82; this lack leads of course to intermingling of all elements of the population, and furnishes an important Anglicizing force.

At the beginning of 1961 before undertaking her thesis on Arma, Cherokee, and Frontenac, Mrs. Pursley prepared a "Pilot Study of West Mineral, Kansas." Her results were gained by an unstated number of interviews, probably 17, 16 with teachers and school officials (92.3%), one with a townsman (7.7%). Evidently the school staff was mostly from the mining area in Cherokee County, but not specifically from West Mineral. All respondents and their spouses were born in the U.S., and only two had both parents born elsewhere, one family from Scotland, the other from Austria in 1904. There was also the daughter of a Lebanese who had come in 1910, and married a native-born husband. These Austrians and the Lebanese had passed on to their children their foreign languages (Slovenian and Arabic).

121

"Of the parents born in the U.S. some have the ability to understand and speak other languages due to association with neighbors and friends. Italian leads the list of languages understood by the largest number of the native-born parents." One woman had learned Italian from her grandparents, and her parents had learned French from customers in their store. There were two cases of German. "The husband's parents in one instance understand and speak Belgian [Flemish] which they learned from their parents. One husband and wife both understand Italian learned from neighbors and friends. One respondent understands, speaks, reads, and writes Austrian which she learned from her parents. In 8 families there was no foreign language."

If linguistic and religious conservatism have been allied in the Crawford-Cherokee area, the fact has been of less importance than in many foreign settlements. The miners were to a large degree anti-clerical, and the shifting nature of their population during the prosperous mining period and the commonness of violence would have made difficult the work of pastors even in a well-disposed population. The observation of the Senate investigators in 1910 that the only church working among the miners was the Roman Catholic was almost certainly not entirely true. The Germans in the area were in large part Lutherans, and some of these were miners. The building in Arma that became a Catholic Church had been a Baptist Mission. The Andreas-Cutler history records four Protestant Churches besides the Catholic in Pittsburg - undoubtedly principally for non-mining elements, but at least present on the scene. In the same history T. M. Weir "coal dealer and miner," "founder of the town," "donated lots for the various (sic) churches of the town" /all69. The efforts of the Protestants among

the miners has, however, left no readily accessible records, and we can only conclude that there was some ultimate success from Mrs. Pursley's data showing in the towns she dealt with a contingent of Protestants with for-ling background, apparently lukewarm church members. The zeal of the Catholics has not been great; many of them had had to go to church in Italy or Austria, that is what they said, but this was a free country - they didn't have to. Or in less bellicose moments, they have declared that they have done no wrong. So why should they go to church? In the 1950's many younger people of for-ling stock regarded this attitude as old-fashioned, but even among the young, the enthusiastic have not been so numerous as to make model parishes. The parish in Pittsburg, Our Lady of Lourdes, originally St. Mary's, in its later decades hardly deserves these comments. But it struggled in its early days. Father Eugene Bononcini (1835-1905), a valiant pioneer, founded the parish in 1882 and served it till 1885, when it received a resident pastor, Robert Loehrer /cp140; by 1892 it had had seven resident pastors, four with Polish or Czech names (Wozny, Zuaczek, Gaydousek, Hawelka). Then from 1893 till 1897 Dr. J. A. Pompeney (b. 1862) served; succeeding years till 1905 saw several changes. A school founded in 1895 (94 pupils in 1900) had to be closed in 1906. Father George Reinschmidt, b. 1878, was pastor at this unhappy moment. He served until 1912 and then Father Pompeney returned. He reopened the school in 1915, and stayed until 1928. When he left, the parish had grown so much that the new pastor, P. McCullough, b. 1871, later Monsignor McCullough, was accorded a curate. For the first three years this was newly ordained Alex Stremel, b. 1905. Father, later Monsignor, Stremel returned in 1949 and continued his pastorate beyond 1962. Elementary school attendance

which had been 276 in 1937, 258 in 1948 rose to 543 in 1960; no high school in 1937, 106 students in 1948, and 156 in 1960. The Irish and German names of the pastors indicate that the bishop was making no effort to choose his pastors at Pittsburg to appeal to the for-ling elements in the town.* St. Mary's was therefore an instrument of Anglicization, and the

*There were curates with more appropriate names, Bellezza in 1937.

long pastorates of the 20th century emphasized this role. Well that it was, for we have seen that Pittsburg's whole linguistic role in the coal field was Engl-izing. The various for-ling stocks, if they moved into this chief population center, accustomed themselves rapidly to the use of English because they were various in origin and because they had, so to speak, graduated from the mines.

Outside of Pittsburg, Catholic activity was of a different character. Father Bononcini worked from Fort Scott through what was to be the coal area from 1868 on, particularly with railroad construction gangs. The Jesuits at Osage Mission had a mission in the neighborhood of Scammon as early as 1868. /mo56* From headquarters at Baxter Springs and Chetopa,

*Indeed the Jesuits were at Cow Creek, i.e. near Pittsburg, in 1855 /mo53.

Bononcini attended missions in 1870-3 including Coalfield (Scammon) and Cherokee. In 1874 he built a church at Coalfield (40 families), in 1876 he added a house and visited his missions from there /b110 and 142. His headquarters were, as said above, at Pittsburg from 1882 to 1885.*

*Father Bononcini was transferred from the Pittsburg neighborhood

just when his Italian background would have made him most effective. He and Bishop Fink often disagreed, and the Bishop evidently arranged for his parishes to be of minor character. He was put to work with Italian miners at Osage City in 1896, but was assigned to the Wichita Diocese clergy when southeast Kansas was shifted from the Leavenworth to the Wichita Diocese (though at the time he was serving in Leavenworth territory). In 1900, still attached to the Wichita Diocese he was serving an Italian church at Toluca, Illinois.

Though the names of Slavs appear briefly as pastors in the 19th century, no deliberate effort seems to have been made to provide pastors with appropriate linguistic backgrounds for the for-ling miners until 1905.

No effort was ever made in Cherokee County. For Scammon and Weir (first resident pastor, 1890) Irish priests were most appropriate. They were less so at Mineral (church "opened" 1901) where M. Reidy became pastor in 1904, and P. J. O'Leary, b. 1882, in 1913. Father O'Leary became pastor at Scammon in 1922 and thereafter Mineral was a mission. It still was in 1948 but had disappeared by 1960.

The churches in Crawford County southwest of Pittsburg, Chicopee, Cherokee, and Fleming witnessed some effort at suiting the priests linguistically to the population. Chicopee seems to have been left to its wickedness from its founding about 1887 to 1902. Then Father M. J. O'Farrell (who does not appear in the clergy of the U.S. either in 1900 or in 1915) newly arrived at Weir, built Saint Barbara's at Chicopee and departed the next year to be succeeded by J. A. Lenehan, b. 1874. In 1910 when the Silvestrine Benedictines came to Frontenac, they took charge of the parish at once. They were Italians and Fathers Joseph Cippoletti and Philip Bartocetti set to

work there. They were still at it in 1915, but seem to have released the parish shortly afterward, for Father D. Wojciechowski, b. 1871, who served at Franklin and Arma from 1915 to 1918, died at Chicopee in 1918. The Silvestrines had by 1915 established a church close by at Fleming, evidently in an effort to separate the Irish from the Italians, for they named it Saint Cronin's. They retained St. Cronin's till the end of their stay in 1929, apparently finding work with others than their compatriots less difficult. They were also saying mass only a little way farther on at Cherokee by 1929. At least for 1930 Moeder records the dedication of St. Anastasia's and adds, "The Capuchin fathers had taken charge of this parish in August, 1929, succeeding the Silvestrine Benedictines" /mo136. In any case, there were many anti-clericals in West Chicopee; they "used to throw stones at priests." Thus all in all, the influence of the church was, south of Pittsburg, an Engl-izing influence.

To the north of Pittsburg the point of dissemination of Catholicism was Frontenac, and this to the exclusion of Pittsburg, once the Sacred Heart Church was well established. The first building was erected in 1891. Until 1895, the same pastor served Pittsburg and Frontenac, then there was a Czech for 3 years, A. P. Podgorsek, followed by a series of 3 German pastors until 1904. By 1900 Frontenac had missions at Litchfield and Midway to the east and a school with an enrollment of 146 (when St. Mary's at Pittsburg had 96). The problem of the Italians was, however, receiving attention. Moeder notes that in 1905 "Father Francesco Lombardi arrived in the diocese from Mileto, Italy. Bishop Hennessy assigned him to Frontenac to do work among the Italians" /mo80. In 1909 Lombardi was transferred to a missionary area southwest of

Wichita presumably not because the Silvestrine Benedictines were about to arrive, for they did not arrive for almost a year. They worked with Dr. Pompeney for two years after their arrival, and in 1912 were put in charge of Frontenac. They were ardent workers, and in 1928, "the eighth mission organized by the Silvestrine fathers of Frontenac and the seventh church built by them was blessed by Bishop Schwertner on April 18th at Arma." /mo 131. But they were then about to abandon Frontenac; they withdrew from the diocese the next year. The Capuchins, all Germans, took over their work and continued it until 1948, when they too gave up Frontenac, this time to secular clergy. In spite of all their energy the Silvestrines had but small success. Many of the churches which they founded have since been discontinued, partly because they were in camps that were mined out, partly because the contraction of the coal industry also shrank the number of their parishioners. And they did not appeal to all their people; at least they do not seem to be remembered with regret. They were, however, a definitely conservative force among the Italians. They must have furnished the priest whom Mrs. Pursley records as having taught reading and writing Italian at Arma. Also their policy of founding many small churches crystallized parishioners into groups that were not too large to have something like linguistic unity. Thus St. Alice's, the church at Capaldo, which still existed in 1960 as a mission of Franklin was almost solidly Italian in membership, and that particular area has preserved the use of Italian better than any other. The only parochial school outside of Pittsburg in the coal fields was that at Frontenac. It was founded with 60 pupils in 1892, had 146 in 1900, 180 according to the Catholic Directory of 1915, 206 according to Minckley in 1915, 58 in 1948; in 1960 it had been discontinued, presumably buses could take the children easily to St. Mary's in Pittsburg.

V124

Poles, as noted above, were more numerous at Franklin than elsewhere, and Polish pastors served them for a while,* Father Wojciechowski already

*Franklin seems to have held the Wichita diocese church (really a mission) noted as a Polish national parish by the Catholic Encyclopedia in 1911.

named from 1915 to 1918 and Father Leo R. Klasinski from 1919 to 1936. Klasinski served also at Chicopee, but he kept up the spirit of the group at Franklin. Liturgical singing in Polish went on in his time. No Slovenian priests served in the coal fields. The Slavic names are all of northern origin. Arma, until the Silvestrines arrived, was not always served from Frontenac, but then it became fully a part of their complex and data from it may be considered typical. In support of what was said above on the warmth of the miners' Catholicism a census of 1929 may be adduced. There were at that time 31 practicing families, 45 nominal families, and 175 non-attenders.*

*A census of 1926 taken by the Silvestrines was distributed as follows:

Arma	770	Croweburg	230	Mulberry	227
Breezy Hill	205	Frontenac	1900	Radley	321
Capaldo	290	Gerard	138	Ringo	337
Cherokee	304	Gross	110	4 missions with less than 100 each	192

There is no mention of Fleming.

There seems never to have been any extensive preaching in foreign language. At some unspecified date, probably about 1926, there was a

sermon in Italian at Capaldo, but even in this conservative area it was not generally understood, presumably because the listeners knew only dialect with a limited vocabulary. There were confessions in Italian. Prayers in various foreign languages persisted long in the area, but the priests have been so predominantly English-speaking that confessions in English became an early habit.

Although the Silvestrine Benedictines were by their own inclinations a conservative linguistic force, the Catholic Church, even in their area must

✓120

-302-

be regarded as helpful to Engl-izing. . . Despite their numerous small stations, the people at most of them were sufficiently mixed so that marriages within the church between various for-ling stocks were common at least by 1926, and English as a lingua franca was sure to triumph in the new households.

In the cemeteries the use of foreign language is sufficiently limited so that general statistics would indicate the early acceptance of English as the language of record.

At Frontenac foreign language is more frequent than elsewhere and is not uncommon up to 1919. An inscription in Polish is of that year; there is one other of 1901. Out of 26 inscriptions in Italian, 24 fall between 1900 and 1920. There is one in 1890, and one for 1922. Out of 17 Slovenian, 11 fall between 1905 and 1918, one is of 1890, one is undated. Two are on one tombstone of 1938, the other two on one tombstone, 1938 and 1943. There are two stones with inscriptions in German, one accompanying a Slovenian name (evidently the result of an early impression that German is the language of record). There are no inscriptions in French, but the grave of Arthur (d. 1913) and Mary (d. 1933) Lefevere (sic) bears a metal marker of a type common in France saying: "Souvenir, Tout passe, tout s'efface, hors le souvenir (Memory, Everything passes, everything is erased, except memory)". The other nationalities besides chronological data add only to the inscriptions the equivalent of "Rest in peace (Riposa in pace; pocihay v miru; Rhue (sic) in frieden)."

The Slovenians habit of using German as the language of record is more frequently demonstrated in the Pittsburg Catholic cemetery. The Slovenians in town evidently tended to yield more easily to the old pressures until they made English their language of record. Six inscriptions commemorating Slovenians from 1891 to 1899 are in German, and one of 1923 is in German, inscriptions of 1912 and 1923 are in Slovenian. From early times many Slovenian

✓120
✓130

inscriptions were in English, and the French and Poles used nothing else except for one Pole in 1902.* There were 16 Italian inscriptions between

*This case is curious. The man was Martin Gozdziaak (1862-1902).

His stone in the Catholic cemetery says in English that it was erected by WOW (Woodmen of the World). The rest is in Polish. Martin died at Iola. He was evidently a smelter worker who had moved from Pittsburg when the gas operated smelters were developed at Iola.

1891 and 1911, one in 1916, and one in 1918. The Catholic cemetery at Scammon received all the interments from the west and contains inscriptions in Slovenian (most common), Croatian, Italian, French, and German. One inscription commemorates the "Kinder von Kormanskhe," obviously a Slavic name, and the rest is in German, too. The monument was erected for two little girls Marie (1884-1888) and Teregia (sic) (1890). The Slovenian language inscriptions are particularly numerous for 1915, 1916, 1917 and there are none later. Italian inscriptions cease about the same time.

47.13 Mid-Century Language Survivance. The preponderance of Italians among the for-ling immigrants into the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields has already become clear. The superiority in numbers of the stock has increased with the passage of time. Other stocks departed in greater proportion when the mining fell off, and the Italians reproduced much more rapidly, two to one was one estimate from a reliable source. The Senate investigators of 1910 also showed that the majority of Italians were from the north. They were from Umbria, Piedmont, and eastern Venetia, somewhat less frequently from Romagna, Liguria, and Lombardy, rather often from what was then the Italian section of the Tyrol, in general from the more mountainous regions of the north. The Umbrians were usually known as "Perugins," indicating that they came mostly from near Perugia. The people from Venetia were from near the Austrian frontier, some from beyond the

134

border in what the Italians then called Italia irredenta, in which case they may sometimes statistically have been counted with the Slovenians as Austrians. There were families who on arrival were bi-lingual or even tri-lingual (Slovenian, German, Italian).

The south Italians were more usually Calabrians or Sicilians, though people from as far north as Naples were not rare. As usual there was hostility between north and south Italians, some relics of which were still apparent in the 1950's. The south Italians were then in larger proportion, particularly in Cherokee County, because more northerners left the coal fields.

The speech of all these people was of course dialectal. The facility with which Italians understand radically different dialects is sometimes remarkable, but this facility is less frequently found in the sons of immigrants to the United States than in native Italians. If a community is comparatively static in population it will develop its own local dialect, but in the most important period the miners were quite mobile, and the multiplicity of dialects became a considerable Engl-izing force. It was easier to use English than to understand another man's dialect. In 1942 at Arma, at a public meeting attended only by Italians, as in a lodge, people deliberated half in English, half in Italian (the parallel true also for the French there). Buying and selling was frequently in Italian. Italian in the family was the normal thing. In 1942 Italian was no longer used at Frontenac in public meetings, but besides being common foreign language for all but young families, it was used in buying and selling. In 1950 and 1952 families even in the same community diverged in their faithfulness to Italian. Papers printed in Italian still had some circulation. At Arma and Franklin, with conservative grandparents the third generation was rarely able to use Italian, though they understood "in a confused sort of way." There were, however, numerous

cases of second generation families that were still using Italian. At Frontenac, the third generation was slightly more proficient. The use of Italian in the family was very frequent, but those born after 1930 participated only when necessary. At Pittsburg in one family the immigrant was enthusiastic about his Italian and taught it to his grandsons, but less thoroughly to those born after 1930 than to those born before. He paid less attention to his granddaughter and while his wife used Italian habitually, she made no teaching effort and the granddaughter, b. 1921, never learned. West Mineral, about 1950, was some what more Engl-ized. Mothers of teen-agers still talked together in Italian, but the young people did not even understand. In 1962 the situation at West Mineral was what the decade before would lead one to expect. People born after 1930 knew no Italian, but those older still used it sometimes, "the older, the better." In 1962 the use of Italian at Franklin even in the families of late adult immigrants was limited. Not all their children knew Italian and their grandchildren knew none. With their wives they sometimes used their imperfect English. At Frontenac the situation was very similar. Immigrants of the first decade of the century spoke Italian to each other. Persons born before 1930 understood Italian but answered in English when addressed in Italian. Those younger understood but little. Capaldo was more conservative than Frontenac. In families with growing children, Italian was the ordinary speech until 1940. Trading in Italian was common until about 1950. By 1962 persons born about 1910 who had been using Italian to their children in their younger days no longer used it with each other. They conversed in it only with old immigrants. At Cherokee one heard Italian in public about once a month in 1962. Chicopee was much more conservative. The younger Italians used their ancestral language somewhat, presumably in talking to older people.

To the census takers before the First World War and also the the state assessors of 1925 Slovenians and Croatians both declared themselves as born in Austria. Observations elsewhere: Tombstone inscriptions, character of proper names, circulation of Slovenian printed matter, birthplace of informants, general reports, show that the proportion of Croatians was small. It is somewhat more difficult to judge whether a person born in Austria was a Slovenian or a German or an Italian. The Italians born in Austria, however, rarely have any other than an Italian name. But some Slovenians have Italian names and some have German names or, more frequently, names of ambiguous character, German in spelling but hardly German in total effect - Bopbisich Kremsche, Schusnick, Scharli, or else names Anglicized in whole or in part, either by the owner or the census taker, Phillips, Gallup, Boshey, Radley. Many of these people were so well accustomed to the use of the language of their German masters that Germans who circulated among them sometimes regarded them as fellow Ger-lings. In fact for some, the habit of using German was strengthened by sojourns in Germany. Some Slovenians and a few Italians had worked in mines there before coming to America. The foreign language, if any, that the immigrants handed down to their sons and daughters was not German. It was the language of the home, Slovenian. The Slovenians were in the 1950's a difficult group to isolate. A larger proportion of them than of the Italians had left the coal fields, though the immigrants held themselves apart, intermarriage with other stocks was common among the remnants. At Franklin where in 1950 the concentration of Slovenians was the greatest, they were comparatively conservative in their linguistic practices. Children in a number of families were learning Slovenian and were encouraged to read in the Voice of Youth published by the Slovene National Benefit Association, (generally known as the SNPJ), the section printed in Slovenian. There were

persons unable to speak English even among those at child-bearing age so that their trading had to be carried on by their children. At West Mineral teen-agers understood and sometimes spoke a little Slovenian, but never used it in public. The use of foreign language was so much a matter closed within the family that each of two high school girls who were close friends, one hearing Italian often, her friend, Slovenian, did not know that the other had any contact with a foreign language. Outsiders considered the Slovenians more linguistically conservative than the Italians. In the Chicopee-Fleming-Cherokee area, in 1948 those born before 1918 were still using Slovenian somewhat. It was generally abandoned in 1962. At Frontenac, the situation in both 1950 and 1962 was that described for Italian; those born after 1925 or 1930 were generally without proficiency, the old still speaking to anyone who could understand. As usual at this point in a community's linguistic development, in families where unmarried daughters, born ca. 1925, lived with parents they were still using Slovenian as their home language.

In dealing with the various communities, this study has said nothing about the French and Belgians because they are always a minority. They are, however, a minority so widely distributed in the coal fields and active over so long a period that they deserve attention.* The heaviest con-

*Though Germans were more numerous in the coal fields than the Franco-Belgians, we pass them over as being sufficiently treated with the Pittsburg Rural Germans.

centrations of French and Belgians moved with the shifting of coal mining operations.*

*The following table shows the character of the shift.

Foreign-born French and Belgians in the Pittsburgh Coal Fields

Concentrations of more than 10 Foreign-born

	1895		1905		1915		1925	
	Fr	Bel	Fr	Bel	Fr	Bel	Fr	Bel
CHEROKEE COUNTY								
Cherokee Township	32	63	*	*	4	24	3	13
Mineral Township	77	32	*	*	34	24	10	12
Ross Township			*	*	314	210	34	32
Weir City	*	*	12	*	27	50	0	11
West Mineral					11	64	*	*
Scammon	*	*	100	*	48	26	8	1
CRAWFORD COUNTY								
Baker Township	60	27	*	*	79	34	29	16
Sheridan Township	52	9	*	*	20	19	9	11
Washington Township	28	11	*	*	145	175	115	153
Frontenac	54	15	15	*	104	22	49	18
Litchfield	9	10	*	*				
Chicopee	11	4	*	*	1	0	13	2
Franklin					23	64	9	21
Mulberry	none--		*	*	51	19	19	18
Pittsburg	34	61	51	*	94	34	65	34
Radley					165	13	67	7
Arma					34	23	64	88

* no data

In Cherokee County the neighborhood of Scammon had many in 1895; in 1915 they were to be found mainly further west, near West Mineral, or farther south at Skidmore where mining had a brief career (post office from 1903-

✓139

1915). In Crawford County in 1895 the neighborhood of Pittsburg and Frontenac and to the southwest held them. In 1915 the concentration was to the northwest, though many remained in Frontenac. In the 1950's residuases of the peak settlements could be found at all points where they were originally strong.

A majority of the French came from near the Belgian border, from the departments of le Nord and le Pas de Calais, a few from the east near Belfort, and a number were from the south of France. The Belgians were generally from the coal producing region of Belgium, from Charleroi particularly. Thus they were mainly born into French-speaking families or at least into those who spoke the Walloon dialect of French. Very few of the Belgians were Flemish, and they seem to have spent enough time in southern Belgium to become part of the French-speaking element. The Wallons^c suited their language to the majority of the French. Though accents varied, the French of the coal fields was thus fairly uniform; there was no report of southerners adhering to their patois.

In 1950 at Franklin some French and Belgians still used French, and there were Belgians employing patois to each other. The table above shows that the highest percentage of French in any mining camp was at Radley in 1915 and 1925. In 1962 a considerable number of French were still resident in that community. There were few young people among them. The younger personsspeaking French were born about 1923, but French was in use in the community among the old, although those born after 1905 used it only occasionally with each other. In 1962 the current opinoin of long residents at Cherokee was that the old French could talk French "but you wouldn't know it." At Chicopee while most families had abandoned their French, one boy could use it. At Skidmore the general opinion was, "When the old die, no more Fernch."

✓ 135
✓ 146

French had been used by parents with children until after 1930. At West Mineral the individuals still capable of using French could be named in a breath.

Considering the relative smallness of the group and the fact that along with the Germans they were the most readily accepted of the for-lings numerous in the Pittsburg fields, the French there were linguistically comparatively conservative. But the scattered character of their distribution has led to almost complete absorption into the English-speaking mass.

47.14 Case Histories. A few rather fragmentary case histories will show how some of the phenomena described above apply in specific cases.

Archie San Romani (1858-1929) was born at Boretto, Italy, near Parma in north central Italy. He came directly from there to Frontenac in 1890. He married Clelia Bacchi (1860-1930) - or possibly Ribacchi - by 1897 and had sons Archie, b. 1898, and August, b. 1902, and a daughter Annie, b. 1904. August maintained /ikl009 that his father was a coal miner, an interpreter, and a politician, in other words one of those few immigrants whom the "natives" told Senate investigators the others "followed blindly." His sister Giustina (1864-1902) and her husband Ferdinando Triani, b. 1856, followed him from Italy between 1892 and 1899 and also established themselves in Frontenac. Giustina's tombstone inscription reads thus:

. "Qui giaccia (for giace or giaccione) le Cenere (for ceneri) della de funda (for difunta) San Romani Giustina in (? , possibly for m standing for moglie di or maritata a) Triani natta (for nata) il 19 Dec. (for Dic.) 1864 in Boretto, Ital (sic) Dicessa (for Deceduta) il 5 Apr. 1902." Some of the mistakes in the inscription are to be attributed to the inscribing workman. The reverse side of the monument reads "alla memoria di San Romani

Triani Giustina nata 19 Di (sic) 1864, decessa il 5 Apr. 1902"

Among other children Giustina had a daughter Teresa, b. 1889, who married Antonio Baima, b. 1888. The Biamas, there were several at Frontenac, came from Corrio in Piedmont, northwest Italy. Tony's parents arrived between 1899 and 1903, and his mother Caterina was a widow in 1905. Tony and Teresa were still using Italian to each other in 1948. Their older son, Joseph, b. 1908, had more or less forgotten his, but their younger son, Anton, b. 1922, served in Italy during the Second World War and regained proficiency. He married an "Austrian" Judy Zortz whose father, probably Joseph, b. 1905 in Kansas, and mother did not use Slovenian at home. The grandparents were trying to teach their granddaughter, Susan, to speak Italian.

Archie San Romani, the immigrant, brought his sons up to speak Italian, but both entered environments that led them to speak English habitually. In the family of their mother there was a tradition of musical careers, and both became band-masters and orchestra directors. The younger Archie graduated from Bethany College at Lindsborg. A brother or nephew of Archie, the immigrant, also immigrated. This was Egidio, 1886 - 1955. His wife, Tilda, was born in Oklahoma (the connections between Henrietta and the Pittsburg fields were close). Egidio and Tilda also had a son Archie, born in 1912, who became well-known as a distance runner. He, too, was drawn into other environments, graduated from Kansas State College at Emporia, and made his later career at Wichita so that the Italian language was sloughed off.

Various other athletes have gone to colleges from the Italian stock in the coal fields. One example in football at The University of Kansas was Dick Bertuzzi, born about 1927 at Arma. His paternal grandparents were Venetians, his father American-born, and his mother was Genoese by

birth. The Genoese were numerous in Arma. His parents habitually used Italian to each other, each in his dialect. He answered them, at least after reaching school age, in English. In the early 1940's bi-lingual conversations with either participant passing from one language to the other were common. Another example arrived at the University of Kansas in the mid-fifties who had heard Italian habitually used at home in his youth. His difficulties in English courses need not be attributed to his bi-lingual background, but he was marked by indifference to problems in English expression. He "didn't care whether it was any good or not." At Frontenac the remaining San Romani stock was represented in 1962 by Teresa Baima, still proficient in Italian.

Aurelio Brunetti was born near Perugia in central Italy in 1886 of a peasant family unable to afford him more than the first rudiments of an education. In 1902, he immigrated to Utah where he worked in the mines. During the strikes of 1903 and 1904 which disrupted the Utah fields, he came to Kansas, and remained there except for a brief stay in Henrietta, Oklahoma, in 1907. Ultimately he established himself at Frontenac. Three older Brunettis (Luigi, b. 1853, Giovanni, b. 1867, and Domenico, b. 1877) appear in the census of Frontenac for 1905; the town became in some sort a center for the family. In 1915 Aurelio established himself as a grocer specializing in imports from Italy. He married in 1920 Concetta Manoni (1905-1959) from the same area in Italy, but of a family in better circumstances than the Brunettis. Other members of her family also immigrated, however, and prospered in other parts of the United States. Aurelio had not been content to remain uneducated, attended anight school taught by a Protestant preacher to learn to read and write English, and read widely in both his languages, reciting, in the tradition of the well-educated Italian, long passages of Dante's Divine Comedy by heart. He was more interested in culture than in public life, and the nature of his business kept him more with Italians than

70d

with the English-speaking public so that his English continued plainly to reveal his origins. The Brunettis had two sons, Louis, born in 1921, and Emil (1924). Louis was unable to speak English on starting to school. Emil profited somewhat by his brother's experience, and had some proficiency before entering the first grade. The family lived in a section of town that was not the declared Italian district, but the whole town was so nearly Italian that the boys played only with Italians. Louis went on from Frontenac's high school to State College at Pittsburg, became a school man, and in 1958 was elected county superintendent of schools in Crawford County, still serving in 1962. In his youth he became acquainted with all Italian dialects, was guided toward purity of speech in part by Dr. Collelmo. His proficiency was still good in 1962, but except with visitors from Italy and for greetings he used his Italian only with the old immigrants. He married a non-Italian wife, mostly Irish, and though his children saw much of their grandfather Brunetti, they learned no Italian. After his wife's death, Aurelio lived with an older sister, born 1880, who knew little English. He was speaking Italian with her in 1962, with his contemporaries when he went downtown. He addressed others, too, in Italian, who, even if not of Italian stock, were likely to understand him if they had been long residents in Frontenac.

47.15 The linguistic situation in the coal fields in the early part of the twentieth century gave rise to a small number of polyglots. People near Breezy Hill recall that one John Germett, reportedly of Italian stock, b. ca. 1885 spoke seven languages in dealing, about 1902, with the customers of the Sheridan Coal Company's store at Breezy Hill. His father, who had been running a saloon for many years, was similarly proficient. The lad had acquired his knowledge from his father and his associates.

Another polyglot was Mary, born in 1887 to John and Mary Yaitner. The parents had immigrated from Bohemia to Westphalia, Germany, years before. There they were bi-lingual, and so was their daughter when in 1891 they left Germany to come directly to the neighborhood north of Frontenac. There were other Bohemians in the neighborhood, but their number was sufficiently limited so that German became the ordinary language employed in the family, and Mary had sisters unable to speak Czech. There were eight children in the family; the men, the father and two sons, were miners. One was killed in the mines, a fate that befell many of the workmen. Mary, herself, acquired English and, along with Czech, the other Slavic tongues in the coal fields; she learned to understand Italian and became proficient in French and Walloon. She worked for one family or another, and was called in for all sorts of domestic crises, particularly when there was sickness or death - a sort of visiting nurse. In this way her fluency was greatly developed. She married Adolph Deloney (1881-1950), and they set up housekeeping in 1907 in Radley where mines had been operating since at least the year before. He remained a miner until 1947, but in later years worked "on a shovel." They continued to live at Radley. Adolph was a Belgian, and spoke Walloon normally at home, French with his neighbors. Besides suiting her linguistic habits to her husband's and her neighbors', Mary kept on using German, especially with her parents, and her children learned both Walloon and German. They rejected this linguistic situation, however, and became English mono-linguals, professing not even to recognize what language she was using if their mother addressed them in any foreign language. Mary's grandchildren learned only English. In 1962 Mary lived alone as a widow happy in economic independence. She almost always spoke English, but sometimes French with her neighbors, and German with a very few who lived in Frontenac.

✓ 157

The Pittsburg coal fields were for over a generation, that is, until 1915 an area constantly receiving an increasing number of for-ling immigrants. Anglicization, except for German immigrants and except in Pittsburg, proceeded slowly because new immigrants speaking a given foreign language kept the earlier ones in their old linguistic habits. Furthermore, the relations of the various for-ling groups in those days, except in the hours at work, were slight or even hostile. And the hostility and voluntary segregation often applied to boys and girls. After 1915 no confusion of new blood took place, and Anglicization moved forward very rapidly, because of the cosmopolitan nature of most communities, and the general linguistic pressures accompanying the First World War. Some of the effects of population diminution led in the same direction. But in some cases it has been linguistically conservative because the older part of a community have remained fixed in place. The relations with former inhabitants have, on the other hand, led toward Anglicization. So has the need to go afield to find employment.

In 1962 the coal fields had in general evolved to the point where only the old, those born before 1890, were keeping foreign language alive. They too were often forced into the use of English. Younger people were no longer apologetic about foreign language as they had been a generation before, but they still regarded the knowledge of anything but English as a rather useless accomplishment.

CUBA CZECHS (U-Hi***-Republic D)

Special Bibliog: M- Munden Centennial

- 47.16 History. According to the census of 1870 there lived in Republic County at that time 6 Czech bachelors, one childless married couple, and three families with children. The father of one of these families was not Czech. He was George McChesney, a member of the Salt Creek Militia in 1868 /ch83:25, wife Josephine born 1844 in Bohemia. They had a four year old daughter born in Kansas; three older children were born in Iowa. The rest of the Czechs lived close by, for all but one family and one bachelor appear on the next page of the census. The family separated by many pages from the others was that of John and Mary Houdek, fifty-five and forty-nine years old respectively with six children born in Bohemia; youngest was nine. In spite of the pages between the census entries the Houdeks must have lived hard by the others, for immigrants of that age did not come into a new country without having their children close to them. We can then suspect that Josephine McChesney was related to John and Mary Houdek. In 1880 two the bachelors of 1870 appear with families in Fairview Twp (Semek, Stransky). The childless couple (J. and R. Mlejnik) are in Marshall County, Blue Rapids Township, as was Geo. McChesney's brother John in 1883. All the rest have disappeared, but there are many other Houdeks in Fairview Township.* We know that Geo. McChesney's

*Emma Houdek was "the daughter of John and Rosa (Petr) Houdek, [who lie in the Czech Natl. Cemetery at Cuba, Jan. (1845-1906) Rose (1852-1938)]. Great grandfather Houdek was a storekeeper in the Tabor,

Kansas, community for several years. He and his family then moved to Bell Plain, Iowa [61,34] 40 miles sw of Cedar Rapids where his parents lived. Not more than two weeks after they got there, his father died. They stayed there for two years and he went into partnership with a brother there. After two years they moved back to Kansas to a farm about three miles west and north of Agenda, Kansas" /~~nm~~105. John and Rosa are not in the 1880 census in Kansas. They were presumably in Iowa at that time.

brother John was a buffalo hunter and also that two sons of John Houdek "Joe and Tony" /M24 went west for buffalo meat, and it seems probable that the McChesneys followed the buffalo until the animals disappeared, and then settled elsewhere. Apparently, a non-Czech with an itchy foot by pausing in 1866 for a few years on the first plains he came to after traversing the hills 30 miles beyond the contemplated railhead at Waterville decided the future home of some thousands of Czechs. Still it was primarily the land hunger of the Czechs in Linn County, Iowa (61,35), near Cedar Rapids that furnished the driving power to bring the first considerable population. In 1869 and 1870 caravans of Czechs from this area in Iowa began the Little Blue and Irving settlements up and downstream from Waterville. Among these in 1870 were Joseph Houdek with eighteen children and Joseph Saip /~~nm~~30. Some of the newcomers pushed on immediately to the nucleus of Iowans begun by the McChesneys. Joseph Saip was one, his mother and four more families who had been at first along the Little Blue came on in 1872. In the meantime in 1871 a wagon train of 35 wagons con-

taining twenty families led by John Kuchera, had arrived from Cedar Rapids and from Marshall County, Iowa (61,32), three counties west of the Cedar Rapids people. Then in 1872 there were ten or twelve families from settlements in Wisconsin who came by train to Waterville. Wisconsin settlers were commonly from near Lake Michigan from Manitowoc (61,227) or Racine (61,264). Among the settlers of 1870, not in the census of that year, there had been a family from Muscoda, forty miles up the Wisconsin River from the Mississippi (the Recheskys /am.28). The period of residence in Wisconsin of Czechs who came to Kansas was sometimes long, ten or fifteen years; in Iowa it was ordinarily short enough so that the Iowa settlements could be regarded merely as a way station. Immigration direct from Bohemia began shortly; by 1875 it was furnishing an element of some importance. As a center for the settlement in 1871 New Tabor was founded (also called Tabor and Mount Tabor). It was named for Tabor in south central Bohemia. Its post office (John Kasl, first postmaster) existed under that name from 1875-1888; changed from Prairie Plain (Benj. Young, postmaster) that had been established in 1870. It disappeared when the Rock Island railroad came to the country in 1887, and yielded its place to Munden established on the line to Omaha and to Cuba on the line to Kansas City. The firms established at New Tabor were mostly operated by Czechs; and these people usually belonged to families that continued to be of importance in the area, Houdek, Saip and Kuchera, already mentioned, (Joseph Kuchera was county treasurer 1891-1895, the sole 19th century Czech success in county politics), Bouska and Nemec. There was some outside influence in the place /a.1047; a Swede, Wegal, operated a hotel two years, and Dr. Frank Slopansky, physician and

druggist, while himself Bohemian had a wife, née Anna Stotler who called herself Austrian, which no other Bohemian did in 1880. Some of New Tabor's businesses moved to Munden as soon as it was founded on the coming of the railroad. It was beyond the edge of the truly Czech district and the Non-Czech element was of more importance, but the merchants have always been largely Czech. Cuba had been a post office since 1868.

In 1885 or 6, so as to be on the contemplated railroad line it was moved three miles southwest, and in 1886 it was almost as big as it ever became, 391 inhabitants. Its displacement moved it closer to a group of Czechs settled still further south. The group was already well enough established to have begun interments in their national cemetery (earliest inscription 1881). The lands owned by this group in 1884 amounted to some 1200 or 1500 acres; the New Tabor group was more extensive but restricted compared to later times. In general the names of landowners in the South Cuba area are not the same as those around New Tabor, but there are exceptions. Mathew Kasl was in the county in 1876. John Kasl had the first store at new Tabor in 1871, but most of the Kasls lived in the Cuba area. By about 1875, there were Houdeks in both groups and Dr. Frank Slopansky named above is buried in the Cuba National Cemetery. His wife who died in 1887 lies by his side. A common name in the southern area is Havel; they were in the area by 1875. The north settlement held a band of land perhaps two miles wide stretching three or four miles east and three or four miles west of new Tabor /ch84 . The group south of Cuba was in existence by 1871, (Frances Chruma born there then) sufficiently strong so that St. Isidore's Catholic Church was organized in 1878. In 1880 the proportion of people

from Wisconsin was greater in this group, the proportion from Iowa and direct from Bohemia was less. There was also an element from Illinois. With the suppression of New Tabor, Cuba, between the nuclei, became the nearest thing to an urban center existing among the Czechs. There was some interchange of population, though not much, between the Nebraska settlements not far to the north and the Cuba-New Tabor area. There seems never to have been much interchange with the Wilson Czechs. The main relations in Kansas have been with the Little Blue Czechs and their neighbors.

The Czechs came from all parts of Bohemia as a map prepared by Miss Borzena Nemcova shows; a few, very few, came from Moravia, a few from Slovakia. As the Czechs spread in Republic County,*not only did Munden become more and more recognized as a Czech town but also farther to the northeast along the railroad line to Omaha, the town of Narka was attached to the group, and even in the southeast corner of the county Agenda has taken on a predominately Czech coloring. Finally almost ten per cent of the population of Belleville has become Czech, and supported by the heavy trading population to the east the Bohemian merchants exert an influence out of proportion to the size of their element in the population. The immigration was particularly heavy during the 1880's, often made up of families from other Czech settlements in the U.S., often of immigrants coming directly from Bohemia. There was some immigration in the first decade of this century, and even one case about 1935, but in general one can say that immigrant Czechs were born before 1890.

*The Kansas City Star, 10 Decmber, 1911, affirms that Republic County Czechs had already displaced their neighbors /w79.

Borzena Nemcova made a count of "Bohemians" based upon the 1949 Enumeration List of Residents in Republic County as kept in its courthouse. By "Bohemians" she understood persons with Czech names either immigrants or descended from immigrants. She probably caught not all but part of the population with Czech mothers too. The total for the county amounted to 2153; 2040 of these are accounted for in the area units discussed above. The count in detail shows in the following table

Cuba Czechs in 1949			
	Total population	Towns "Bohemians"	Proportion of "Bohemians" in total population
Cuba	339	232	68%
Munden	182	89	43%
Narka	167	97	58%
	<u>688</u>	<u>418</u>	<u>61%</u>
Townships			
Albion	349	166	48%
Fairview	300	236	79%
Farmington	319	157	49%
Jefferson	360	258	70%
Richland	301	218	72%
Rose Creek	351	114	32%
Total in townships	1980	1149	58%
Total in towns	<u>688</u> 2668	<u>418</u> 1567	<u>61%</u> 59%
Total in border units*	<u>1107</u>	<u>243</u>	22%
Total in Area	3775	1810	
Belleville	<u>2738</u> 6513	<u>230</u> 2040	8%

This table shows that the early nuclei are still the most heavily Czech.

*Three townships plus Agenda: Elk Creek 291-87, Freedom 315-54, Grant 343-67, Agenda 158-35=1107-243. For parts of townships where occupancy is considerable see Vol. I Republic County, Map I.

St. Isidore's Church at Cuba, was in its beginning 1878, a mission attended from Parson's Creek some twenty miles to the southeast. In 1895 it had its resident priest Rev. Chas. Dragoun, the same who journeyed up from Parson's Creek in 1878. He was still journeying, for he was attending St. George's at New Tabor and St. Josaphat farther west among the Poles. The same situation existed in 1915 with a different priest, but in 1920 Cuba lost its resident pastor, and became merely a mission of Clyde, St. George's, the church at Munden, was attended from St. Edward's in Belleville, which had been a mission of Cuba in 1915, church built 1925. In other words St. Isidore's was never really prosperous (20 families in 1908 and 1949). Its cemetery is singularly small as compared to the national cemetery a mile and a half to the southeast. St. George's (erected on 16-2-2) northwest of New Tabor received visits from Father Mollier beginning in 1874, a church was built in 1887, 17 families in 1906, 124 souls in 1947. Both it and St. Edward's have the same pastor. Since 1942 (it is now 1961) he has been the Very Reverend Monsignor Cornelius J. Brown. Sermons in Czech have not been regular in any of these churches during the twentieth century because they have not had a Czech pastor, though earlier Fathers Kulisek, Havelka, and Novacek served as they could, and Father Dragoun too seems to have preached in Czech /M12,13. In 1951 there were only a few Catholics who

would have liked to confess in Czech; there were only two who needed to do so in Belleville. Miss Nemcova reported that in 1947 one of these said "I go to Lincoln, Nebraska, once a month to confession; they have a priest there who speaks some Czech" /nm61. This woman was content with the situation. Miss Nemcova on the other hand reports that one man had fallen away because "there are no Czech churches here, no Czech priests" /nm60; there were doubtless more like him in earlier days. Czech settlements are in general places where many were at one time hostile to churches, organized religion, and where many remain indifferent or lukewarm. The size of national cemeteries in the Cuba area as compared with Catholic cemeteries is evidence that the church had little hold on the community as a whole. Miss Nemcova reported no hostility and among a considerable number much piety, concluding that the "religious climate is identical for the whole county--regardless from where the population came" /nm64). We may accept this statement if by the whole county we mean Belleville and vicinity (certainly not Kackley nor the country near Byron). With non-Czech priests Catholicism has been an anglicizing force of some importance. The Catholics had habitually to converse with their pastor in English, and latterly at least have been thoughtful about not using Czech with each other in his presence, and their opportunities are many. Miss Nemcova quotes Father Brown as follows: "The Munden parish has a family spirit that is very wonderful. Every Sunday, several of the Bohemian families there bring their dishes and lunches together and they 'visit'. The priest is always invited to such a friendly luncheon. . . . They are more likely to come and visit the priest

162

than most folks are. Sometimes I think their eggs are just an excuse for calling on me." /nm58-59. Protestantism has never been a major force in this Czech community. But among the early settlers there were Protestants who had their roots in Hussitism. They gathered together as early as the Catholics. Savage says "The Bohemian Church at Cuba was organized in 1876, but meetings had been held at school houses in the neighborhood of Tabor prior to that time. The church was divided in 1880, one part remaining at Cuba under the Presbytery and the other establishing itself at Munden as an independent Bohemian Reform Church having a pastor of its own and owning its house of worship" /chd:226. The account in Munden Centennial differs in minor details. It reports that a Presbyterian Church was also established at Munden in 1890, later united to the "Midwest Czech Presbytery," later to the Solomon Presbytery. The Cuba Presbyterian Church, 50 members in 1906, had at that time Frank Rundus as pastor. In 1880 John Rundus of Fairview Township had a son Frank sixteen years old. The services were at least partly in Czech during this time, but Czech was abandoned about 1930. Presbyterian ministers speaking Czech are rare, so that, like the Catholic Church, the Presbyterian establishment became an anglicizing force. It was thriving in 1949.* Taking the district as a whole, most Protestants

* As an example of a Protestant family of some importance, early in the area and linguistically conservative consider Victor Veroda, a Presbyterian and a banker at Cuba^{who} placed his biography in I.K. issued 1930. His parents, Martin (1845-1933) and Frances (1855-1941) lie buried in the Cuba Natl. cemetery under inscriptions in Czech. The

spelling is there, Wiruth, Jiri (i.e. George), 1812-1901, and Katerina Wiruth (1829-1904), buried in the cemetery are presumably Victor's paternal grandparents, tombstone inscriptions also in Czech. Victor married Anna Vacha daughter of Joseph (1853-1891) and Mary Vacha (1859-1949) also buried in the same cemetery. The older generations all appear in the census of 1880 in Richland Township. Martin and Frances Viruth had a daughter six years old born in Kansas. Joseph and Mary Vacha had a daughter, two, born in Iowa, and another, one, born in Kansas. The deceased were all born in Bohemia though Victor reports that his grandmother Weruth was German.

are Presbyterians. Runduses had from the beginning been the support of Protestantism. They lived east of Munden and were important in the Bohemian Reform Church which later also became ^{the} Presbyterian Reform Church. In 1961 Amos Rundus was the pastor. He preached often ~~but not by preference in English~~ except occasionally at funerals. Songs in Czech were still part of many services. Eventually a number of Czechs joined other Protestant churches and worshiped in English. As in most Czech settlements lodges were an important feature of community life in the Cuba area. Zizkuv Dub Chapter 109 of C.S.P.S. was organized in 1884, at Cuba. The New Tabor chapter of the same lodge is number 89, therefore of earlier date /kcl3:489. The Bohemian Benevolent Society which became chapter 362 of ZCJB was soon flourishing at Cuba. Another was moved from New Tabor to Munden in 1924. Another chapter was established at Narka. The president of that chapter

estimated for Miss Nemcova in 1947 that "two-thirds of the county's Bohemians of eligible age are members of the Association. They meet every two weeks, and they sponsor lectures, movie programs, as well as dances for the members and their guests" *Am* 82. Sokol, the gymnastic organization, also established itself. These societies required halls, and halls they had. While it still was commercially active New Tabor had one, which continued to be a center for social gatherings. At Cuba in 1949 all lodges, except the Masons and including more than one American, were using a building evidently constructed in the first decade of this century and labeled "Auditorium Cesky Narodny Sin." All these organizations for a long time made for the conservation of the use of Czech.

The enthusiasm for social gathering extends to informal organizations. "Such occasions as weddings, christening of babies, funerals, and birthdays are celebrated by the Bohemians to a much larger extent than by anybody else in the county. Even little social gatherings on Saturday or Sunday afternoons or evenings, when a few families get together for a friendly visit, turn out with the Bohemians to be 'heaps of jolly time'" *Am* 78. "For the Czech people a funeral is usually not a time of mourning; it is rather a farewell party given in honor of the dead one. . . . The Bohemians of the county celebrate the funerals with almost as much festivity as they celebrate their weddings. Only dancing is avoided at funeral gatherings. The non-Bohemians of the county do not understand this attitude very well" *Am* 80.

Since a condition to being admitted to any kind of social gathering had been for two generations, and still is to a considerable extent,

✓/66
✓17a

possession of Bohemian blood, these habits were all conservative of the use of Czech. In 1938 in a rural school seven miles north of Cuba, one of the first graders knew no English, several were bilingual, English mono-linguals were few. But Engl-izing influences are well stated by Frank Jehlik: "The second generation are practically all Czech speaking, but with the third generation there is a breaking away from the line, a Czech perhaps marrying an American. . . . So now we have some Czechs in name only, speaking practically only English, while in other instances the woman with the English or other name, may still be able to speak the Czech language being of Czech descent" /nm97.

- 47.17 Miss Nemcova summarizes the postion of Czech speech as follows: "The Czech language disappears more and more from the county. The Bohemian youngsters know only few Czech greetings; none of them speaks the language" /nm 89. Elsewhere she assumes in her study that those speaking Czech are only the immigrants and their sons and daughters, but evidently in talking to her in 1949 and 1950 the young were too conscious of their imperfections to reveal the full state of their knowledge. She makes no remarks as to the ability to understand though not speak. Persons then approaching age 40 were generally proficient with the ear, but hesitated to furnish amusement to those older because they "couldn't get their tongue twisted right." A compatriot of Miss Nemcova's who visited the community in 1946 found that high school girls talked with her in Czech, though it was quite imperfect. This fact along with other evidence, including questionnaires of 1942 answered by a Swede at Wavne just south of

the settlement and a half-Czech at Morrowville just northeast of it, and of a Welshman who learned to understand Czech after he moved to Munden in 1939 make it clear that Czech was the language of the home almost everywhere until 1942. Those born before 1937 can speak Czech or at least could speak it. Since there was at no time any schooling in Czech--the few who learned to read learned at home--Czech had for those born in this country long before ceased to be a cultural language. Still with a vocabulary borrowed from English and idioms carried over from English it was the language generally used. Trading went on in Czech commonly until 1949. In Cuba and Agenda ability to use Czech brought customers as late as that. In 1957 Czech was frequently heard on the streets in the small Czech towns. In 1961 there were still old people in the community who knew little English; those born about 1920 were still using Czech, in Munden particularly in speaking to older people, in Cuba frequently to each other. In Cuba half of those born in 1930 could speak Czech, and children born before 1945 knew a little; those born in 1950 understood a little. But after 1942 habitual use of Czech was usually a mark of age. Miss Nemcova says that those of Czech ancestry reserved the term Bohemian only for those able to speak the language. Youngsters were not Bohemians ~~Am~~ 33. Miss Nemcova quotes Miss O. a teacher in Cuba and Miss L., another teacher in the County. Miss O. confuses present and past tenses in her testimony as if she were talking of something on the way out; she was irritated by Czech talk which seemed sometimes about her. Miss L. speaks only in the past tense possibly

because no longer teaching in the Bohemian area. She says: Men serving in the armed forces during the Second World War "forgot a lot." But

"Their conversation in their own language, when I could tell by their actions that they were talking about me, irritated me . . . although there was little conversation carried on in English except when they were talking to me, or some other American." /nm36 .

Miss Nemcova in 1949 asked informants for life histories. They sometimes included statements regarding language usage. Here is one concerning the Chaloupka family which was then in its fifth generation:

"The Czech language is spoken only when no other language can be spoken. The last two generations can neither speak nor understand it, but with so many mixtures of people in these communities and most of the older folks who spoke Czech being dead, it is not necessary to learn it" /nm92. The first sentence expresses a sentiment heard in many immigrant communities; it is usually phrased, "We talk it when we have to." It implies that the need exists, but the use of f-lang is a condescension on the part of the speaker.

Mrs. M. S. Kolman (born 1897) of Agenda at the other extremity of the Bohemian area says: "We use the Czech language part of the time, but the English seems easier" /nm104.

George W. Saip (born 1905), a college graduate brought up at Munden, a high school teacher in Belleville, lost his mother when 3 months old. He says, "My paternal grandmother helped Dad rear me. They encouraged me to retain the speech, and after I saw how much study it takes to only partially

✓ 17d

learn a language, I developed a pride in speaking Czech and am glad that I have. When I've been here in our settlement, there hasn't been any trouble finding folks with whom I could practice my Czech . . . it gives the older people so much satisfaction that I have not let it slip. One of the Presbyterian ministers from Czech^e-Slovakia had a school one summer in Colorado and I attended that. I used to read Czech stories to Dad "/nm 108. Miss Nemcova found that his Czech was "beautiful," but she understood that Czech was not his primary language; with regret she notes that when he writes verse he writes only in English.

Miss Nemcova also quotes from several interviews:

"I - Why did your father never learn English?

Mrs. Y. - Well, for one thing, he was over thirty, and there was a Czech settlement where we lived, so he didn't have to" /nm 113.

"I - Why do you suppose the American people of Czech descent do teach their children Czech?

Miss Z. - It's an opportunity to have one more language to speak. If they have the opportunity, why not? The more you learn, the more you gain" /nm 116.

"I - What do you think about the Czech folks over here who don't speak Czech anymore?

Mr. X.X. [who came to the U.S. in 1906 and learned all the English he knows in the first month]. That they are ashamed of their ancestry and their language. Some of them learn just the street English when they come over here, they just pick up a few slangy expressions but they wouldn't use

their beautiful language any~~more~~, although they know it much better than the new one. Of course that all depends on one's attitude. Mrs. Z. Z. in Munden speaks Czech, and all her children [born in the United States] speak it beautifully too; but Mrs. ZZ's sister didn't teach her children a word of Czech" /nm1180.

Frank Jehlik, born 1880, of immigrants in Freedom Township in a group several miles west of the main body of the Czechs, was ultimately a university graduate. He speaks thus:

"Czech books and reading matter, there was little of. English schools were few or none, and attendance at them was of secondary importance,-- work came first. The children knew the Czech language only by hearing it, seldom if ever seeing it on the printed page. The home vocabulary was necessarily limited for common and immediate use. Now and then a new and unknown word was heard in a poem or song, or a visitor may have used some unknown term. But once the child crossed the school room threshold the language was English, and that was the language they learned and used from then on. It was the 'official' language, and the Czech language was only a side issue to be used in talking to the older folks who hadn't yet learned the new tongue" /nm 97. Condescension again. The patronizing attitude toward the use of Czech diminished in the late 1950's. A few children near Cuba were being taught the ancestral language as late as 1964, but as something for exhibition purposes primarily.

The quotations have brought out motives for abandoning or conserving the use of Czech. Mr. Jehlik's statement sets forth the most general

attitude, though in an individual who, because more or less apart from the settlement, was from a quarter to half a century in advance of the others.

The evidence of the cemeteries agrees with statements concerning usage set forth earlier. The Narka Cemetery represents more recently arrived families than the others.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Cemeteries
of the Cuba Czechs

	Cuba Catholic Cem.			Cuba National Cem.			South Narka Cem.		
	English	Czech	% of Czech	English	Czech	% of Czech	English	Czech	% of Czech
1870-9	2	1	33%	0	2	100%			
1880-9	3	1	25%	2	26	93%			
1890-9	12	4	25%	6	22	79%	0	1	100%
1900-9	3	7	70%	12	39	76%	3	6	67%
1910-9	2	9	82%	15	29	66%	13	9	42%
1920-9	9	5	36%	18	46	72%	21	12	36%
1930-9	9	2	18%	38	34	47%	28	4	13%
1940-9	16	0	0%	62	15	20%	33	2	6%
1950-5							24	1	4%

	New Tabor-Munden Catholic Cem. (St. George's)			New Tabor Cem.		
	English	Czech	% of Czech	English	Czech	% of Czech
1870-9	0	1	100%			
1880-9	1	3	75%			
1890-9	0	6	100%			(1)
1900-9	0	12	100%			
1910-9	2	14	88%			
1920-9	7	6	46%	31	29	48%
1930-9	14	1	77%	44	22	33%
1940-9	6	0	0%			(2)
1950-9	8	0	0%			(2)

In St. Catherine's Catholic Cemetery three miles east of Belleville, the oldest inscriptions, 1891, 1908, 1924, 1927 are in Czech. No Czech - exists later, and the graves become quite numerous beginning about 1930.

- (1) New Tabor Cemetery was snow covered when this count was made; therefore only the crucial period was covered. The first English stone appeared in 1898, followed by others in 1901 and 1902.
- (2) During the 1940's there was only one inscription in Czech, in 1941. The last inscription in Czech was that of Emanuel (1863-1950) and Katherine (1865-1956) Lesovsky.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Bohemia and Resident in the Cuba Czech Area in 1925

	Cuba	Abbion	Fairview	Farmington	Jefferson	Richland	Total
Before 1870	14	2	8	7	0	9	40
1870-73	6	3	3	1	2	2	17
1874-78	12	5	8	5	6	10	46
1879-83	15	5	3	5	12	7	47
1884-88	17	5	2	2	12	1	39
1889-93	2	3	3	4	3	8	23
1894-1903	0	1	13*	5	6	2	27
1904-13	7	4	29	10	4	2	56
1914-24	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	73	28	69	40	45	41	296

*in 1902-3-12

DENMARK DANES (Mid-k, Lincoln A)

Special Bibliog.:

D -- C. C. Nielsen and Jøns B. Nygaard. The Evangelical Lutheran Community Church of Denmark, Kansas, 1953.

P -- Peterson, Katie Marie. History of the Scandinavian Settlement in Lincoln County, Kansas. Unpublished Thesis, Kansas State College of Pittsburg, 1939.

47.18 In 1869 the First Swedish Agricultural Company of Chicago sent a group of Scandinavians to the Spellman Creek valley /kc11:34,P12. There were Indian troubles in which two Swiss were killed. The colonists retreated. In 1870 there were in the county 5 Danes, 5 Swedes and 1 Norwegian. Of these Lars Rasmussen (1835-1903) lies buried at Denmark. Of the original colonists the families of Peter (1822-1901) and Lorens (1840-1901)^{Christian sen} returned in January 1871 from Junction City where they had taken refuge; seven other families accompanied them /P29. Among these new recruits was C. Bernhardt (born 1847) who immediately became a dynamic force in the community. He left almost immediately for Europe and "returned the next year with a group of 40 emigrants" /P30. Each possessed \$100 as initial capital. The numerous Bernhardts came from Biltris, Denmark. C's leadership was powerful for some time but waned with that of the Populist movement in which he was prominent. Among other activities he was the correspondent for the Lincoln Beacon, that is, bilingually active from very early. The pioneers were young and vigorous. In 1885 there^{were} only two persons over 65 in the settlement and the average date of birth of the heads of families in 1885

4186

was 1845; most of them were born very near that year. Their wives were younger by varying degrees, average almost ten years. They came to Kansas from Iowa and the states bordering it. A number - Bernhardt's contingent - were quite recently from Denmark. Immigration into Denmark was vigorous until 1885. Then it fell off, but did not actually cease for another forty years which in part explains linguistic phenomena.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Denmark

Resident in Grant Township, Lincoln Co. in 1925

before 1867	0
1867-1870	2
1870-75	11
1876-80	15
1881-85	10
1886-90	4
1891-95	5
1896-1900	4
1901-1905	1
1906-1910	2
1911-1915	3
1916-1920	2
1921-1925	3
Unspecified	<u>1</u>
Total Danes	63
Swedes	0
Norwegians	<u>2</u>

✓ 17c

The prosperity of Denmark as a town can be to some degree measured by its post office. It was established in 1872, dropped in 1904, revived in 1917, and discontinued in 1954. The first discontinuance is partly to be explained by the introduction of rural free delivery, but after a period of activity in the 1880's Denmark seems to have languished as immigration decreased in favor of Vesper when a branch of the Union Pacific Railroad was built through a few miles to the south in 1887. Prosperity revived with the building of a branch of the Santa Fe in 1917 /P55, but declined as small farming villages did thereafter. In 1939 there were still two general stores and a garage besides the church establishment. One of the stores was still owned by Matts Mattson, b.1855. He had come to Denmark very early with the Bernhardts, but does not appear in the census of 1885. In 1961 only a cooperative feed store was left with the church. Cooperatives marked the community from very early. In imitation of Cooperative Creameries in Denmark in Europe, one was created in Kansas in 1882. Bernhardt and Nygaard were both officers in such organizations. In 1939 Miss Peterson concluded; "The exodus from Denmark, particularly of its youth, has seriously handicapped the social and religious activities" /P57. The immediate linguistic effect of the exodus was conservative, for it removed the most Engl-ized element of the community.

The early history of the church shows how the community tightened up over a period of 12 or 15 years so as to become for some time exclusively Danish. The first agitation for a church came from two Norwegians and a Swede. The building was begun without formal organization in 1875; the

✓18d

cornerstone was laid by a Dane and a Swede. For several years the ministers who preached occasionally were mostly of English and Norwegian stock. "On the 3rd of July 1877, the Reverends Dale and Kirkeberg were here for a meeting and Kirkeberg encouraged the people to definite action, and an organization was effected. While he, too, was a Norwegian, he belonged to the Danish Synod. He favored making it a Danish congregation [of Grundtvigian character], and the majority supported him, so that was done. This turn of affairs, however, caused dissatisfaction among the other nationalities and most of them withdrew" /D5.

There was no charter till 1879, but in 1877 J. L. Nygaard (b.1846) was elected president and served for 18 years. In 1883 he was also a county commissioner /a1421; he was also president of the Cooperative Elevator Company /P34. By 1880 the church building was completed. In 1879 there was a pastor. "In 1880 an English speaking Sunday School was organized. . . . The Sunday School flourished until the Rev. F. M. Christensen came in 1884. [Frederick Martin C. (1846-1907) came from Minnesota, he remained pastor till 1898]. With his coming strong emphasis was placed on the exclusive use of the Danish language. Consequently the Sunday School project was abandoned, and a Danish vacation school substituted. Some unfortunate repercussions resulted. Among others Mr. and Mrs. Broadwater, finding there was no place in this church for non-Danish speaking people, transferred their membership to another church. . . . The Sunday School was revived in 1892, this time in the Danish language, which was used until 1920 when English was reinstated. Church services were conducted in the Danish

language exclusively until the middle 1920's, when the occasional use of English services was introduced. In a matter of ten years or so Danish services were discontinued" /D8. The specific date of the introduction of English is a trifle earlier than this quotation indicates. Other features of linguistic development connected with the church at Denmark are emphasized by T. P. Christenson in 1926, "Besides the congregation the Denmark settlers organized a Danish ladies' society (kvindeforening) and a young people's society (ungdomsforening). The purposes of the latter were religious, recreational and cultural; and in accordance with Grundtvigian principles the two latter were emphasized. . . . During the summer vacation of the public schools the congregation provided for a few weeks of Danish school in which were taught religious and cultural subjects. . . . The vacation school (ferieskolen) enabled the people in this settlement to maintain the Danish language better and longer than in any other settlement in Kansas. But both the congregation and the young people's society now use both English and Danish in their work" /kc17:302. From 1919 to 1922 the church was without a pastor except for student pastors in the summer. The Rev. H. J. Kock, pastor 1922-26, introduced a number of innovations. Preaching in English was one. Another seems to have been confirmations in the same language. The Danish summer school established by the church disappeared shortly before--in the period of no pastors. The abandonment of Danish was also slightly less rapid than the official church history states. The Rev. Harold Petersen, throughout his pastorate, 1935-39, preached once a month in Danish /P38. The business records show shift to English earlier

than the rest of the Engl-izing chronology would indicate; English appears in 1889.

A stone in the church building bearing the date of 1878 calls the church "Dansk Evang. Luth." but in 1950 it became officially "The Evangelical Lutheran Community Church of Denmark, Kansas," a member of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish), later LCA. In 1893 it had lost part of its membership to a mission church established a mile to the east. James Peter Peterson was a prime mover in the mission /P38. He was born in Denmark 1853, and in 1885 had children born in Iowa ten years old. He arrived in Kansas in 1882 /P38.

The use of Danish in families with young children disappeared by the time of the First World War. At that time the young felt some shame over their origins. Earlier it had been a disgrace to make a non-Danish marriage, and later pride of ancestry returned. In 1948 those born before 1910 could speak Danish, but did not do so. In 1961 a non-Danish merchant had lived three years at Denmark, accepted by its people, and had heard no Danish though he knew of a woman who spoke nothing else and knew that a neighbor born ca. 1910 could speak it.

The conclusions to be drawn from tombstone inscriptions correspond rather closely to the linguistic schedule outlined above.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Denmark Lutheran Cemetery

	English	Danish	% of Danish
1870-9	1	2	67%
1880-9	3	4	57%
1890-9	4	10	61%
1900-9	12	7	37%
1910-9	13	5	28%
1920-9	11	1	8%

no later Danish inscriptions

The Danes tightened their hold on the settlement over a period of a decade, the 1870's; then they were very Danish for a generation until the immigrants grew old, and afterward shifted rapidly to the use of English.

SOUTH EMPORIA WELSH (Hi-d, Lyon E) For Emporia Mexicans see #47.77

Special Bibliog.:

S - History of Sardis Church, Mary Jane Rees et al. - 1949

P - Memorial Pipe Organ Dedication - 2d Presbyterian Church 1948

~~ED~~ ED-Saga and Song of the Evans and Davis Family 1840-1953

J - Mrs. Horace Jones - The Welsh in Emporia, ca. 1925

C - Frances Lewis Childers. A Story of Coal Creek 1961.

- 47.19 History. "The Rev. George Lewis and family came to Allen Creek from Ohio in 1856 [J. says 1857]. By the autumn of 1857 more than thirty more Welsh folks had settled near [the south bank of] the Cottonwood River, most of them taking claims for pre-emption" /S6. Allen Creek is north of Emporia and thus outside of the district that became solidly Welsh, but Lewis, a Congregationalist born in Carmarthen, South Wales, influenced later comers. "He had held pastorates in Gomer, Ohio [in Allen County, 62,241, north of Lima], Old Man's Creek and Long Creek, Iowa. He was fluent in both languages, English and Welsh, and preached to both the American and Welsh Congregationalists before either of them had founded a church" /ED. "Mr. Lewis was quite well pleased with the country; so wrote a glowing account of the land and country hereabouts, and sent it to the Welsh publication in New York called 'The Drych'. Many of the Welshmen in the old country read it with interest" /J. George Lewis died in 1858. His wife and five sons remained however, and his propaganda bore fruit. Some of the early Welsh took claims near his, David T. Morris for instance, also of 1856 or 1857, but the settlement south of Emporia

was in existence by the next year. Morris was a shoemaker and almost immediately opened a shop in the newly founded town. Other Welsh established themselves there too in the first years /A. Settlement had begun in the area only the year before Lewis's arrival. In that year, 1855 /ED two Welshmen, John Evans and Charles Morris, came to Lyon County. Emporia was founded shortly afterward. The Welsh population increased greatly through a third of a century. Of the Welsh-born in Emporia Township in 1925 three came to the U.S. in 1900, all but one of the others (16) came before 1889 (1894 one; 1881-8 eight; 1869-1873 five; 1854 one). They came from all parts of Wales. Of fifty-four immigrants whose places of origin in Wales are known more or less exactly, 26 came from North Wales, 28 from South Wales. This division into North and South meant much to them, for they almost always specified one or the other, frequently adding their county, sometimes their village or city. All but three Welsh counties, Denbigh on the north coast, Pembroke in the extreme southwest, and Radnor on the English border of South Wales appear in the list. Five persons said they came from Carnarvonshire, five from Carmarthenshire, four from Montgomeryshire, four from Merionthshire, four from Glamorganshire, four from Brecknockshire, fewer from each of the other counties. Immigration directly from Wales was not common until about 1869. Lewis and Morris and a few others spent some time at Lawrence when they first arrived in Kansas. The budding settlement there never grew enough to be seriously considered, and soon Welsh immigrants came directly on to Emporia. Early periods of residence in the United States were most frequently in Ohio, occasionally also in

✓ 19c

New York, either in the City or in the district in and north of Utica, "the Welsh capital of the United States." In Ohio, Newark in Licking County (62, 265) and the Welsh Hills northwest of it furnished more Welsh to Kansas than other Ohio Welsh settlements, but these others were also represented. The Ohio colonies, founded through the first forty years of the nineteenth century, had acquired excess population. Some ^{Emporians} progress-
ing westward, had resided in Pennsylvania (Wilkesbarre, Pittsburgh), Illinois (Coal Valley near Rock Island), Wisconsin (Racine) and Iowa (Dubuque), but other than Ohio there was no general western source. The data in the census of 1875 brings out the importance of Ohio as a place of early American residence, as the following table reveals.

Year and Place of Birth of Last Child Born Outside Kansas to Parents who were Natives of Wales and Residents of the Emporia Area in 1875									
Wales		New York		Ohio		Illinois		Wisconsin	
City	Twp	City	Twp	City	Twp	City	Twp	City	Twp
1850	1854	1861	1868	1859	1855	1868	1864	1868	1857
1863	1858	1866		1861	1859	1858	1868		1865
1865	1859	1870		1866	1863				1872
1868	1860			1868	1864				
1870	1863				1868				
1870	1866				1869				
	1866				1870				
	1867								
	1867								
	1868								
	1870								

In the township one family each had a last birth before coming to Kansas in England (1872), California (1870), Missouri (1866), Pennsylvania (1870), Virginia (1866). In the city there was also one family from Pennsylvania (1865), and one from California (1868).

V 9c

Diversity of American sources of Welsh population was true from the very first years. In 1857 at least Ohio, Missouri, and Wisconsin were already represented /J.

The data in the above table corroborated by the year of arrival of the 1925 survivors also suggest that immigration was heavy about 1869. The motivation for the influx to Emporia is illustrated by a letter of 1870 from "D. W.": "There are Welshmen in the neighborhood of Emporia who have been settled here about 10 years and own about 160 acres of the best land in Kansas" /con129. D. W. thought their lot was bad, however; they were still living in dug-outs, and were as dark as Indians. "The son of a farmer of Talley", however, writing later in the same year was well satisfied; "It is far better than I expected" /con132. The table above reveals little as to the years of arrival of the earliest families, because by 1875 their children would have left home. Other data show that after 1858 there was a pause in settlement until about 1866. The table below gives further data on year of arrival.

Year of Birth of the Oldest Child born in Kansas to Parents who
were Natives of Wales and Residents of the Emporia Area in 1875

City			Township		
Kansas born with Older Children in family	No. of yrs. between first Kansas born and next older	Kansas born with No Older Children in family	Kansas born with Older Children in family	No. of yrs. between first Kansas born and next older	Kansas born with No Older Children in family
1865	4	1869	1861	5	1862
1866	6	1869	1863	8	1862
1871	1	1870	1865	8	1863
1871	3	1870	1869	6	1864
1872	2	1871	1870	2	1864
1872	8	1871	1870	2	1865
1873	5	1871	1871	3	1866
1873	9	1871	1871	3	1868
1874	4				1868
		1872	1872	2	1869
		1873	1872	2	1871
		1873	1873	3	1871
		1874	1873	5	1872
		1874	1874	7	1872
			1874	8	
			1875	3	

In 1875 there were in Emporia 11 children born in Wales; in Emporia Twp there were 45. The total number of Welsh-born was then:

City 89

Country 178

267

Since there were in the country a larger proportion of families where both children and parents were born abroad, the rural situation was much more conducive to linguistic conservatism than that in town, but the fact that town with 1/3 of the Welsh was very close to the country settlement made linguistic conservatism much more difficult than is usual in a rural group. Also the census of 1875 shows that girls from the country Welsh families were employed as maids in "American" families in town, an Engl-izing factor.

The early importance of the rural settlement and its geographic focus is shown by the fact that "the first formal church services were held in the home of Edward Evans on Dry Creek a mile and a half south of what is now Soden's Bridge, in 1858" /S6, that is, two and a half miles south of town. The only church serving the Welsh from 1861 to 1868 was the "Union Church" made of logs, located a little farther south where Evergreen Cemetery is (3-2011, Point 5 on Lyon County Map I in Vol. 1). The land was a gift of the same Edward Evans (1806-1881), wife Martha (1826-1901). He was born at Mold, Flintshire, in the northeastern corner of Wales. He emigrated to Wisconsin in 1849. He came to Emporia in 1857 /ch78. The Union Church "served not only as a chapel but also as a subscription school. Here too

the first Welsh singing school, a unique institution among the Welsh, later to be expanded or incorporated into the Eisteddfod, was conducted by Daniel R. Jones" /S7. Very close to this same site, so close that its grounds also ultimately became part of Evergreen Cemetery, the Salem Presbyterian Church was built in 1869 and 1870 on ground donated by the same Daniel R. Jones, who came to Kansas from Newark, Ohio, in 1858. He was originally from South Wales /a856. Presumably he is the Daniel Jones buried in the cemetery. He (1804-1879) and his wife Margaret (1808-1862) are commemorated by inscriptions that are partly in Welsh. The first minister of the Salem Church was the Reverend John Jones (1827-1901, wife Cathrine 1827-1898), and he served the church until his death. He was much loved (see editorial of William Allen White in Emporia Gazette early August, 1901). He arrived in the settlement in April, 1870, from Middle Granville, New York (on the Vermont border east of the south end of Lake George). The four children who lived with him in 1875 were born in Wales between 1852 and 1859.

The 31 original members of the Salem Church had been Calvinistic Methodists. They became part of the Presbyterian Church USA "in order to get help to build the church." Similar motives, besides the practical identity of theological belief, probably explain the early absorption of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists into the Presbyterian Church in other settlements as well as this one. The absorption doubtless was an Engl-izing force. There were in the 1870's and 1880's about twenty-four families.

There was "preaching at 10 o'clock with Sunday school following and class meeting on Thursday afternoon, which was kept up during the life of the Rev. Mr. Jones [i.e., till 1901] with good attendance at the busiest time of year." "Class" doubtless gave instruction in Welsh. This rural church was dissolved in 1934.

Not all the rural settlers were content to be Presbyterians, however. In 1871, some 68 of these dissenters organized the Sardis Congregational Church; a building was completed the next year two miles west northwest of the Salem Church. The Sardis congregation never became large, 71 members in 1947. It still existed in 1962. Most of the families in the neighborhood of the Sardis Church belonged to it, but when the land for preemptions was mostly taken up along Dry Creek (on early maps called Fowler Creek), which flows through both Sardis and Salem territory, the Welsh, leaving a gap that appears yet in their landholdings began as early as 1857 (David T. Lewis /C) to acquire farms in the next valley to the south, that of Coal Creek. Many of these people were Congregationalists and in 1888 so as to be able to worship nearer home formed the Peniel Congregation, which never became strong enough to construct a building. It expired about 1920. The same minister served both the rural Congregational Churches, and they had quarterly meetings together. John R. Maddock (1838-1918) was a leading spirit among this group. The Peniel Coal Creek Church was attended by non-Welsh families in the neighborhood; so was the school in which the services were held, but it was largely Welsh till 1910. "Many

could talk only the Welsh language until they started to school. Many did learn English at home" /C. In 1909 there began an exodus of Welsh families. This fact and the increasing use of the automobile explain the demise of Peniel. Before and after the period of the existence of the Congregation on Coal Creek, the Sardis Church shared its minister with the Bethany Church in town.

The donor of the land on which the Sardis Church and Greenwood Cemetery are located was Elizabeth Morgan, born 1808. She was the widow of William Morgan. They had come directly to Emporia from Abetawe, near Llanelly in Carmathenshire, South Wales, in 1868. In 1871 their daughter Elizabeth (1848-1946) married John R. Maddock, born 1839, who had come to Emporia with his father John, born 1813, in 18⁵48. They established themselves on Coal Creek immediately after marriage.

"Mr. and Mrs. Maddock and family were tireless workers in the Sardis and Coal Creek Churches and in Bethany Church after moving from their farm. Until well past ninety years of age, Mrs. Maddock still keen of mind, taught the last Welsh Bible class in Bethany Sunday School." The class lasted there until about the beginning of the Second World War.

Many of the early settlers were small tradesman or artisans (masons, blacksmiths) before coming to the United States. Some, like several on Coal Creek, had been miners. William Rees, born 1816, was also a miner, and when times became hard at Resolven in the mine fields of Glamorganshire in South Wales, he left his native country with two daughters and six sons ranging in age from ⁴ to 25 years, and came directly to Emporia^{c. 1871}. His wife, Mary, succumbed early, and does not appear in the census of 1875. His

second son was John J. (1849-1924), who continued as a farmer in the Sardis neighborhood. To him and his wife who had come from Wisconsin in 1857 (Martha Susan Evans, daughter of Edward already mentioned) Edward Herbert Rees was born in 1886. Edward, who first attended Sardis and during manhood was a member of the Bethany Congregational Church, after a career in the Lyon County courthouse and as a lawyer, was elected as a Republican representative to the Congress of the United States in 1936 and served there 24 years. Five of the 74 descendants of charter members who took part in the 75th Sardis anniversary celebration were descendants of William Rees, most notably, its historian, Edward's sister, Mary Jane Rees.

The charter members of the Sardis Church seem mostly to have come from South Wales. Many, like the Morgans and the Reeses, had arrived recently in Kansas, but Ellis Owen, born 1835, was a settler of 1857 and Evan L. Jones arrived in 1858. Evan Jones was born in Carmarthenshire in 1831. He emigrated to Utica, New York in 1850; thence he went to Morrow County, Ohio (62,255), in 1854 and married Mary Jones at Newark in Licking County (62, 265) in 1848. He had gone back for the wedding after a few months on his farm on 27-19-11, just south of Emporia and the Cottonwood, a mile east of the Sardis site. He was prosperous as a farmer /a856 and "a faithful trustee and deacon in Sardis Church for 48 years" /S36. Among his children was J. Calvin (1864-1937), who after a brief career in banking became a minister. He was "a serious earnest" pastor of Sardis and Peniel from 1910 to 1920; during this period he lived on the family farm.

47:20 The preservation of the Welsh language was dear to the early Emporia settlers. The Sardis Church history records that the Reverend William Griffith, "a

native of North Wales, served Sardis and Coal Creek for two years. He was one of the first ministers to preach in both the Welsh and English languages" /S15. By saying he was "a little outspoken in his convictions," the History suggests that the choice of language was a matter of debate. It does not fix the dates of the Griffith pastorate; other evidence establishes it as running from ca. 1887 to 1901. His successor, 1901-1905, was the Reverend D. D. Morgan who "had excellent use of both languages". For him this American experience was a short interlude. He came from Wales a bachelor and returned thence, "greatly missed by the young people."

The greatest linguistic effort took place in the Sunday School, hardly distinguishable during the period of the Union Church from district school, because the settlers were unaccustomed to the idea of primary education supported by the government. After the district schools were established, parochial efforts became limited to the Sunday school, but it is evident from the quotations below that the Sunday activities were only the culmination of studies carried on at home by the children.

"The Sunday School became an integral part of the worship following the practices in Wales where free elementary education was not provided. The kindergarten and primary classes were taught the Welsh alphabet and primer. Rhodd Tad and Rhodd Mam, meaning father's gift and mother's gift, were studied and memorized by the intermediate groups. The Welsh-English Testaments were studied in the young people's classes and the Welsh Bible in the adult classes. A chapter, Psalm or Bible character was chosen to be discussed for a quarter, then on the appointed Sunday selected examiners or 'holwyr' would question

the Bible classes on the assignment. The intermediate classes repeated the answers to the catechism questions, with Bible verses in Welsh and English. The change from all Welsh to all English was gradual" /S20.

The correspondence received on the occasion of Sardis' seventy-fifth anniversary from persons who were children in the congregation in the 1870's and 1880's indicate both how seriously this instruction was taken and what difficulties were already arising among children whose non-religious cultural language was English. For instance:

"When we speak of the early Sunday School our minds immediately turn to Mrs. John I. Price [born 1850] with her sweet, patient, gentle way teaching His Word from those little booklets called the Rhodd Mam," said Mrs. Della Owen Lind, born after 1875 /S21. Mrs. Lind's letter contains passages in Welsh. She learned to write.

"How well I remember laboring over the Welsh lessons in the Sardis Sunday School" wrote Jane Jones Boyd, born 1872. "We distinctly remember attending quarterly Sunday School Meetings held at Sardis, with services morning and evening the program consisting of reciting chapters from the Bible, the Welsh catechism and songs by the children and young people." This from a former member of the Coal Creek Congregation. Preaching in Welsh became impossible at Sardis after 1920, for, except for one year, 1922, the ministers were not of Welsh extraction. Up until 1910 they were all born in Wales and doubtless preached in Welsh--decreasingly as time passed. C. Calvin Jones probably used little Welsh during his ministry from 1910 to 1920. At least his son and daughter seem not to have learned Welsh. They sang an English version of a Welsh hymn at the 75th Sardis anniversary, while other Welsh hymns were rendered in the immigrant language

-41-

by great grand children of the charter members. The persistence of Welsh songs as here instanced will appear in other comments.

In the two Welsh cemeteries, Evergreen and Greenwood, inscriptions in Welsh are rare for all periods. The latest is on a stone erected in the Greenwood cemetery to the Reverend Henry Rees (1819-1898) and his wife Gwenllian (1825-1904). The stone is of comparatively recent style, perhaps ca. 1910. The dates are in English but the rest is in Welsh. We may suspect that others, rather than the couple themselves, thought that Welsh was appropriate to them, for the inscription commemorating their year-old daughter who died in 1871 is in English. In the Greenwood cemetery there^{are} only three other Welsh inscriptions, 1878, 1886, 1888. The proportions are no higher in the Evergreen cemetery. The date range is similar (the Henry Rees case excepted) - examples are 1862, 1871, 1879, 1881, 1887. Andrew Thomas, 1879-1881, was commemorated in Welsh, but English was used for his sister Rose Thomas Edwards, 1872-1903, and his parents, Samuel, 1835-1913, and Margaret, 1838-1915.

The Welsh in town at Emporia were the first to feel the need for a religious organization other than the Union Church. Agitation for it began in 1866 and the construction of the Bethany Congregational Church was nearly completed in March 6, 1868, when the Emporia News commented:

"Efforts are being made to secure the services of a regularly educated and ordained minister to preach in the Welsh language. While most of them [the Welsh] mingle freely with the Americans and are able to communicate upon common topics, yet the Welsh is their devotional language. They must pray in Welsh" /S8.

In 1869 the efforts to secure a minister were successful. The Reverend Henry Rees (1819-1898), born in Carmarthenshire /a859, arrived directly from Wales with his family after a pastorate of twenty years at Ysteradgunlais in Brecknockshire. He continued as pastor till after 1883, probably till 1887. His congregation grew in numbers from 50 to 200. He was diligent in making pastoral visits and was much loved. The habits established during his long career in Wales before emigrating and his closeness to his people doubtless made him a considerable force for linguistic conservatism.

The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in town attended Bethany Congregational rather than make the trip into the country to worship, but in 1870 some 34 of them felt strong enough to set up a separate organization (225 in 1949 about 1/2 Welsh).*

*There was also in 1870 a Baptist congregation /con132.

vinists were admitted to the C. M. organization in 1868. After a fire in 1870 or 1871, they joined the Presbyterians /wms254. Among the members at the time when the group became Presbyterian (1872) 16 were admitted by letters from Wales, 13 from churches in the Eastern United States, and the rest from the country church, except one from Arvonja. Like their co-religionaries in the country they were propelled into the Presbyterian Church by the need of financial aid. They first applied to the Calvinistic Methodist organization, but aid "was denied as we were considered too far west for their jurisdiction." The action of this central body in such cases and the consequent recourse to the Presbyterians made for more swift anglicization, for as soon as it was necessary to depend on a supply of

pastors from the general ministerial reservoir, they were unlikely to be Welsh. However, the pastors of Emporia's Second Presbyterian Church had Welsh names until 1942. The first was the Reverend John Jones, already discussed, who served until 1894. From then until 1942 each pastor served about a decade.

"In early years the preaching services of this church were conducted entirely in Welsh. At the turn of the century worship in the English tongue was instituted, with the last Sunday evening in the month designated as young people's night. Bilingual hymn books were ordered. These had English words set to the old Welsh tunes; a happy combination, for young and old enjoyed singing together. About this time there was organized a chorus choir of thirty voices and they began rendering song services on the third Sunday night and Cantatas at Christmas time and Easter.

"Gradually English services superseded the Welsh and we emerged a Community Church." /P.

Among early members Daniel R. Jones, who had figured so large in the early days in the country was prominent with song and labor here too, for he moved into town.

The man who Laura M. French in her History of Emporia and Lyon County says was called "the Father of all the Lyon County Welsh" belonged to the Second Presbyterian Church. He was Lewis W. Lewis, born 1839 /a851, who came from South Wales to Emporia in 1869, and almost immediately became prosperous as a contractor for building and railroad projects, working much on construction of the Santa Fe Railroad. He sought out every newly arrived Welshman to see whether he needed help. Such a man involuntarily would become a force for linguistic anglicization, for he would launch many into the general life of the community.

/ 100

47.20 The evidence cited above shows that in the last decades of the nineteenth century English was replacing Welsh in records and business where the immigrants had been accustomed to use their ancestral language. In the early years its use had, however, been so general that it was essential in the business world. In 1868 a Columbus, Ohio, firm, Bancroft and McCarty, sought to establish itself in Emporia. On arriving the management rejected Griffith P. Jones' application for employment, but a month later sought him out to offer him a place. They needed a salesman able to speak Welsh. Jones, born 1847, was able to gain such a following that in 1872 he opened his own store, and a picture in the Andreas-Cutler History shows it of prosperous size in 1882. He sold his interest in 1888. Griffith Jones in 1879 married Abbie Allen who was not Welsh. In 1888 the family moved to a large ranch acquired in 1888 in the southwestern corner of Lyon County well beyond the Welsh settlement. Welsh ties remained so close, though, that Walter Jones, born 1888, who remained a bachelor, left his mother's Methodist Church to join the Second Presbyterian (Welsh), and the youngest child, Lucina, without hearing Welsh habitually at home learned words and phrases.

Mrs. Horace Jones wrote about 1925 "years ago every business house had its interpreters, and even now, although the Welsh language isn't spoken so much, there are many Welsh salesmen in the stores." She added then, "Of course the older Welsh people still speak their language, and enjoy hearing Welsh sermons, but the younger generation is completely Americanized." /J.

Various allusions above have already indicated that both in public and private Welsh persisted in song long after it had fallen into general disuse. One reason for this was that for many years songs and hymns were

learned by heart without the intervention of the printed word--or musical instruments either. "There were no special church choirs, for everyone enjoyed the participation in hymn singing. . . . Singing school was held in the church and in the homes and was enjoyed by young and old. Luther Rees and Daniel Davis trained rural choirs to compete in musical festivals or Eisteddfodai held particularly in Arvonnia. These contests in music and literature were of Old World origin having been celebrated in Wales since the 12th century" /S20 (ED speaks very similarly). The strictness of the Welsh Congregationalists and Calvinistic Methodists in the selection of amusements made such contests the more popular. The Eisteddfod, scheduled for Christmas in Arvonnia's rural surroundings, took Emporians from home at a bad season to a smaller community, and after 1885, celebrations of St. David's Day with similar activities were substituted for it. From 1888 at least until 1962 St. David's Day brought the Welsh together on the first of March. According to the Emporia Gazette of ^{ca. 27}February 1939 the celebrations were in the early years primarily under the aegis of the Bethany Congregation^{al} Church. "The first celebrations of St. David's Day in Emporia were held at the old Whitley Opera House and were modeled after the annual Welsh Eisteddfod or contest." By 1939 the Congregationalists were sharing the management of the occasion which was then celebrated at the Second Presbyterian Church. There then existed a recently formed St. David's Society which "enlisted the cooperation of all available Welshmen" including those near Arvonnia and Lebo. "For the concert, old Welsh melodies have been harmonized for mixed voices and the phonetic spelling of Welsh words provided for singers who have never learned Welsh." In 1949 part of the program was still regularly songs in Welsh and Miss Ann Davis kept for sale a supply of a bilingual song book, Favorite Welsh and English Hymns and Melodies,

published by the National Gymanfa Ganu Association of the U.S. and Canada. In 1962 the St. David's Day Concert included five songs sung in Welsh.

In the family Welsh was rather commonly used until the First World War, but the Welsh of the young in the twentieth century was usually defective enough to provoke merriment on the occasion of visits to Wales.

Visits to Wales have been frequent during the whole course of the history of the Emporia settlement, particularly so after the Second World War. This habit would have been a more potent conservative force if linguistic anglicization had not been making great progress in Wales at the same time so that ignorance of Welsh has become but a minor handicap there.

In 1950 those of the second and later generations in active life capable of expressing themselves in Welsh had become so few that any informant would name only one or two concerning whom his knowledge was certain. But the language did not die out because a new immigration followed the Second World War. It has been small, but because of it from twenty-five to thirty persons of all ages were able to speak Welsh in 1962.

47.21 EVEREST-WILLIS NORWEGIANS (Mid-1***-Brown F)

Special Bibliog.: Z -- Golden Jubilee of Zion Ev. Luth. Church,
Everest, Kansas

H -- Horton Headlight

N -- Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America,
Minneapolis, 1925.

According to the Brown County Platbook of 1887, Benedict Knudson, (b. 1836) settled by the South Fork of the Wolf River on 3-4-18 about three miles from the future site of the Zion Lutheran Church in 1855. He does not appear in the 1860 or 1865 censuses, perhaps because he had accompanied Ulrich Knudson and Jul Thorson to Colorado. He was resident in the community in 1880, and his wife Ragnhild (1837-1909) is buried in the Zion Cemetery. One finds in the 1860 census several Norwegians including G. B. Hanson (b. 1830) with a child born in Kansas in 1855, N. M. Lindquist (b. 1830), and also Ole P. Erickson (b. 1824) who had arrived a few miles to the north in 1859. Knudson seems to have been at the south edge of early Norwegian settlement. Daniel and Ole Anderson, who, after a year or two in Wisconsin had been among the Eureka Norwegians in Greenwood County since 1859, moved from there in 1863 to farms a little west of the point where the Upper Wolf Creek Lutheran Church was later built (sw 23-3-18) three miles north of the Knudson place. These Norwegians of Brown County maintained close connections with the Moray Norwegians, Doniphan Co. who began settlement in 1857 /tkl73

The settlements are about fifteen miles apart. Upper Wolf Creek gained enough Norwegian settlers by 1869 so that they then organized their Lutheran Church. Its services, in spite of resistance, were exclusively

Norwegian until 1903, but the northern area, though settled early, was never solidly Norwegian (only one Norwegian speaker in 1954), and many German Lutherans moved into the Neighborhood. The newly ordained Olaf Lysner who became pastor in 1903 not only began using English but also worked among the Germans. Though the church kept its connections with the Norwegian Synod and evolved with it in name changes and unifications, it became predominantly German in membership. The Rev. Mr. Lysner was doubtless induced to seek German participation because in 1895 the Norwegians to the south had organized the Zion Lutheran Church.

Settlement in the south had by 1880 become considerable. There were then in Washington Township fifty-two foreign-born Scandinavians (a number were Danes) with whom lived fourteen children born in Kansas and one in Wisconsin. Eleven of the foreign-born were children. One of the earliest of these settlers in the south (27-3-18) was Jul Thorson, who "was born in Norway June 20, 1836, and lived in his native country till his nineteenth year, and then immigrated to America [1855], locating in Manitowoc, Wisconsin [61,227] where he lived two years, and was engaged in mining and prospecting. From Colorado he returned to Kansas, locating in Washington Township, Brown County, where he has resided ever since." /a751 He died in 1888; his wife was Kari Nelson. (1840-1906). This is a typical history. Among early settlers, Wisconsin was usually at least a way station. Jul Thorson was accompanied to the gold rush in Colorado by Ulrich Knudson (1838-1915). Many others spent years in wandering; Thomas Smith (1841-after 1934) was a sailor until he was forty-one. Smith and his wife were born in Sogndal (H, Dec. 1934); so was Abraham Knudson b. 1860 /Z, and

presumably the other Knudsons; so were at least four other persons in the community, none of them bearing identical surnames. Sogndal is on the southwestern coast of Norway. Others came too from this general area, Christian Ross (1849-1931) from Stavanger close by /H, Aug. 5, 1935. Other regions of Norway were represented, though less well.

Immigration continued until the First World War, and settlement in the community tended westward so that latterly the Zion Church has been much to the east of center; and Mission Township as important to the settlement as Washington Township. This fact is quite evident from the following table based on the census of 1925.

Year of Arrival in United States
of Norwegians in the Everest-Willis area in 1925

	Mission Twp (Willis)	Washington Twp (Everest)	Robinson Twp (Upper Wolf River)
Before 1880	6	2	2
1880-89	17	6	3
1890-1899	27	16	7
1900-1909	16	7	1
1910-1913	$\frac{3}{69}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{2}{15}$

The length of the period of immigration easily explains the long persistence of Norwegian in the Zion area.

The Zion Church has had members at some distance to the south. The Norwegians in western Atchison County near Lancaster and Effingham are part of the group. The first settlement at Lancaster was in 1858 when Harold O. Treat arrived /N185. Persisting families arrived later. Knud Gigstad (b. 1856) came directly in 1876 to his uncle Benedict Knudson, above mentioned.

Three years later he established himself on 28-5-19 just north of Lancaster. His brother Ole (also b. 1856) joined him in 1883 and in 1888 acquired a farm. He had eight children and his brother, 11. There was a third brother, Oscar (1866-1953). His children and Knud's were proficient in Norwegian, and some of their descendants were still using that language for secrecy over the telephone in 1954. John Larson (b. 1874) was drawn back into the main area of settlement about 1900 after about ten years in Atchison County where he found a wife, Emma Jackson, whose brothers were living near Effingham. Norwegian persisted into the second generation in these families.

The western border of the settlement was not sharply defined either. On the Kickapoo reservation certain Norwegian names appear--Torson for example fifteen miles from the church, and even connect with the Whiting Danes in Jackson Co. on further southwest. Torkel Peterson (1884-1953) who lived in Whiting, married Hilda Ross (1886-1946). The couple continued to reside in Whiting, but are buried in the Zion cemetery. Hilda's brother Carl (1874-1948) settled among the Mercier Germans on the edge of the Kickapoo reservation, and his son Harold is one of those with lands among the Indians. A third brother Elmer (b. 1890) settled eventually among the Moray Norwegians after eleven years near Everest. The first of this family came from Norway in 1889, Carl in 1891, Elmer in 1906. Their father Christian (1849-1931), joined them in 1907. Three other members of the family, Conrad (1874-1948), Elizabeth (b. 1898), and Jennie, remained near Willis and Everest. Elizabeth married Leonard Johnson (b. 1888) the son of Tonnes, of whom we are about to speak. Jennie became the wife of Theodore

Torkelson and named her son Ross.

The immediate reason for the separation of the people who formed the Zion congregation from the Upper Wolf River Church was pietistic agitation. The Rev. Falk Gjertson, "a strong Church leader from Minneapolis, Minnesota" /Z, in the Norwegian Free Church set to work in the community and at winter's end in 1895 gathered a group together at the home of Tonnes Johnson (1848-1923). Johnson had almost directly arrived from Norway in the community with a wife and one child about 1879. He was so enthusiastic about the new church that he furnished land and served on the building committee along with the two Knudsons, Ulrich and Bendik, already mentioned. But none of the three put their names down with the charter members of the organization. Nor did any one else bearing a name mentioned above, though they certainly attended services. Both Knudsons were among the first trustees of the church, took part in a communion service in September, 1895, and read scripture before the congregation at the dedication of the church /Z, but Johnson participated in none of these activities. Gjertson's missionary efforts had been followed up by the coming of a young minister, B. A. Sand. He found in the congregation a wife Matilda (b. 1875) daughter of Jul Thorson, but he also found opposition to his enthusiasm for the Free Church, presumably from the stalwarts who would not list themselves among the charter members. In 1901, the congregation severed all connections with any synod, and still remained in the 1950's an independent Lutheran Church. The Rev. Mr. Sand forthwith resigned and went elsewhere. In the next twelve years there were three ministers, and then the pastorates became long: Framstad, 1913-1926; Opseth, 1926-1941; Langsjoen, 1942-1952.

Although at the church dedication in 1895 part of the services had been in English, that language appears to have been rarely used in church services until 1903.

By then the congregation had grown large. In 1909 the church had acquired a second building in the town of Everest. On his coming in 1913 "Pastor Framstad had much to do. Services were held in both the English and the Norwegian language, both at Zion and at Everest Chapel, with Sunday School at both places"/Z. In the latter years of his pastorate, the language question seems to have occupied a considerable place among his cares. Ross Edwin Torkelson (1913-1943) who lost his life in the South Pacific, was confirmed in 1926 "one of a class of 22. He is apparently one of the last few confirmed in the Norwegian language" /Z. This statement implies that most of the 22 were confirmed in English. By 1942, all Norwegian had disappeared from services in the country. The retired people in Everest still heard their minister in Norwegian then, but the town chapel was closed soon; sold in 1950. But the Church constitution was not translated from Norwegian to English until September, 1945, the by-laws not until January, 1947. A hymnal, used at Zion, published in 1908 was all Norwegian, another of 1923 was bilingual, anything later all English. In the cemetery only two inscriptions are in Norwegian, that of Ragnild Knudson 1837-1909, Benedict's widow, and that of S[ievert] 1853-1934 and Elisebet, 1854-1927. Sievert, unmarried, appears in the 1880 census. Use of Norwegian in the home seems, and this is rather unusual, to have been more persistent than use in the church. The fate of Norwegian in the Ross family is typical, Carl's son, Harold, born in 1917,

near Mercier, learned to understand but not to talk fluently. Elmer, Jr., born 1928 in the less populous Doniphan settlement does not understand Norwegian. Among Elizabeth's children, Thomas, the oldest son, b. 1918, learned to speak, but David, b. 1929 or 1930, learned only to understand.

In 1942 Norwegian was still the language generally used by immigrants and their children in the main settlement, but the next generation was using English among themselves, though they still understood the language of their parents. In 1950 many of those born about 1920 could speak Norwegian. In 1953, those born about 1930 were unable to speak but could still understand Norwegian. In 1967 several old men, retired in Horton and members of a card club, were still speaking Norwegian together.

At least one was born in the neighborhood. The long persistence of Norwegian is to be explained by the very long history of immigration.

GARDEN CITY RUSSIAN GERMANS AND MEXICANS

- Special Bibliog.: B-- Brown, Sara B., "Children Working in the Sugar Beet Fields of Certain Districts of the South Platte Valley," National Child Labor Committee, New York, 1925.
- F -- Franco, Hector, "The Mexican People of the State of Kansas," Unpublished thesis of Wichita State University, 1950.
- J -- Johnson, Elizabeth S., "Welfare of Families of Sugar Beet Laborers in 1935," United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 247, Washington, 1939.
- M --[Matthews, Ellen Nathalie?]"Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in the Beet Fields of Colorado and Michigan," United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 115, Washington, 1923.
- T -- Taylor, Paul S. "Mexican Labor in the United States," Vol. I of 3 vols. U. of California Publications in Economics, Vol VI, 1928-1930.

47.22 The Community and Beets. The Russian German settlement at Garden City originated in 1906 as a direct result of the beginning of sugar beet production at that place. Closely connected with its history is the history of the Mexican settlement which began at the same time under the same stimulus. Both settlements are therefore treated together. The following table shows the number of the foreign-born among them. The large numbers among the Russians in 1910 are probably to be explained by the inclusion of seasonal workers among those counted.

POPULATION OF FINNEY AND KEARNY COUNTIES
BORN IN RUSSIA AND MEXICO 1900-1940

Finney	<u>Russia</u>	Kearny	Year	Finney	<u>Mexico</u>	Kearny
3		1	<u>1900</u>	2		0
2		12	<u>1905</u>	0		0
438		302	<u>1910</u>	137		57
159		46	<u>1915</u>	134		46
115		56	<u>1920</u>	234		31
126		21	<u>1925</u>	268		128
108		22	<u>1930</u>	571*		134
76		13	<u>1940</u>	167		58

*The "Mexicans" of 1930 were foreign-born and their children.

The Settlement was for a long time primarily rural. In 1925, in the city of Garden City there were only eleven foreign-born Russians; in 1915 the number was only thirty. In other words the Russian Germans never established many of their foreign-born in town; later generations have come in somewhat.

Since sugar beet production has affected no Kansas for-ling community but Garden City, it is proper in studying the settlement to examine the history and character of the industry.

Sugar Beet Production in Kansas. Growing of sugar beets in the United States had been carried on experimentally for some two decades before the protection offered in 1897 by the Dingley Act made it profitable. In Kansas the German, Henry Hitze, connected with the sorghum mill at Medicine Lodge, first caused beets to be grown in 1889, but growing remained experimental.

The industry established itself firmly in Colorado at the turn of the century to the northeast of Denver, i.e., near Fort Morgan, and in the Arkansas River valley. The mills at Rocky Ford and a little later at Holly bought beets from the farmers in the western counties of the Arkansas valley in Kansas. In 1901 a bounty of a dollar a ton was established for Kansas grown beets, and was maintained beyond 1906. In 1905 a company was formed known first as the United States Sugar and Land Company and later as the Garden City Sugar and Land Company. It bought 27,000 acres of land, and the next year completed a sugar mill and contracted for 6,000 acres of beets. The land acquired lies to the west of Garden City, north of the Arkansas River but not on its immediate bank; it reaches approximately to the western Finney County line in a strip four miles wide. A short railroad line, the Garden City and Western, built early to haul beets to the mill, bisected the company's land. Irrigation projects were already operative, and the company improved the installations affecting its land.

Beet growing in this district is largely dependent upon irrigation, and the growth of the industry cannot exceed what is allowed by the water available either from the ditches taking water from the river or from pumps operating in the high water table in the bottoms. The importance of the Arkansas water is indicated by the protracted litigation between Kansas and Colorado and between rival groups of their citizens over water rights. Production outside of the land owned by the Garden City Company furnished for a long time the expanding and contracting element of the beet growing district. As defined by ditch irrigation this district extends in a narrow band to Hartland some fifteen miles west of company land, and it runs to the

north in a triangle of which the apex lies in Finney County some eight miles beyond company land. Except at Deerfield, the for-ling elements never settled permanently in non-company territory, but in years of peak production squatted in camps upon it. Farther from Garden City, sugar beet production broadened after the development of the automobile and good roads, but the sugar acreage of Kansas did not soon become much more imposing than in the early years. The acreage in Finney County was 6300 in 1907, rose slightly for two or three years, then tended to fall away until the stimulus of the First World War came. In 1920 after an extraordinary good yield in 1919, it reached 9,141, then fell away, averaging about 4600 during the twenties. In the drouth years of the thirties this irrigated crop occupied a favored position, and acreage attained a high point of 8,085 in 1933. On the other hand, in the good wheat years of the 1940's when labor was also scarce, the acreage dropped back to about 3500. Adjacent Kearny County had similar ups and downs, but it sank early into a position of very secondary importance, in the 1930's no greater than that of Hamilton or Scott Counties. A separate district began to develop in 1913 in Pawnee County, but after ups and downs, was cultivating only thirty acres in 1948. The Pawnee district sent its beets to Garden City and was served by Mexican labor. Acreage conditions in Finney and Kearny counties have remained much the same since the 1940's. With the development of irrigation from pumped water, Wichita County, which in 1950 had nearly the same acreage as Kearny, increased it until in 1957 its beet fields were nearly the same size as those of Finney County. In the late 1950's Grant and Stanton counties also became sugar beet producers, and in the 1960's approached Finney County in acreage and tonnage produced.

The Labor Problem in the American Beet Sugar Industry. Though to a lesser degree since the development of segmented seed and machines for topping and loading, sugar beets have required a great deal of hand labor. The amount has been greater in the Arkansas Valley per ton of beets produced than in other sugar beet areas. In the spring only by hoeing out (blocking or bunching) and by hand picking (thinning) could the superfluous plants be eliminated, and even now other methods often fail. Blocking and thinning was a task considered well adapted for women and children. Less but more vigorous manpower is needed for summer hoeing, and, until machines were adopted, a great force of all kinds of workers was needed for pulling and topping (chopping off the leaves and upper part of the beet where little sugar and many mineral salts accumulate.) The personnel organization has consisted of growers (owners or tenants) and laborers who contract with the growers to look after a certain acreage. The labor groups making contracts are normally a family, the mother and children traditionally working along with the father. Abuse of women and children was great in the early days of the century, but, particularly after the passage of the federal child labor law of 1935, was reduced to the extent that there was complaint of the behavior of idle children while their parents were in the fields. For the grower's family, conditions have been less rigorous but somewhat similar to those affecting the laborers. Even when the grower is the owner of the land, the sugar companies everywhere in the United States have maintained rigorous control over him, mainly through their accepted function of purveyor of labor and through their contractual power to fix the date of harvesting, which in turns affects the date of planting.

When sugar beet growing was begun in the United States, it nowhere found a local labor supply sufficient in size, nor willing to undertake the conditions imposed by intensive agriculture. Besides, there was a seasonal demand for many workers who did not need to be permanent residents of the sugar districts. The companies, then, recruited workers from two sources, Russian Germans and Mexicans. The Russian Germans were regarded as ideal, in small part because of experience of some of them abroad, but largely because of their willingness to keep all members of their family together working in the fields during rush periods from "kin-see to can't see." They were largely imported into the beet districts from urban centers in this country, which were in turn fed from abroad. The Russian Germans were accepted as tenants on company land, and soon provided most of the permanent population of the sugar areas. Mexicans were regarded as less desirable workers, but were more mobile, and moved in and out of the districts, establishing permanency quite gradually, only in a few cases accepted to this day as tenants. The laborers during the spring and fall working season lived in makeshift residences near the scene of their toil, sometimes in company shacks, usually gathered in small agglomerations. These makeshifts not unseldom developed into permanent residences. However, in the slack season, excess hands who did not drift out of the districts tended to collect in the sugar mill towns, usually in quarters near the mill, which furnished employment to some in the months following harvest.

Significance of Data from Child Labor Investigations. Because of conditions particularly affecting it, the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor made investigations in 1920 and 1935 on

conditions in the sugar fields (reported in the Bureau's bulletins No. 115 and No. 247 /J). The 1920 study centered upon the area around Ft. Morgan, Colorado (Michigan district studies seem to have been secondary) and may be regarded as valid for Kansas. The 1935 survey was broader, but presented conditions as essentially the same everywhere, and included as one of its specially studied areas the Rocky Ford, Colorado, section of the Arkansas Valley. It too may be accepted as valid for Kansas. (Much of the general data presented above is derived from these reports.) The National Child Labor Committee made a similar investigation in 1924, reported in publications of 1926 /B. For the present work, the study of the South Platte Valley (Logan, Morgan, and Wild counties) has been utilized. In 1927 Paul S. Taylor made investigations along the South Platte, analyzed in his Mexican Labor in the United States /T.

Pertinent items from the 1920 Report are: Labor in Colorado was seventy per cent Russian German, ten per cent Mexican. Before the First World War the personnel, including the Mexicans, was commonly recruited from the cities near the fields. As a result of the war, "Fort Worth, El Paso, and San Antonio have become important recruiting centers for beet-field laborers from which whole trainloads of Mexicans are shipped north and east to the beet fields." (p. 3) In Colorado, between one fifth and one fourth of all the children were working in the fields beginning at age six, almost all of them by age ten; eighty-five per cent worked from nine to fourteen hours a day. (pp. 6,7) Three-fourths of the Russian-Germans were permanent residents in the sugar beet districts, and the father worked in the sugar mills after the topping season (p. 13). All

Mexicans were laborers. Out of 1554 Russian Germans, 1135 (presumably including women and children) were laborers, 261 were tenants, 158 had their own farms (p. 15). School attendance was bad even among resident workers, and from April to November was nil among migratory workers. (pp. 40 ff.). The report assumed that all the workers habitually spoke German or Spanish, and it surveyed particularly their ability to speak English. "Many of the children whose families work in the beet fields hear English for the first time when they go to school." Among the Russian German children more than six years old who were studied, 53 could speak no English, though 22 had been born in this country. Twelve per cent of the fathers, 88, and fifty-one per cent of the mothers, 251, had no knowledge of the language. "The Russian Germans live apart in their own little settlements and worship in their own churches... The men come in contact with English speaking persons in their work to some extent, but the women seldom go outside their homes." (p. 16) Data on literacy corresponded. In the case of the Mexicans, fifty-eight per cent of the fathers could not speak English, ninety-three per cent of the mothers. Among the Spanish speaking of United States ancestry, the men could speak English as could half the women.

The 1924 Report for the South Platte Valley Counties says that "nearly half [49%] of all the hand workers in 434 families were children under 16 years of age and one-tenth were under ten years" /B 26). From the linguistic point of view these facts meant that these children were practically always during the beet season in the company of their parents and necessarily using their parents' language. Of the 434 families, 265 were Russian German, 114 Mexican (that is, born in Mexico, or speakers of Spanish born in our southwest), 55 were of other stocks (24 were labeled "American" which might mean that the parents were the sons of immigrants); 145 of the Russian German families were contract laborers, 109 of the Mexican, 7 of the "American." In these families, there were 414 living fathers and 421 living mothers. The statistics recorded for language do not distinguish the linguistic stocks except for ability to read and write a language other than English. Among the Russian German families, 210 were headed by fathers able to read German; 190 mothers read German. Assuming that all families possessed both parents, 80% of the men were literate, 72% of the women. There were 74 men who could read Spanish, 62 women. Making the same assumptions for the Mexicans, and neglecting the cases where they were literate in English but not in Spanish, we find 65% of the Mexican men literate and 55% of the women. The late date of the immigration from Russia is demonstrated by the fact that 19 men and 6 women could read Russian, that is 7% of the men and 2 % of the women (p. 61). The data on owners' inability to speak English can be applied to the Russian Germans since there were no Mexican owners and we may assume that the 12 owners who were not from Russia could speak English. Two out of 32 Russian German owners could not speak English (6%), 4 wives. There were only 5 Mexican tenants against 88 Russian Germans and 26 others who may be assumed to be speakers of English. The data here

may then be generally applied to the Russian Germans; on this basis the percentage of immigrant tenants not speaking English was 7.7% for men, 30% for women. Among contract laborers the percentages cannot be distinguished for Mexicans and Russian Germans. For men of these origins taken together the percentage unable to speak English was 15%, for women 52%. The general statements on language are as follows: "While practically all the children had a fair understanding of English, some of the fathers and a large number of the mothers had not. This is not unusual since most immigrant families cling to the mother tongue and use nothing else in the home. On the other hand, children learn English in school. The father learns to speak English because, through his contact with the outside world, he finds it necessary. For the mother there is not the same necessity. She stays very closely at home. Frequently her only opportunity is to learn from her children. . . . There was great variance in the attitude of the mothers toward learning English. One Russian German mother who had lived in the United States eleven years said longingly, 'How I wish me read and write American.' On the other hand, a Russian German, speaking of his wife's inability to understand English, said, 'Him don't speak American. Won't try, but learns a little from the kids '" /B 60.

The effect of labor in the sugar beet fields on exposure to English has some relationship to the degree of retardation in school of children. The main cause of retardation was low attendance; ignorance of English on entering school has rarely caused more than one year of retardation.

Contract Labor Pupils	No.	Retarded One Year		Retarded 2 Years or More	
		No.	%	No.	%
Non-Mexican	1,197	273	14	352	30
Mexican	501	110	22	291	58
Farm Family Pupils					
Non-Mexican	1,915	325	17	235	12
Mexican	18	2	11	7	39

Taylor's Study of the South Platte Area. Taylor records more than once testimony that the Volgans worked their women and children harder than the Mexicans. /T 121, 149, 201. The family groups thus maintained made for the conservation of Spanish and German. "General practice in all beet country was for the sugar companies to secure the labor, acting as an agent for the growers. The labor is gathered up from the places far and near... The factory staff aids in the handling and supervision of the work of the beet laborers... In some beet-growing areas the companies themselves have raised a large proportion of the beets on their own land [Garden City is an example]. In the Northeastern Colorado area, this practice has always been negligible" /T 116. "In 1921, 10,000 Mexicans and 2,000 German Russians were shipped" /T 130. Taylor summarizes a report made in 1921 of the labor commissioner of the sugar company. This commissioner said that the "Northern Mexicans... those from Colorado, northern Texas, northern New Mexico, Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri... as a rule speak English" and have had experience; "for these reasons they are preferred" /T 131. "Solicitors were sent through the territory... including the settlements far from the railroad. In the larger towns aids were employed. In the smaller towns the solicitors did the canvassing themselves. This requires the full time of five agents, three of whom spoke Spanish as fluently as English." Evidently if the Germans did not speak English they could be got at through friends or "aids" /T 131.

"By Southern Mexicans is meant those from El Paso, San Antonio, Fort Worth, and Dallas" /T 130. "Out of 5,000 engaged, at least 3,000 had had no beet experience and spoke no English... We required that 90% of each shipment should consist of family labor [that is, children were sought]" /T 131. Most of the laborers were new from Mexico, and had

come directly from there to the cities named above. In 1926 the company provided transportation fares for 14,500 persons; "8000 booklets in Spanish were distributed" /T 132. The Volgans without special efforts from the beet companies became permanent residents of northeastern Colorado. The Mexicans were the objects of measures by the "Great Western Sugar Company and other companies similarly situated" /T 135 to encourage settling down. Building sites and material for adobe construction were provided for colonies in rural locations /T 138. The idea for these colonies came from the Arkansas Valley practice, hence from that in vogue close to Garden City. Along the Arkansas company houses not isolated from town seem to have been the practice. The rural isolation was more likely to promote retention of Spanish. School attendance was low; the beet working children were truants in May and October. One school principal said, "The bankers, merchants and landlords [meaning here the growers] are all interested in child labor. The German-Russians come in late and the Mexicans never get to school." Another: "The Mexicans are not in school in the beet season nor are the Russians. The farmers petitioned for the children and the German preacher interceded with the school board to release those working the beets." "[School] board members are often beet farmers and sometimes keep their own children out of school to work" /T 198. School officials lost their jobs if they fought this current of opinion. F-lang conservation was thus promoted, not only by hampering instruction in English, but also by keeping together the f-lang speaking family. In the schools of Morgan County in 1926 and 1927, pupils were in the fields as many as 42 days; at times 80% of the enrollment was absent /T 193. Summer schools were sometimes tried, but teachers were unwilling and instruction then and in the regular term were not keyed together. There were few pupils who went as far as high school. One young Hispano in high school reported:

"Some of my friends encourage me, but the ruffians and the gang make fun of me. They call me 'sissy' and say I am stuck-up because I talk English'" /T 206. Hostility of Anglos, particularly to Mexicans, but also to the "Rooshuns" was well-nigh universal, implanting bitterness in those despised. A young woman said: "The German-Russians think they should be treated socially the same as the rest of us. We think they should not. I prefer [as a clerk] to wait on a Mexican in the store but I would prefer marrying a German-Russian, although I don't favor either" /T 231. A teacher said, "I prefer to handle Mexican children rather than the Russians. They are less stubborn and easier to deal with, but I realize that the Russian problem disappears in a generation, while the Mexican does not" /T 232.

The 1935 Report does not contain specific statements of language usage. It reports that immigrant workers have had an increasing tendency to become permanent, that after 1930 recruitment of workers by the sugar companies became minor and soon disappeared (p. 12). The child labor law forbidding the working of those under fourteen had just gone into effect, and, though the workers spoke cautiously, the law was evidently not popular. All Russian German girls fourteen and fifteen years old were in the fields, not all the Mexican girls. Community opinion approved non-attendance at school during rush periods, and in the Arkansas valley twenty-six per cent did not enter school until November (p. 44). Twenty five per cent of the Russian Germans and seventy per cent of the Mexicans were more than one year behind in school. (p. 53) Economically, the workers were in a bad situation, ninety seven per cent on relief in the Arkansas valley. When they were earning money, they used it before they were paid; some sort of assignment of wages to open or disguised company stores was common (p. 69). "The local prejudice... against beet-workers, particularly the 'Mexicans',... made it difficult for them to obtain needed relief...'The sugar company brought them in, let the sugar company take care of them'." (p. 72) "The feeling... had been definitely increasing during the depression years." The competition of cheap labor was resented. The workers were "isolated from the rest of the population, occupationally, socially, and residentially" (p. 80). Some communities "did not encourage the children of Mexicans... to enroll in school at all" (p. 47). Elsewhere there was an "establishment of special schools for Spanish-speaking children." Discrimination against

beet workers affected differently the two groups concerned: the Russian Germans aspired to escape into superior categories (farmers); the Mexicans wanted betterment of status without leaving their laboring condition. The data on prejudice are cited here because of the obvious influence of isolation on linguistic development.

Comparison to conditions at Garden City. Conditions described above as general in the American beet-growing districts have, on the whole, obtained in the Garden City Region. The Garden City company naturally followed the practices of the Colorado organizations, since it has been so closely allied to them that during most of its existence its main office has been in Colorado Springs, where Spencer Penrose and his descendants, the chief capitalists, have made their home. The high proportion of handwork has been true in the Garden City district as elsewhere; only since 1948 have machines been generally accepted at harvest time. The use of segmented seed has not been uniformly successful. Plantings in the old manner are still frequently necessary with the attendant labor in thinning. In 1906, shortly after the Garden City plant had opened, E. H. Every, its manager, said in an interview published in the Report of the State Board of Agriculture (pp. 933,934): "We bring in from Lincoln and Hastings, Neb., and other points where German settlers exist, such labor as is necessary... A supply of Mexicans can always be furnished." George B. Harrison reported the same year (pp. 925-926): "German Russian, Japanese, and Mexican laborers are mainly employed in Western Kansas... Ellis County and Topeka, Kan., and Lincoln, Neb., have contributed a large number of laborers." The need for

"immigrants not averse to this kind of farming" had been expressed in the report of two years before by Mrs. Block of Syracuse (p. 654). The newcomers had no initial hostility to contend with, but as elsewhere, Garden City beet-growing personnel has largely been isolated. Those of the seasonal workers who lived in the fields were concentrated in little camps, those living in Garden City and Deerfield had their own quarter. The company's tenants had little in common with their neighbors. The census data quoted elsewhere show that in the early years the great percentage of the laborers were Russian Germans, though Mexicans increased until 1930, after which many of the foreign-born disappeared. Economically the Garden City Sugar Company dominated its employees as completely as other sugar companies. It paid only well after the completion of the great seasonal rushes, namely in July and in December, and to those unable to wait so long, i.e., almost everyone, it issued writs good for use at a company store maintained until about 1935 at Lowe. Relief money, made necessary when during the depression the beet industry hired no one older than thirty-five years, /F61, and the establishment of chain stores, together with the urgings of religious and social workers to use their opportunities, provided the first step in economic liberation to the workers. When in 1944 during the Second World War an air field was established at Garden City, the Mexicans found employment there, and their sources of income became as varied as that of most groups of citizens. Prior to this time almost half of the Mexican laborers lived in the fields; thereafter very few. The sugar company still remained dominant over its tenants, i.e., most of the growers, naturally leasing land only to those

with whom leases were profitable. With the changes in methods of beet culture that took place beginning at mid century, this tendency brought about the replacement of old men by young, generally the sons of former tenants. Also the number of tenures was reduced in accordance with the general trend since agricultural power mechanization. In the good years more labor than could be locally provided was still necessary, especially after the Castro revolution removed Cuban competition. Migrant Mexicans continued to be the primary resource. In the late 1960's, the sugar company was still sending trucks to bring them from Texas. Company housing persisted. As elsewhere beet growing brought a high degree of absenteeism among school children. In 1925 it is recorded of the Mexicans, "Most all of them can read and write and send their children to school tho at times when in the field they have to take them out account they go to fields of beets in camp lots" (note of Assessor C. M. Johnston on p. 45 of census report). Absenteeism in rush periods was still encountered in the 1950's, but this condition was improving. As will be seen below, the Garden City community attitudes have been similar to those described by the child labor as compared with other sugar beet districts.

The Catholic Church at Garden City. In addition to the sugar industry, the Catholic church is of primary importance both to the Russian Germans and to the Mexicans of Garden City. Barring a few apostasies, both national groups are faithful. Until 1906 there was no resident Catholic pastor in Garden City; the coming of the beet workers led to the establishment of a church. By 1912 it had a church building, and after good beet crops in 1914 and 1915, the present St. Mary's Church was built. Secular clerics with German names, Bogner, Sittenauer, Dambach, served the parish until

229
234

1927. Then the Society of the Precious Blood came to the Wichita Diocese particularly to take charge of this parish and its missions. Later the order spread through southwestern Kansas. The pastors and curates provided by it at Garden City (staff increased from two to three in September 1948) have been German in background like their predecessors. (Olberding, Brunswick, Spaeth, A. Meyer, Wibbel, Diller, C. Meyer). Certain among them learned Spanish after arriving in Garden City, and for years provided preaching and pastoral guidance in Spanish. In September, 1948, for reasons other than linguistic, a national parish, St. William's, was established for the Mexicans. The Rev. G. E. Spaeth, Father George, became a resident at Garden City in 1932, pastor in 1938. In 1948, he was senior among the priests. He became a dynamic force in the social evolution of his charges. Though himself adept in both foreign languages represented in his parish, he worked toward Engl-izing.

47.23 Russians

Origin of the Russian-Germans. We may now consider separately the history of the two for-ling groups. The Russian Germans recorded by Mr. Every as having been brought in from Nebraska have left very few descendants. They and the immigrants from Topeka were almost certainly largely laborers, and were the element that disappeared by 1915. In that year, thirty of the Volgans lived in town, the rest in the two adjoining townships; 153 children lived with those born in Russia and residing in Finney County. They had come from railroad centers, which re-absorbed them in the boom times following the outbreak of war in Europe. Eighty-five percent of the foreign-born Russians in Finney County in 1915 had been

in no other state before coming to Kansas. Residents of the Garden City Region are in agreement in saying that immigration directly from Russia there was very slight; the 1915 inhabitants presumably passed through the main Kansas Volgan territory before coming to the sugar beet region. This area in Ellis and Rush Counties was already exporting population by 1892. In 1925, 107 persons born in Russia and resident in Garden City and Sherlock Twp. recorded the date of their arrival in the United States as follows:

	Garden City	Sherlock Twp.	Total
before 1879	7	4	11
1880-1898	1	2	3
1899-1905	-	15	15
1907	1	9	10
1908-1911	1	17	18
1912-1914	-	40	40
1916-1917	-	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
	10	97	107

Only a few of these Volgans were part of the early immigration. The stay of the others in Ellis County was comparatively brief. Mixed in with the Russian Germans, usually through marriage processes, are a number of south Germans but insufficient in number to deserve separate study. The present inhabitants mostly date the arrival of their families in Garden City at shortly after 1920 when there was a considerable turnover in tenancy. The offers made by the sugar company were regarded as attractive, and conditions in non-irrigated western Kansas were bad. Because many families with parents

of the second generation had not abandoned the use of German, in Sherlock township the foreign-born and the children resident with them, 246, were not in 1925 all the active users of German. In that part of the township where the Russian born lived, the 650 non-Mexican inhabitants were probably all Ger-lings. In 1948 the Garden City Catholic parish contained sixty-three Volgan families, mostly resident on sugar company land but partly retired in town.

Evolution of Ger-ling Usage. The chronology of evolution from German speech to English has been affected less by Garden City's character as a secondary settlement (secondary to the main Volgan district) than by two other factors at conflict with each other. Isolation from neighbors has made for great conservatism; the policy of the Society of the Precious Blood has been in the opposite direction. During the 1930's there were still occasional sermons in German, none since 1940. A certain number of old people continued to go to confession in German, but the evidence indicates that the procedure is not encouraged, and almost no pastoral work is done in German.

In 1920 German was universally used inside the settlement. For contact with outsiders most men could speak English. In 1940 German was still needed by anyone who was part of the community. At that time conversations on the street especially between older people, were nearly always in German; high school students in talking together frequently lapsed from English to German in order to express themselves better. Indeed, the younger members of at least two Mexican families (born 1915-1922) -- families that had achieved tenant status -- developed proficiency

in German from association with their neighbors. The Second World War hastened the evolution somewhat, but while there were in 1950 families in which the younger members could not speak German, there were others in which the children did not learn English until they went to school, fifteen per cent of the families. Young men in their twenties still frequently used German together, and there were some old people unable to speak English. After church, conversations were frequently in German. The linguistic evolution became more rapid because of the rather sudden transfer of the settlement's economic power from the older to the younger generation and through the more general use of high school education. The above statements apply particularly to the rural settlement. With good employment opportunities during the 1940's, many younger members of the community became town workers, and ceased using German habitually. The community has accepted them readily. By 1964 few who were not well past adolescence could speak German. In 1967 one of their number had heard no German at all for over a year.

The German used by the Garden City Russian Germans is in general less contaminated with English vocabulary than in many immigrant communities. It is south German, more or less homogeneous in character. The variations in the Heimssprache to be observed in the main Volgan district have been largely erased by the variety of origin of the Garden City settlers.

47.24 Mexicans and their Speech Evolution. Since "Mexicans" (foreign-born and their children) were in 1930 considered one of the "Other Races" by the census, and since there was only one Indian and no Orientals in Finney County, none of either in Kearny County, it is possible by giving the

V200

figures for 'other races' for the "minor civil divisions" to say more of the distribution of Mexicans in 1930 than can be derived from any other published census. Of the 571 "Mexicans" in Finney county, 314 resided in Garden City, 175 in Sherlock Township, just to the west, and in Terry Township north of Sherlock, 66. Of the 134 in Kearny County proceeding westward, 82 were in Deerfield Township, 28 in Lakin City, 22 in Hartland, Township. Thus at that time the number living in the fields was considerable. The unpublished records of the state census takers provide additional information. In 1915, 84 of the Mexicans with twenty-three children lived in Garden City, fourteen were in Holcomb; thirty-six railroad laborers resided in the country. Since the state census was taken as of the first of March, the beet workers were those who had wintered here. Similar figures for 1925 show 159 resident in Garden City with 94 children and 107 in the country with 53 children. In 1925, 198 Mexicans residing in the district told the date of their arrival in the United States as follows:

	Garden City	Sherlock Township	Deerfield City	Lakin City	Totals
Before 1907	5	4	-	-	9
1907-1910	7	3	16	--	26
1912-1913	-	-	6	-	6
1914-1916	12	19	4	-	35
1917-1920	13	17	3	2	35
1921-1922	-	2	-	18	20
1923-1924	<u>9</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>67</u>
	46	75	57	20	198

This distribution suggests group departures from Mexico; as corroboration, Franco reported in 1950 that there were families at Garden City who had known each other in Mexico /F, 34. With the development of pump irrigation the Mexicans spread out. Franco cites for 1950, besides the Mexicans at Garden City, Holcomb (in Sherlock Twp.) and Deerfield, groups at Coolidge on the Colorado line and at Scott City in the next county north of Finney /F 42. In the 1950's the distinction between Mexicans permanently resident and Mexican migrants became sharper. In the beet growing centers developing late the Mexicans were nearly all migrants usually from Texas. They have been handled as at Holcomb treated below. The Mexicans in Garden City, at least as much as in other cities in Kansas, were the object of hostile race feeling which led to willed segregation. Territorially, this meant limitation to the southwest part of town, particularly the district between the Santa Fe tracks and the river. Their country settlements occupied before 1944 have left no geographic trace. Segregation was until about 1943 stringent, occupationally more stringent than that exerted against the Negroes so that no opportunities for employment except field work existed. Variety of work was found only by journeys at appropriate seasons, south to the cotton fields or north to Scottsbluff, Neb., to pick up potatoes. In 1925, Assessor Johnston (note referred to above) spoke of them as one might of the inhabitants of a foreign land, concluding that the Protestants maintained a mission (which had just been established by the Methodists /F 75, and which still exists, 15 or 20 families) for "Christianizing Mexican and Latin people." The Second World War allowed entrance not only into air field labor, but into garages and similar estab-

lishments, where the Mexicans were mixed into the rest of the population. Of the change in conditions, Franco said in 1950: "We remember twenty years ago we met only one Mexican person working at the Duckwall's dime store [freer of discrimination because a chain store] in Garden City. Now nearly everyone could get jobs, and the only ones who did not work during the war years were the physically handicapped, the aged, or the ones who did not speak English" / F 83. The situation continued to improve and in 1964 the majority of Garden City Mexicans were living outside the old colonia. A few set themselves up as entrepreneurs. By limiting the possibility of spending money, especially for cars, the war also allowed the Mexicans to escape from the load of debt that they had accepted all too cheerfully. In the 1960's a variety of jobs carrying little prestige were open to the Mexicans. The American GI Forum established itself here in the 1950's. The initial impetus that it provided seems to have weakened later; its probable main function in 1967 was suggested by the notice on its club house: "This is a private club, members and guests only -- no one under 21 allowed." An exception to statements about refusal of social acceptance must be made for some five families who became tenants on sugar company land. There, though separate, they were placed more or less on a par with their Russian German neighbors.

During the depression a great many foreign-born Mexicans left Garden City, but this sharp drop in the number of foreign-born at the beginning of the depression did not mean as sharp a drop in Spanish speakers, for most of the established families with growing children remained, though some went to Occident, California. In 1948 there were one hundred Mexican

families in Garden City (six to the family) and twenty more at Deerfield. Only ten families still lived in the country, of which three at Holcomb.

Until after 1940 the Mexicans still universally used Spanish except that children born at Garden City-- of these the number increased rapidly-- were bilingual from school contacts. The assessor's note of 1925 on this matter said, " children can speak English. One young woman could speak excellent English-- had learned English and Spanish at school in Mexico." She was probably a Hispano who had learned in New Mexico. Even these, However, maintained essentially Spanish-speaking habits, and after school days tended to revert to their original tongue. A special mass with a Spanish sermon was regular every Sunday until 1940. The number of Sundays with this feature was reduced at that time, and in 1945 was eliminated except for special occasions. Religious instruction for children in Spanish followed a similar time schedule, and no longer exists. However, in 1950 except in religious usage, everyone in the community still needed to know Spanish. It was still used at home among many, though not all, young couples. In 1967 the use of English among couples of child bearing age had become so general that only persons born before 1941 could speak Spanish, a situation similar to that existing among the Volgans. Among the Mexicans, however, there were more old people who could not understand English-- the result of segregation-- and consequently among middle-aged Mexicans there was a larger proportion using Spanish part of the time, and among all a more extended ability to understand the immigrant language.

These remarks apply to Mexicans who have become permanent residents in Garden City. At Lakin and on the western edge of the district, immigrant

workers who came to work in the beet fields were still in 1964 using Spanish in the family. Pre-school children knew very little English and older children, while bilingual, spoke Spanish not only to their parents, but with their brothers and sisters. These families found quarters more frequently in the lesser population centers of the area than in Garden City. The situation at Holcomb, seven miles west of Garden City can be analyzed in more detail. In 1967 set-ups similar to that described below existed at Leoti and Lakin, probably at Ulysses, possibly at Sublette. In the Holcomb school district throughout the year, in 1966-7, one sixth of the pupils were Mexican, five out of twenty in the fifth grade (total enrollment 424). The parents permanently here have often come from Spanish-speaking districts more recently than is the case in Garden City. School children often come from homes where English is seldom used. Language made a problem in the first and second grades. Mothers of pre-school children were still using Spanish almost exclusively at home. The migrant Mexicans greatly complicate the situation. In 1966-7 enrollment in the first grade began at 24, reached a maximum of 39, and dwindled to 28. The migrants wintered in Texas. Abilene seems to have been a gathering point, but some came directly from other points in northwest Texas, Crosbyton near Lubbock, and Kermit near the corner of New Mexico for instance, very few from the south of Texas. Parents among these people sometimes needed to use ten-year-olds as interpreters. And school authorities sometimes called upon their Mexican custodian to serve in the same capacity. The Protestants of Garden City recognized the problem of idle children during the summer; anyone fourteen years old or older was in the fields. A school,

which for the very young amounted to a baby tending service was organized. When Federal funds became available in 1965, the church organizations availed themselves of the new resource, removed religion from instruction through most of the day, but assembled the children in a bus for religious instruction after school hours. In 1967 this subterfuge had been abandoned; the churches continued an operation for children under six, providing a Spanish-speaking maid as part of the personnel. The Holcomb school system, which had already become the chief instructional and housing agent, assumed complete authority of the Health, Education program, then put under Title I of the Federal anti-poverty act. Health education included full grade school instruction, for children other than beginners were retarded an average of two years, only incidentally by linguistic deficiencies, primarily by irregular attendance. The all-English instruction of the regular teachers was to be supplemented by interpretations from Spanish-speaking helpers in case of need. This program, together with others put into operation elsewhere at about the same time, is rather certain to speed-up Engl-izing of migrant Mexicans.

1953 Data on Mr.B and family. He was born in Holcomb (to the west) in 1931. Parents were still there in 1953. He came to Garden City to go to high school. He married an Anglo girl. In 1953 they were living in the Mexican area (across from disdained Protestant chapel) in very neat quarters. He spoke little Spanish from early childhood. The same is true for a brother, born in 1937. Two brothers, born 1927 and 1929, speak Spanish quite well. His parents still speak Spanish together.

1967 Data on Mr. L., born 1871, to Texas in 1904, to his house in Garden City 1941, had worked in sugar mill. Speaks only Spanish. His three sons are bi-lingual; two of them resident in Garden City. His house is one of the older in the Mexican section, but living conditions are quite acceptable.

As is usual in Mexican settlements, the Garden City group contains elements from various parts of Mexico and speaks a rather homogeneous Spanish without marked dialectal traits. Because of its connection with the sugar industry, the Mexican settlement of the Garden City neighborhood occupies a somewhat different position from that of Mexicans in other communities. Its Engl-izing lags perhaps five to ten years behind other settlements of comparable size, but is not essentially different in character.

HANOVER GERMANS (Ultra-Hi***, Washington D)

Special Bibliog.: Sixtieth Anniversary edition of the Hanover
Democrat, Dec. 1937.

47.25 The Beginnings. Gart Henry Hollenberg. (1823-1874), Hanoverian by birth, set up Cottonwood Ranch in 1857 (he said) seven miles south of the Kansas-Nebraska border and three miles east of the Little Blue River. The ranch house is now the Pony Express station State Park, two miles west of the Marshall-Washington County line, four miles north of Highway 36. Two farmers who had pre-empted land twenty or thirty miles farther west had preceded him in present Washington county by a few months, but this German was not new in the general region; he was its first settler. In the spring of 1854, just as soon as Kansas was open for settlement, he had come to dwell at a point twenty-five miles to the southeast of the Ranch, at what was later to be the village of Bigelow.

He had already behind him an adventurous past. After twenty-four years of the straitened existence of a peasant in his native Hanover, in 1847 he set out in search of fortune, crossed to New York, then went south to Brazil, up the Amazon and across the Andes to Ecuador, thence to Australia. The gold strike of '49 drew him to California. From there, he shipped via Panama to Florida and, ill from his privations, -- of tuberculosis, it seems, he made his way to Chicago. Ordered to travel by his doctor, and doubtless influenced by the political discussion of the hour, he came west to Kansas. From its eastern border he followed the Oregon Trail to a point where travelers were obliged to ford the Black Vermilion River, the first considerable stream in thirty miles. He established his

store there, and turned to farming and cattle-buying.

The next spring Sophia Brockmeyer (1801-1881), the widow of George, settled beside him with her sons and daughters and son-in-law, Hanoverians all, in New England since 1848 or 1849. Sophia's daughter, Sophia (1839-1914) grew into womanhood under Gert Hollenberg's eyes, and in 1858 the thirty-five year old bachelor made her his bride. The next spring he took his young wife to Cottonwood Ranch, which he had been building the year before.

It was a frame building of native lumber, a distinguished structure as compared with the dugouts and log cabins that were appearing in the Blue Valley. Hollenberg had selected his new location with the same commercial aims that he had had for the store on the Black Vermillion; Cottonwood Ranch was primarily a supply station for travelers on the Oregon Trail, more generally known in the neighborhood as the California Road or the Fort Kearny Road. The house stood on a rise in ground near a small creek, the Cottonwood; before and behind it the road stretched away over the gentle plains country that separates the valleys of the Big and Little Blue Rivers. Until the Saint Joseph and Denver City Railroad pushed its way down the little valley before the ranch house, that is, for well over a decade, the business was profitable. It was profitable not only for the proprietor, but for the new settlers in the region as well, since the travelers bought everything produced thereabouts at very high prices, eggs at 40 cents a dozen, for instance. The store was not maintained exclusively by German personnel, for the store clerk, who also looked after the mail, was named George Perkins.

During this period, settlement in the neighborhood went on very slowly. Among the few settlers were certain Germans, south Germans in part. Matthias (1836-1905) and Andrew (1834-1917) Oswald, brothers from near Geislingen in Wurtemberg, and Fred (1830-1870) and Jacob (1834-1920) Gundelfinger (Fred's wife was Barbara Oswald [1830-1907]) from Baden made pre-emptions in 1860. In 1864 Hollenberg's brother-in-law, Henry Brockmeyer (1834-1912), brought his wife, nineteen year old Wilhemina Hollenberg, Gart's niece (1845-1922), to live close at hand.

Hollenberg became a sort of local squire. His ranch was a change house for Pony Express riders, and served as a place of refuge during Indian scares. The worst of these was in 1864 when fifteen settlers (none German) were killed in the neighborhood. "Mr. Hollenberg took an active part with the mustering of the state militia, one regiment of which he commanded as colonel, and an expedition was soon in pursuit of the Indians, but did not accomplish anything more than to drive them toward the source of the Republican" /ch 32. He was County Commissioner from 1861 to 1872 and served as a representative in the legislature in 1862-3 and 1865-6 for Marshall, Riley and Washington Counties.

By 1863 Hollenberg knew what the route of the St. Joseph and Denver City Railroad was going to be. Also with the coming of the Central Branch to Waterville, settlement of the Little Blue valley was proceeding rapidly. In the next two or three years all government land in Washington County was to be homesteaded. Overland travelers on the California Road would soon become few and the settlers needed urban centers; Hollenberg therefore arranged to close his ranch and in 1869 devoted himself to the development

of a townsite, Hanover. He located it at the point where the prospective railroad, after leaving Marysville for the west, would reach the Little Blue River and turn up its valley to begin its northwestward course toward Grand Island Nebraska on the Platte River; much territory to the west which would be without a railroad should contribute its trade to the new city. The railroad did not arrive until 1872, but the town, though unincorporated, was by then well under way.

The tradition is that Hollenberg named the town for his native Hanover. The name was the more acceptable because by this time there were more Germans in the neighborhood and they were in large part Hanoverians. The others were all from other northern provinces. Furthermore, the Germans who had settled on Horseshoe Creek to the north and northeast, from whom Hollenberg expected his town to draw trade, were Hanoverians.

Hanover, Kansas, was envisaged as a real German city. Hollenberg had no sooner laid it out than two Germans from Leavenworth who had already spent nine years each on Kansas soil built and began to operate a store. They were August Jaedicke (1831-1903) and William Kalhoefer (1828-1895); both were destined to remain the rest of their lives in Hanover and to play prominent roles in its life. Kalhoefer, despite great gravity of demeanor, was the more restless spirit. A peasant by birth, he claimed to have been before the age of twenty "Inspector or Overseer of different large estates in different parts of Germany". In the 90's he brought his nephew, Fred Kalhoefer, to Kansas to perpetuate his name in this country. Fred had a similar background of experience as overseer, so lofty in his background that he was astounded to be addressed by strangers

with "du" instead of "sie". However, at the age of 26, William was neither rich nor satisfied, for then, in 1854, he elected to come to the United States and joined a government surveying party, whose first work appears to have been connected with the opening of the territory of Kansas. He worked with them in other states too, but in 1859 set himself up, apparently as a traveling salesman, in Leavenworth. When that city lost the battle of the railroads to Kansas City, he understood the significance of the event, and left for the new German metropolis envisioned by Hollenberg. August Jaedicke, his partner, was a shoemaker's son who had learned a trade and done his "Wanderjahr" through Germany, France, and Denmark. During the revolutionary year of 1848, then seventeen, he had been a "free soldier" and seen other army service. He came from Brandenburg to Buffalo, New York, with his parents in 1855, and with them and their large family to Leavenworth in 1859. He and Kalhoefer were both bachelors when they came to Hanover. The establishment of the store apparently stretched their limited means, but it prospered so well that the next year Jaedicke could afford to marry, and his son, August, Jr., was the first boy born in the new town. After two years Jaedicke bought out the more ambitious Kalhoefer, and attended quietly to the acquisition of what was locally regarded as a considerable fortune. He was postmaster for many years. Kalhoefer became a real estate man and promoter. He organized two still-born railroads, served as president of a local coal mining company which had scarcely more vitality, and headed the Washington County Emigration Society; local public office was his delight, assessor, probate judge (1870-71), mayor and police judge (1875-7). His persuasiveness was such that the author of

the 1882 Platbook declared, "Hanover did not prosper to any remarkable extent until about 1875, when Mr. Wm. Kalhoefer became mayor." Hanover had in fact been prospering since the coming of the railroad in 1872, but Kalhoefer's administration began to polish it, dug six public wells, put in stone street crossings, etc.

It is true, Hanover's prosperity is to be dated from 1872, when the railroad arrived, but before its arrival several more personages who were to stay by the town for many years had appeared. The Catholic families are discussed a little later; but here we consider two arrivals of 1870, Henry Marquard and Dr. Moll. Marquard (1836-1898) was of a Huguenot family that had become landed aristocrats in Mecklenburg when forced to flee France. He himself was educated in Heidelberg University. At his father's death, he found himself relatively impoverished, and with his bride, Johanna Schrader (1835-1934) he came to Milwaukee in 1860. In Wisconsin he spent ten years as a miller, and then in Hanover he became a hotel-keeper. He was sufficiently well-to-do to have a farm close to the northeast edge of town and some real estate inside it, and for three years set his son up as an implement dealer. But both father and son remained primarily the proprietors of the Hanover House. Something of the aristocratic background remained. Henry Marquard, Sr., enjoyed playing the role of benevolent patron. His children "have been well educated both in English and German and the two daughters are employing themselves as teachers" /ch 90:185, that is, making the most genteel practical use of the advantages that had been given them.

Louis Moll, b 1836/ch 90;1043, was a physician's son, born during a

two years' sojourn of his father at Cincinnati, then taken back to Germany and educated in his turn to be a physician at the University of Wurzburg. He came to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1858, married and began four years service as a surgeon in the Union army in 1861, tried Canada and Chicago, and then made up his mind to grow up with Hanover. He opened a drug store along with his doctor's office early in 1871. He was primarily a druggist, and as such a local institution for thirty years. About 1900 he went to California.

In September, 1871, the railroad came at last, and probably by Hollenberg's influence, made Hanover its division point. The town was incorporated the next year, and began to have officers. T. J. Smith, origins unknown, was its first mayor, Dr. Moll its second, Judge Kalhoefer its third; Germans predominated on the council.

It was at about this time, 1872, that D. R. Anthony made a trip into this region and visited Hanover, "four or five hundred inhabitants. Nearly all of them are from Germany. But they are fast adopting English customs... The people here celebrated the twenty-fifth of May in their usual way. They repaired to a grove about a half mile south of town, and enjoyed themselves throughout the day. Beer was drank (sic), speeches were made, songs were sung, and happiness reigned supreme." He named the speakers including "a German, whose name is not obtainable," probably because he was introduced and spoke in German, and Mr. Anthony did not understand what was being said.

Up until this time the most solid promoter of Hanover, one able to back up his enthusiasm with capital, was Henry Hollenberg. But his old

malady resumed its attack. During 1873 he held no public office; in July of 1874 while crossing the Atlantic in search of health and immigrants, he died of a pulmonary hemorrhage at sea. The encomiums heaped upon him by subscription publications are less suspect because of their dates than for other individuals. The 1882 Platbook, which the Chapman Album of 1890 copies without acknowledgment, says: "His whole soul was in the effort to build up the county that he had selected as his future home. He was ever ready to assist his poorer neighbors, on many occasions giving them corn and provisions, and, in not a few cases, furnishing them seed for spring or fall planting" (p. 33). Since he had acquired, probably from the St. J. and D. C., a great deal of land of which he wished to build up the value, this behavior, as well as gifts to the city of Hanover, might be the workings of enlightened self-interest, but the community almost a century later spoke of him reverently. His widow had seven farms and half of the townsite of Hanover as her inheritance.

On September 4, 1875, a little over a year after Hollenberg's death she married Wm. Kalhoefer. In some sort the "Judge" succeeded to Hollenberg's place as squire. Kindly and dignified, almost solemn in demeanor, he played the part well. He styled himself simply "farmer", but the rosy terms of the Album had rather a solid basis of truth when it said, "The Judge and his amiable lady occupy a high position socially among the select circles of Hanover and have many especially warm friends among those who like themselves trace their parentage and ancestry to the Fatherland." Sophia Kalhoefer had no children by either of her husbands, but when William died in 1895, she retained much prestige because of her

personality, her wealth, and her Brockmeyer kindred, for like Henry already mentioned her other brothers and sisters joined their fortunes to Hanover: Fred (1832-1910), Ernst (1844-1914), Charlotte Thiel (1828-1886).

Nearly all the persons so far mentioned were unorganized Lutherans. There were in the neighborhood Protestants more pietistically inclined, and the Evangelical Association organized them into a class at Hanover in 1870/pz 83. It was for many years a struggling organization, finally gaining its best financial backer in August Jaedicke, Jr. In its early days the Swiss farmer Jacob Werner (1829-1915), who came to the neighborhood in 1869 with a large family and much zeal and ability, was its chief luminary. Jacob Werner's wife, Cath. Denker (1837-1909) was from Schleswig. He had spent fourteen years in Chippewa County (nw. central) Wisconsin. From 1851-55 in Philadelphia. He became an Ev. Assn. member about 1859 /ch 90:918. The community still regards the Evangelical United Brethren Church (inheritor of the Association) as Swiss in background.

47.26 Development and Decline. Though the earliest and originally most influential members of the Hanover community were all Protestant, the preponderance of the population today is Catholic, rather militantly Catholic. The Catholic population, though not among the first few families, did begin to arrive early. Wendelin Wendel, Sr., (1828-1910) born in Hessen-Darmstadt, claimed to be the third inhabitant of the town. He stopped there in 1869, and selected a claim near by. Back at Vandalia, Illinois, he induced Wendelin Wendel, Jr., (1845-1884) to come on and establish himself. The younger man, probably a nephew, took a claim and set up a smithy, later a pool hall. He was of some local importance, but died early. The older man

eventually kept a store, was influential in the community and the most consistently strong backer of the Catholic Church. A total of some ten Catholic families, German and Bohemian, had arrived toward the end of 1870, and the Benedictines from Atchison and the Jesuits from St. Marys began to say mass for them. The parish was named for St. John the Baptist. The first missionary priest to serve was Michael Suitbert de Marteau, a Benedictine (1834-1901), b. at Kripp, Prussia. It is slightly incorrect to speak of a Jesuit. Father Rimele entered the order in 1872; in 1870 he was a secular priest with headquarters at St. Marys, where he was already closely connected with the Jesuits. In February, 1871, Joseph, Garret, and Henry Hellman arrived, advanced guards of a considerable clan to come soon from northeastern Iowa. They were American born of Hanoverian parents, young (Joseph, b. 1847, Henry 1837-1920), and enterprising. Their store was the center of their activities, any speculative business--live stock, lumber-- their delight. About 1881, Joseph sold out and went to a farm near Seneca, but in two years was back and continued to prosper. Hellman generosity toward the hardpressed is celebrated; they lost no money by it. Both the Album and the 1882 Platbook attribute to the Hellmans much importance in the establishment of the Catholic community. It is of interest that when Joe Hellman took a wife in 1877, she was an Irish girl from Iowa, Mary Mulligan. The Dusches too presented a German-Irish combination. German Bohemian marriages soon occurred. Anna Krim and Wenzel Bestak were a comparatively early case.

In 1874 the first resident priest arrived, Albert M. Weikmann, a missionary of some note /Beckman, p. 104; (1850-1942) b. Grosskuchen,

Wurtemberg, ordained August, 1872. He was young; so was his successor Father Pichler, an Austrian, who came in 1876 /Platbook, and apparently remained until 1887. In the spring of 1877 he set out on a "lecture tour" in the east; "he returned with a colony of about two hundred families, of almost every nationality, from all parts of the east, who settled in and about Hanover" /ch 82:26. This feat helped carry out Bishop Fink's policy regarding colonies. The newcomers, mostly Germans, were in considerable majority from Cincinnati, Ohio, and from the neighborhood of Fort Madison, Iowa. After their arrival the parish was able to build a magnificent church.

The Catholics were able to participate in the city government from its beginning. In 1878, after three years of Kalhoefer's administration, they took over the mayoralty for a like period; Joe Hellman was the man. Joe probably represented as much as the Catholics the element that desired a "wide-open town." Out of five councilmen in office in 1880 with him were two pool hall proprietors and a hotel keeper. The next year less jovial forces regained control; Kalhoefer was again mayor, and except for J. M. Hood, b. 1827 / Album 785, the newspaper man who arrived from Hamburg, Ia., in 1878 to take over the Hanover Democrat, all faces on the council were new. The shift in 1881 was not fundamentally a discreditation of the Catholics; at least one council member was a Catholic, Frank Kunz, and Neugebauer continued as city treasurer.

Though a resident Czech assistant served the parish about 1890, and Czech priests from other parishes helped out well into the twentieth century, St. John's continued to be fundamentally German. A young Rhinelander, Nicholas Neusius, served it from 1887 to 1890.

His successor, the Reverend, ultimately, the right Reverend (monsignor) William Schellberg, (1859-1935), was to be Hanover's priest until his death forty-five years later. North German born and reared--he came to America in 1884-- he preached partly in German until almost the end of his days. An untiring, but not restless, worker, he was a co-operative force in the community, well-fitted to help it through the trying days of the First World War and the period of adjustment and contraction that followed.

Upon his death Father Charles Menig spent a year at Hanover between pastorates at two other German communities, Tipton and Angelus. Then in 1936 the pastor who was still incumbent in 1961 arrived. He was the Rev. Henry J. Gesenhues, another energetic man, devoted to the advancement of Catholicism, not at all German despite his name. He was born in Indiana near Louisville, Ky. about 1894. He served at Angelus, Kansas, beginning 1928.

Parochial schooling began at least by 1877, and became regular in 1884. No German was taught-- at least not after 1905--, but the Sisters of St. Benedict who served the school have been largely of German background. In 1925 two of the four sisters were German born, Sister Adelsinde who came to the United States in 1881 and Sister Sabina, who came in 1907.

In 1890 the Catholics at Hanover numbered 220 families according to Chapman's Album; in 1889 the Lutheran Church had 80 voting members, practically the equivalent of families. The ratio in the middle of the twentieth century was not greatly different; there are of course other Protestants, but most of the business men are Catholic.

The Lutheran Church at Hanover was not organized until 1874, though Hollenberg, Jaedicke, Kalhoefer, Marquard, and all the farmers arriving

before 1870 were Lutherans. There was probably hesitation as to what type of church it should be. For two years after organization it was served by the pastors at the Hermannsberg church a few miles to the east. But these members of the Missouri Synod could not tolerate secret societies and many of the more prominent members of the congregation were Masons and Odd Fellows. In 1877 the congregation called a member of the General Synod. The charter of Topeka styles the church "Evangelisch Lutherische Kirchengemeinde". Except for the leaders, the charter members were nearly all farmers.

Henry Roever is given credit by the 1882 Platbook for organizing the church; it calls him "Reverend", and says that the first minister was Chas. Haws. The Diamond Jubilee history of the parish passes him by. Two pastors with long pastorates are of particular interest. Rev. J. G. Groenmiller (pastor 1877-1889) was born at Ansbach, Bavaria, in 1826 (died 1912); he was a veteran of the American Civil War, and had served in the Lutheran Allegheny Synod before coming to Nebraska in 1867 to devote himself entirely to German work. He was at Falls City when called to Hanover. In 1869 he had written that "he was a German, but by no means in favor of extreme Symbolism. Extreme Symbolism meant the strict adherence to all articles of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession"/ w 12. In other words the congregation had found a pastor with ideas similar to its own. All the same, he was an earnest and untiring worker for the church. His "wholesome influence in the congregation is still felt today," said the Jubilee Book in 1949. He founded other congregations to the southwest, northwest and east (Lanham, Greenleaf, St. Paul's 4 mi. east of Washington, and Home City). (Wife, Christina Swalt, 1827-1910)

The Rev. Karl Klinger (pastor 1900-1937), born in 1867 at Neustadt, Thuringia, left a draftsman's life to come to the United States in 1890 and begin theological studies. These completed at Chicago in 1897, he served Eden and Auburn, Nebraska, before coming to Hanover in 1900. Just before he came he married Karoline Blau in Nebraska, and in Hanover he brought up six children. If Groenmiller's militant spirit was fitted to the days of expansion, Pastor Klinger's gentler spirit was ideal for the period of change and contraction. The days of the First World War were particularly trying for him, for he had had no occasion to be anything but German up until then. Manfully he did his part in war work to convince everyone of his loyalty to his adopted country, and kept to himself any regrets over its course.

The Hanover Lutheran Church, Zion Church, became a member of the German Nebraska Synod when that body was created in 1890 (Kalhoefer, delegate). It remains in German Nebraska's successor today, LCA. The trends within it have been typical of this synod. The pastors have tended to react against secret societies, but the membership has not taken their protests too seriously. The decline of interest in lodges-- they have all disappeared in Hanover-- has automatically settled the question to a large degree.

The Evangelical Association, whose early activities in Hanover have already been discussed, was able to build a church in 1878 and held services in German till 1918, when the fifty-one members merged with the Methodist Church. "This action [the merger] left our church the only English speaking church in a community of 1200 inhabitants" /pz continuation 39. The

congregation remained part of the Evangelical Association, but union with the Methodists brought in such names as Porter, Spence, and French, and any German character left in it largely disappeared. In the fifty years between 1884 and 1934 there were twenty-one pastors; their sojourns were too brief for them to become molding forces in the community as a whole.

Along with the churches--and to a lesser extent the lodges-- a social institution that cannot be neglected in considering the history of Hanover, was the Deutsche Maennerverein organized in 1872. Officially it was a society for mutual aid among the numerous bachelors in the town and township, but its first president, Marquard, and its first treasurer, Jaedicke, were not bachelors, and if its first secretary, Kalhoefer, was, he does not seem to have been among the very first organizers, for his name does not appear on the charter. On it figure with the president and treasurer A. Neugebauer and W. Wendel, Jr., Catholics, and William Brandt, 1842-1863. The real reason for the existence of the society is doubtless expressed at the end of Chapman's Album's grandiloquent development on Jaedicke's contribution to the enterprise. "The hall"--the Society over the years between 1874 and 1881 built a fine hall complete with auditorium, capacity 300--"is a resort of the best people in the place and is quite homelike in all its appointments." As it did for Jaedicke, the Chapman Album celebrated the share of Marquard and W. Wendel, Sr. in the promotion of the society (W. Wendel, Jr. had already been dead for six years), but speaking for Kalhoefer it outdid its other claims. "In this good work the Judge was foremost, and it has been largely through his instrumentality that it survives and is at the present time in a most prosperous position."

It was shortly after 1890 that the Maennerverein was transformed into a chapter of the Turnverein. It continued its position as a polite club, but the athletic activities of the Turners were not neglected, and its teams competed in regional tournaments with others. Its formal social meetings gave opportunity for the display of German elocution and dramatics. With the coming of the First World War this genial nationalistic organization quietly disappeared. The hall remains; over its doors around sculptured clasped hands there is an inscription reading, "Deutsch Vereins Halle. Einigkeit macht stark." Gothic characters.

Less institutionalized social phenomena which for years distinguished Hanover were zestful public dances occasionally enlivened by brawls among the young bloods and elaborate Fourth of July celebrations that replaced the festivities on May 25 described by Mr. Anthony. Shortly before the Second World War the dances became less popular.

After the first boom days Hanover's population ranged between nine and twelve hundred. Its trade territory as time went on came to be no larger than is true for many villages half its size. Its economic history, however, prior to the First World War has a few features to distinguish it from the ordinary country town. Its distinctive economic character lay largely in the fact that the St. Joseph and Grand Island changed engines there. In 1884 the Burlington put through a second railroad. There were also certain industries. In 1877 there was a brewery, a flour mill, a brick yard, a pottery works, and a harness factory. This interest in small industrial enterprise, characterized all German urban communities of the time. A quarter of a century later the Commercial Club advertised that

Hanover's "laurels rest on her gigantic flour mill [150 barrels, run by the Muellers]. Her canning factory, canning principally sweet corn and tomatoes, employs about 50 and 75 people during the canning season... large round house and machine shops... a pay roll of 12,000 a month." These institutions continued until the First World War. The farmers in the Little Blue Valley were, however, the backbone of the community, ready to save it, should adversity come.

The population of Hanover was complex in character. The design to make Hanover a city entirely German received blows from three directions. Hollenberg, himself, by promoting the place successfully as a railroad division point, inevitably drew into it employees who shifted or were shifted from other railroad centers, and who were of all sorts of origins. The official Catholic enlistment of immigrants drew Irishmen. They did not become numerous, but left an imprint. A much more important and lasting element was Czech. Bohemian farmers, as is recounted elsewhere (see Little Blue Czechs), began to occupy farms in territory preponderantly German, and became part of the population of the town, attracted to it as a church and shopping center. They entered the business life of the city. W. Klecan had a shoe shop as early as 1870. From 1878 on John Pavlot had a harness shop. Michael Triska /ch 90:332, began clerking in Jaedicke's store about 1875, and in 1889 after about six years of partnership bought out the Jaedicke interest when the German retired, in order to set his son, August, Jr., up in a bank. In the Catholic church they were an element of sufficient importance so that Moravian born Father F. Havelka was sent to Hanover after his ordination to become the assistant of

Father Neusius. Naturally, from very early times "Yankee traders" were not to be denied entrance to the new town. They comprised some six out of thirty business men in 1882.

With the passage of time the lines of demarcation between the "ethnic" groups became very faint. In 1948, questioned about Czech families, Hermann Sandman, German, and Floyd Bruna, Czech, both garage mechanics, debated as to the national origins of people they knew well in their own groups.

Town and township remained essentially German, however. Except the Czechs, the rest of the population was more or less temporary after the manner of railroad towns. The census taker of 1885 voluntarily put down more exact information on places of birth than the forms demanded. It is therefore possible to give, not complete data nor statistics reliable for every detail, but an essentially accurate idea of the provincial origins of the Germans in Hanover, Kansas, in that year. The census taker had vague ideas about the membership of the Reich, sometimes recording such anomalies as Bavaria, Prussia or Regensburg, Prussia. For that reason when he did not identify the place of origin more definitely than by the word Prussia it has been left out of account.

✓ 269

Birthplace of Foreign Born Adult Germans, 1885

Province of origin	Hanover City	Hanover Township
Greater Prussia		
The Old Core	8	10
Brandenburg	4	6
Pomerania	4	4
The Northwest	36	57
Hanover	11	35
Oldenburg	12	19
Westphalia	13	3
The Fringes	29	11
Schleswig	4	1
Holstein	4	1
Waldeck	1	--
Rhineland	3	1
Hessia	15	4
Silesia	2	4
Total for Greater Prussia	73	78
Other States in the Reich		
Saxony	5	1
Bavaria	13	14
Baden	6	4
Wurtemberg	5	5
Mecklenburg	2	--
Total for non-Prussian States	31	24
Outside Reich		
Austria	6	3
Switzerland	6	8
Others	5	5
Total outside Reich	17	16
Grand Total	121	196

The accompanying table shows that over 1/4 of the adult Germans in Hanover Township came from the provinces of Hanover and Oldenburg. In the City, while people from these provinces were numerous, neither they nor any other regional group held a preponderance. In both town and country about a fourth of the Germans were south Germans (Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, Austria). In other words in the City, the focus and nucleus of the district's activity, the Germans had no single rallying point either religiously or in background of geographic origin to hold them together before a much more cohesive minority of Czechs (1:3) or above all before the commercial invasion of general American culture. They did have, however, a mass of Hanoverian rural population that could long furnish to the town an element of retired farmers that was quite homogeneous and inclined to persist in the old ways. German, Czech, and Anglo-American portions of population were to exist together in a comparatively happy symbiosis that even today presents far more cultural variety than can ordinarily be found in a country town.

The state census of 1885 attributed to Hanover 979 inhabitants, that of 1895, 939. Hanover had prospered and fallen off meanwhile; the report for 1886 was 1211, The town's fortunes had followed those of the state. With returning prosperity after the bad years of the nineties the Commercial Club toward 1900 claimed 1200 once more. These were the prosperous years. They continued until the First World War.

In 1925, ninety-five foreign born citizens of Hanover City told their years of arrival in the United States, and forty-nine citizens of the township. Because of the number of retired farmers in the city these two groups are here treated as one unit. Almost half of those foreign born had come directly to Hanover from Germany.

Foreign Born Germans in Hanover Kansas, 1925 (City and Township)		
	No. arriving in U. S. in years indicated	No. directly from Germany to Hanover in years indicated
Before 1860	2	—
1860-1869	22	3
1870-1879	35	17
1880-1889	55('81-85 -- 42)	30('84-87 -- 21)
1890-1899	13('91-00-- only 3)	6('95-00-- none)
1900-1909	9	7
1910-1913	7	4
after war-'24	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	144	68

For Hanover the early eighties were the peak years of arrival of foreign born whether they came directly from Germany or spent some time elsewhere in the United States before coming here. After the peak, immigration went on much reduced but rather steadily except for a considerable pause during the hard times of the nineties until the beginning of the First World War in Europe. The tendency to conserve things German was receiving constant support from new acquisitions to the population.

Let us consider a few personal histories the better to understand the assimilative processes of the community.

Emil H. Miller was born Emil Mueller (1863-1941) in Oldenburg. When he was eight his peasant father died, and the next year, 1876, his mother, Antoinette (1836-1915) brought her family to Kansas. The St. Joseph (Mo.) Business College completed his education in 1884. Four years later he became a member of the Brockmeyer-Hollenberg clan. He married first

Louise (1867-1892) and then, in 1898, Mary (1866-1950), daughters and only children of Henry Brockmeyer (1834-1912) and Wilhemina Hollenberg (1845-1922) (on sections 10, 16, and 21 in 1882 and 1906). Henry and Mina had been married in the district, presumably at Cottonwood Ranch, to which their kin had drawn each of them in that year. Antoinette Mueller never deserted that spelling of her name, and in 1892 Louisa and two years later the daughter who had been born in the year that she died were buried with the same spelling. But eventually Emil wrote Miller. He became a grain, stock, and fruit dealer. In 1933 at the age of seventy he was elected mayor of Hanover. With his and his wife's death the Henry Brockmeyer line became extinct; Bertha Miller born in 1889 died in 1906.

Bernard H. Dieker, (1867-1952) played a part successively for long periods in the life of three different German Catholic communities, Lively Grove, Ill., about 100 miles east of St. Louis, Fidelity, Kansas, near the Brown-Nemaha County line east of Seneca, and Hanover. His father, Bernard J. (1833-1927) had immigrated from his native province of Hanover in 1856 and married Catherine Onigman, (1846-1934), who was born at St. Libory, on the Kaskaskia River at the point where it is nearest St. Louis, one of the oldest German Catholic colonies in the mid-West. In 1881 the family moved to the Fidelity neighborhood, where the chronology of settlement was practically the same as at Hanover. Here in 1890 Bernard H. married Catherine Fox, daughter of Hugo, another German Catholic who had homesteaded in 1868. After a sunstroke in 1899, he left the farm and came to Hanover. The connections between the Nemaha County Germans and Hanover have always been close; therefore, the move was a natural one. For twenty years he

was most of the time a hardware merchant, for an interval a carpenter. He sold out to his own advantage at a period of crisis in Hanover, became a traveling salesman for a year, and then in 1921 at the age of fifty-four, suddenly shifted profession completely by becoming editor and owner of the Hanover Democrat. His two sons, William (1903-1949) and Leo (b. 1904), grew into the newspaper work, and in 1929 he opened the Hanover Hatchery which he managed for at least four years. With all this he sang in the Catholic choir for over forty years. His success as an editor is to be attributed partly to his ability in enlisting the co-operation of two sons at their most restive age, partly to the friendly relations that he had already established with all the elements in his community, and partly to a shrewdness of observation that had enabled him to understand most of the intricacies of a country editor's role before undertaking it. All this was joined for the whole family to a talent for writing a colloquial and unassuming style properly keyed to the community's taste. He was himself bilingual, and, though German was never the language of his home so that his sons never acquired it, he used even in his last days to gossip happily in the Hanoverian dialect with the Missouri Lutheran farmers who came in.

Henry H. Neumann was born in Oldenburg in 1875 and came alone to the United States in 1890, impelled by the approach of the age of military service and by letters from a young woman who had grown up in his father's house and found happiness and comparative affluence in America. She was living with her husband at Napoleon, Ohio, west of Toledo in the rich Black Swamp country. Henry betook himself there, and the husband put him to

work at eight dollars a month. When his parents in Germany heard of his good fortune, the fever for emigration fell upon them too, and that same year, 1890, by borrowing from Henry's grandfather they scraped enough together for passage, and after a week in Ohio, came on directly to Hanover, where they had relatives, cousins of Mrs. Neumann, Johanne Levien, wife of Dietrich, and Fred and Bernard Wulff, all of whom had come to the Hanover neighborhood in 1870.

Dietrich Neumann, (1845-1934) and his wife, Margarethe (1851-1894), did not find it easy to establish themselves with their family during the hard times of the nineties. The mother soon succumbed to cancer at age 43, but the father eventually saw better days, and lived until he was 89. As to Henry, in his own words, he [quote from letter] "stayed in Ohio yet, because he had hired out for 1 year, but on the advice of the Doctor he followed the next winter due to Malaria fever. Father let the son attend School until March 1 and then hired him out to D. Levien for \$13.00 per month. Here he worked about 2 years and then started to work for Fred Wulff, where he worked for about 3 1/2 years. Father done the hiring out and drew the pay and Henry done the rest until he was 21."

Though a penniless farmhand, Henry's lot was no sad one. He had a talent for gay discourse, a ready memory, and considerable eloquence. At church his gifts of speech so impressed the pastor that he tried to draw him into the ministry; Henry gave the matter sober thought, but could not abandon his family. At the Turner Hall he figured as the elocutionary item on programs. It took a little shove from outside to push this gay bachelor into marriage. Here are Henry's own words on the matter. "At the

age of 24 Henry's former boss, Fred Wulff, rented him a farm he had bought recently on Millcreek, about 8 miles west of Hanover. After Henry had his wheat sowed, the landlord made a shocking demand on him by telling him that he didn't want a bachelor in the house. So he had to get busy and succeeded in landing his girlfriend Anna H. Boecker [b. 1879] whose parents [Chas, b. 1847, and Emma, b. 1860] emigrated together around 1880, from Oldenburg and the neighboring Hanover [census not in accord]. To be able to dress up fairly decent at the wedding, which took place June 21-1900, Henry had to borrow \$30.00, but after the wedding Anna revealed to him that she had \$30.00 saved up by working out as a hired girl in Hanover." Eventually (1904) they became landowners; it was some four air miles up the Little Blue (Franklin Twp. 26) that the couple found a farm on **that river**, sometimes flooded, but quite productive in dry years. The crops have repeatedly taken prizes. Socially Hanover was still the family's metropolis, and Pastor Klinger and his family became fast friends with the Neumanns, who rapidly increased in numbers. Klingers and Neumans, six of each, went through school and college together.

Henry Neumann disapproved of America's entry into the First World War, more as an isolationist than as an admirer of the Imperial army that had driven him into exile, but he held his tongue, outbought his quota in war bonds, and supported the Red Cross.

In 1920, as financial troubles began for farmers of Kansas, the Farmer's Union elevator at Spence, the railroad flag stop hard by the Neumann farm, found itself about to fail. Without leaving his farm, Henry took up the burden of its management, and was so successful that he continued for

✓ 264
nineteen years. In the Union, Catholics and Protestants co-operated, and the Lutheran Neumann found readier acceptance of his proposals among the Catholics than among his more cautious co-religionaries. In 1939 the Union's struggling elevator in Hanover, itself, was put in his charge, and there he served seven years. The national executives of the Farmers Union took him to Washington, D. C., in 1946 to testify before the Ways and Means Committee.

After that episode Henry Neumann retired from business life, and like many others in Hanover lived the life of a retired farmer. Pinochle games and long conversations, sometimes in German, but as time went on more often in English, were a feature of it, frequently at Knuffke's in the Dieker Building where the First National Bank began its brief career. The Lutheran Church too played an important part, and there was no loss of touch with the world of agriculture, and with the world beyond Hanover. He visited Germany more than once, and in 1964 was still flourishing.

Henry G. Hurtig was born in 1884 in Freckenhorst not far from Muenster in northern Westphalia. The next year his parents, Theodore (1856-1914) and Anna Maria (1853-1916) brought him to Hartford, Kansas, where a maternal uncle lived (Tuente). Only at the age of 22 did Henry cast aside his father's profession of painter and decorator -- traditional in the family for many generations and begin at the high school level the education that led to a degree of doctor of medicine from Creighton University in 1913. In the meantime he had grown up bilingual and firmly Catholic. Upon his father's death shortly after the completion of his internate, he sought a location in a Catholic German community rather

close to his mother at Hartford. At Marysville where Father Raedeke of Westphalia (30 miles from Hartford) had sent him to consult his brother, also a priest, a Pralle from the Missouri Lutheran Bremen-Horseshoe community asked him, "Können Sie deutsch?" Upon his answer he was directed to Hanover. There he located, and there he found the surroundings so agreeable that in 1915 he married Anna Margaret Bestak. Her father Wenzel (1858-1920) had come to Hanover directly from Bohemia in 1877, following his parents who had come a few years earlier. Her mother, Anna Krim (1865-1952) was the daughter of John, born at Bingen-on-the-Rhine in 1833 and B. born in 1832 in Pennsylvania. John and his family came from the east to Hanover in 1876 and about 1880 John set up a blacksmith and general repair shop. He had been a basket weaver. Wenzel Bestak and Anna Krim were married in 1884, one of the first German-Bohemian marriages. By his marriage Dr. Henry Hurtig became part of the old stock of Hanover.

The doctor's practice thrived; he had patients from every social group in and about Hanover. A full half of his consultations were carried on in German, a matter that will be further discussed in the "Linguistic History." He was a very busy man, finding most of his pleasure in his conversations with his patients until suddenly a cardiac seizure forced his retirement about 1947. He died in 1959; his wife survived him briefly.

Bluff, hearty, and shrewd, expert at diagnosing psychic as well as physical conditions, the doctor would have succeeded in any community. Hanover was fortunate in finding a physician of his abilities ready to profit by his linguistic expertness as well as his medical knowledge.

This survey of some of the long and useful lives that have graced Hanover and in the 1950's lent it an atmosphere of ripeness and mellow detachment may make it easier to understand its hours of stress. No idyll is ever perfect; Hanover's is not today, and beginning in 1917 was much less so.

Most of what happened in the First World War in Hanover is part of the linguistic rather than of the general history of the town. The war there was characterized chiefly by an effort not to display disloyalty. The surrounding towns expected Hanover to be pro-German, and observed it vigilantly. Within the town the Yankee element was sufficient together with certain scrupulously de-hyphenated second and third generation descendants from German or Bohemian immigrants to carry out thoroughly the police surveillance tacitly committed to them by the neighboring territory. And the Germans by nominating them to appropriate committees for war activity placed a sort of seal of official approval upon "Americanizing" efforts. The Rev. Karl Klinger felt obliged not only to begin preaching in English but to make himself one of the foremost advocates for gifts to the Red Cross and for investment in war bonds. Others were as diligently patriotic; they should not be qualified as hypocrites, for they felt deeply that America was their country, right or wrong, but they waved the flag by other people's volition. As a result of this disciplined correctness no incidents occurred within Hanover, but one that took place in the neighborhood will show how necessary the discipline was. A son of Dietrich Levien told a personal enemy soliciting for the Red Cross that he would give him nothing. The worker reported that Levien would

give him nothing. A kangaroo posse set out from Hanover, seized the accused man, took him to Washington and painted him yellow, and were only dissuaded from lynching him by the pleading of his brother-in-law.

When the war was over, propaganda had done its work so well among the young that everything German was looked upon with as much scorn as elsewhere in the country; indeed the odor of disdain has not yet altogether disappeared.

The armistice celebration in Hanover was one of the most tumultuous, so glad were all its people that the long strain was over. But in 1919 gloom returned. The Union Pacific, which about 1900 had completed taking over the St. Jo and G. I., moved its division point to Marysville. Although the blow was not quite so calamitous as was predicted, because retiring farmers came in larger numbers to fill up the empty houses which they could buy cheaply, Hanover became a much stiller community. About this time too, the mill burned. Then May 17, 1920, the Hanover State Bank failed, leaving many penniless. The Kansas City Star found this event very newsworthy, and the reader is referred to its files for details. For present purposes it is only necessary to say that the bank failure explains the shift from banker to lawyer and accountant of August Jaedicke, Jr., who figures later in the linguistic history section of this account. These three events aggravated the general financial distress current in Kansas agricultural communities during the early 1920's. Under their impact Hanover, though still a local shopping center, became primarily the haven of retired farmers.

It weathered the depression of the 1930's perhaps better than many communities with a younger and more speculative population. Banking history will illustrate sufficiently what happened. Shortly before the Hanover State Bank failed, the People's State Bank had been formed, outgrowth of the expansionism of the immediate post-war period. To replace the lost bank the Community State Bank was organized, and the First National Bank came into being at about the same time. With the depression, bad paper brought on the failure of the People's State, the first National liquidated, but the Community State, after a period of crisis, was rescued by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and ultimately regained stability.

Through the forties Hanover was prosperous, more gently than centers of war activity, to which, as was true elsewhere, many of its younger citizens were drawn, but prosperous; it was not withering. Its population in 1960 was 828.

In considering the relationship between Hanover Germans and other German communities the most obvious problem is presented by the case of Hanover and the Bremen-Horseshoe community within a very few miles to the north and east. These Germans have traded at Hanover and in the town's latter days have been the strongest element for preventing complete abandonment of the German language; of this more hereafter. Also a certain number of them have retired to Hanover. Still the two groups have remained remarkably separate; only of late years have the country teen-agers come in to high school and older girls in to work.

Because of the railroad shop transfer already mentioned, Marysville and Hanover have many related families. The Catholic church is strong in

both. Despite these facts, the relationships between the two towns have had the minimum of intimacy. The relationships with the rest of Washington County are not too close either. Hanover seems in its early history to have been dependent for urban connections principally on St. Joseph because of its railroad, more recently upon Topeka, in neither case, however, as sources of German cultural activity.

In that respect the most frequently found connection is with Seneca and Nemaha County, this particularly for the Catholics. As for the Lutherans the membership of their church in the German Nebraska Synod oriented them primarily toward Nebraska. There has not, however, been a very large interchange of population with that state, though family relationships with people in the neighborhood of Hastings are sometimes found.

It must not be implied from the above paragraphs that Hanover gives the impression of an isolated community, rather it is one in which outgoing and incoming influences have been very diverse. Some not mentioned may be as important as those listed.

47.27 Linguistic History. Linguistically, the Hanover Germans remained competent in their mother tongue until the First World War. In town they were to a large extent bilingual and children born after 1890 were often none too expert in speaking German. In the country German was the usual language. Dialects from all over Germany were to be found, but since Hanoverians and Oldenburgers predominated in the population, Low German was more common in casual intercourse. However, among Germans the standard language was kept up well as a lingua franca, a second lingua franca, for English

was the primary one in a community with a considerable Bohemian minority.

With the First World War the status of German suddenly changed. It did not die out, but it became socially unacceptable in public and the young found little opportunity to practice it.

Let us examine the evidence of tombstone inscriptions from the two cemeteries, Catholic and Protestant. Inscriptions of those born before 1880 only have been considered; this procedure excludes very few adult graves, those almost certainly in English; children's graves, where the introduction of English inscriptions is usually earlier than for adults are largely left out of account.

LANGUAGE OF INSCRIPTIONS IN HANOVER CEMETERIES

Year	Catholic			Protestant		
	German	%Ger.	English	German	%Ger.	English
1860-1869				1	14%	6
1870-1879	14	88%	2	16	55%	13
1880-1889	18	75%	6	35	66%	18
1890-1899	16	50%	16	32	54%	27
1900-1909	18	40%	27	26	40%	39
1910-1919	8	18%	36	18	32%	38
1920-1929	3	6 1/2%	43	14	25%	42
1930-1952	2	2 1/2%	85	5	5%	105

Years of inscriptions since 1930 in German

Catholic
1939, 1941

Protestant
1930, 1932, 1933,
1940, 1947

Cases showing dates of transfer within families.

	German	English
Wendel (Cath.)	W., Jr. 45-84	Justina 48-94
Brandt (Prot.)	Wm, 42-83	Freddie 76-93
Thesman(Prot.)	Henriette 34-94	Maria 70-95
Gerl (Cath.)	Theresa 13-94	Joseph 02-97

It will be observed that except for the last case these examples concern people who died comparatively young. The last case is the most significant for comparison with the general data.

This evidence of the inscriptions indicates that as an official language English was in the preponderance as early as 1900. Urban communities and Catholic groups tend to accept English as the language of record before they accept it for ordinary purposes of communication. There is thus no contradiction between the statements of the first paragraph and the tombstone evidence.

The most remarkable thing revealed by the inscriptions is the gradual rate of the subsidence of German and the fact that in the Protestant section of the community English always had a very considerable usage. The abandonment of German among the Catholics may be seen from the evidence as presented to be more sudden than for the Protestants. This fact becomes more clear if we divide the decade 1910-1919 into two parts:

	Catholic		Protestant	
	German	English	German	English
1910-13	7	12	7	14
1914-19	1	24	11	24

As an intimate language German does not appear to have fallen off more rapidly among the Catholics than among the Protestants. Dr. Hurtig says that in his practice Hanover Lutherans (distinguish from Bremen-Horseshoe Lutherans) never did deal with him often in German whereas with Catholics he used German more or less till he retired. His practice extended from 1915 to 1947. If we grant that because he is an earnest Catholic himself he was able to make more contacts with older Catholics than with older Protestants and that he particularly cultivated German contacts, it seems proper to conclude that German fell off at about the same rate in all the community.

If we consider the use of German in church we find that through the influence of Monsignor Schellburg German persisted in Catholic services much longer than was usual in Kansas. Usually it was abolished in preaching in 1917. Father Schellburg preached a "double-header" regularly until after 1930, occasionally until his death in 1935.

In the Lutheran and Evangelical churches there were no English services until the First World War. After it there was no German in the Evangelical Church. The Rev. Karl Klinger began preaching in English during the First World War, but he never abandoned German services until he retired in 1937. In that year services were held once a month in German. After his retirement, except once or twice, there was no more German. The Lutheran parochial school did not give its children full training. Most of their time was spent in the public schools; their training from the beginning was therefore primarily in English. The religious training given them in the parochial school was, however, in

German until about the end of the first decade of this century; it had ceased several years before the First World War. The Catholic parochial school seems never to have used German as the basis of instruction.

In the first decade of Hanover's existence, Anthony's account of the 25th of May celebration shows that English speech-making was the proper thing for a large part of solemn general community public occasions. The long continued importance of the Maennerverein and then of the Turnverein show the preponderance of German speech in large meetings where the Germans were alone. The almost exclusive use of German in polite social intercourse in early days is apparent from this excerpt from an article by Mrs. E. N. Emmons concerning her six months stay in Hanover in 1877 while her husband was publishing the Washington County Sun, which became the next year and has since been the Hanover Democrat.

"The social life of Hanover was most delightful... I remember Mrs. Jaedicke giving an afternoon party for me. I was the only one there who spoke only English. [Mrs. Jaedicke was bilingual; the others spoke little English] The ladies could often understand and would laugh gaily over something I had said, or tried to say in German... This is about all of the German I ever learned, but it would have come in very handy, as after the party many ladies called upon me, and of course I was expected to return their calls, which I started out to do one beautiful day, after eating a hearty luncheon, dressed in my best bib and tucker... At each place I called I was served with large plates of cake and cups of coffee, so that after about the fifth call I had to go home, as I could not speak German to tell them I could hold no more."

Hanover City evolved rapidly from the stage where English was the foreign language. Children born in the 1890's in town generally heard no German at home, certainly not from their contemporaries, seldom from their parents. Gertrude Messing, b. 1892, lost her mother, Mary (1869-1894), at the age of two, and lived with her maternal grandparents, J. R. (1838-1927) and Elizabeth (1839-1904) Engel until her grandmother's death. They were Lutherans. She then spent five years with her father, James (1859-1946), and stepmother, Mary Boyd, b. 1862, of Scotch origins in northern Iowa before returning to Hanover where, ca. 1914 she became the second wife of August Jaedicke, Jr., who was expert in German. Despite these optimum conditions of early childhood and very favorable later surroundings, her German is not extensive in vocabulary, and seems since beginning school never to have been her primary language.

Aloysius B. Scheetz, b. 1895, is the son of Charles (1861-1925) and Elisabeth Schwartz (1862-1945). These are Catholic families. Charles continued to operate the blacksmith shop which his father, Gabriel (1832-1897) (wife, Christina 1839-1897) had begun. A. B.'s maternal grandparents, John (1835-1924) and Catherine (1843-1897), lived on a farm. Charles and Elisabeth used to speak German with her parents, but did not use it at home, and A. B. learned only such expressions as he picked up in circulation about the town where in his childhood German was frequently the language of street corner conversation.

Leo Dieker, b. 1904, son of B. H., see above in text, did not learn German.

The use of German in the rural territory persisted for something like

a decade longer as the primary language of homes with growing children. In the family of Henry H. Neumann, see above, German was the language used between husband and wife until their oldest daughter, Gertrude, b. 1901, entered school. At that time the parents became so acutely aware of the necessity of not handicapping their children that not only did they shift to English, but they also received the district school teacher as lodger to speed the family's linguistic metamorphosis. The younger children did not learn German. There were at this time other families, less fearful for the results in school, who sent their children into the classroom ignorant of English.

The important use of German as the language of deliberation at the close of the first decade of this century is illustrated by the discussions at the Lutheran church following their building's near-destruction by a storm in 1909. The hearts of wealthy potential contributors could only be touched to the necessary extent by eloquent arguments and pleas in German.

It is evident that by the time of the First World War, however, that the generation that was coming into power were not sufficiently expert in German to continue this sort of tradition. Evidently too, Platt-Deutsch was by the inhabitants of the town regarded as quite back-woods. The linguistic habits of the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans kept it very much alive as a language of commerce, but the inhabitants of the town and even the farmers who were not Lutheran, Missouri Synod, tended to regard their sturdy neighbors to the north and east as culturally retarded, and therefore to look down upon their primary means of communication.

The disrepute into which German fell in this essentially German

community during the First World War is thus not to be wholly ascribed to general American hysteria, though the excesses of the time are. Of course German schoolbooks where they could be found were burned. Telephone operators interrupted conversations between elderly individuals hardly able to express themselves in English to demand querulously, "Can't you talk English?" Signs in stores and other business establishments announcing "Wir sprechen deutsch," disappeared. At the bank August Jaedicke, Jr., thought it best to dispose of a typewriter with German Gothic characters.

The older people undoubtedly regarded public disdain of German speech as an "act" forced upon them by circumstances. But the young were firmly converted to contempt for any other means of expression than English; German was a relic of youthful bad habits among the aged. It took a decade or more for this attitude to wear completely away. Finally those with German parents did begin to ask, "Why didn't you teach us when we were children?"

On the other hand when it was possible the older people did make some effort to return to their former ways. Father Schellberg and Pastor Klinger went on with their preaching of German in spite of the boys and girls who wished they would get on to something that they understood. The Bremen-Horseshoe trade brought German back into business and to Saturday night gossiping on the streets. Dr. Hurtig, see text above, estimated that German was worth a thousand dollars a year to his practice. (However, he did not use German in his home and his children do not know it.) One of the two newspapers would carry a professional notice in German for him for a while; the other would not. B. H. Dieker at the Hanover Democrat

frequently gossiped with rural customers in German, frequently until about 1930, and thereby built up good will. August Jaedicke, Jr. (1871-1952) embarked upon a legal and insurance business that featured income tax reports. His profitable business found its most valuable clientele among German speaking farmers to whom he could explain better than anyone else the intricate matter in German. H. H. Neumann in his elevator business after 1927 found German only what might be called a decorative auxiliary.

The complete surrender of Hanover to English may be said to have taken place in the 1930's. Afterward German was the language of nostalgia. The progress of that surrender can perhaps best be observed in the church records kept by Pastor Klinger. He kept the church chronicle till 1929 in German and made no German entries thereafter. As early as 1922 he occasionally noted causes of death in the "Todtenregister" in English, but he did not completely surrender to English here until 1933. In the record of confirmations, occasional notes appear. In April, 1925, one on Gladys Ritts is in German; in May of the next year that on Mary Spandel is in English. The first English entry under "Communicanten" is in Dec., 1926; German disappears Sept. 23, 1934.

In the seven or eight years following the Second World War, the need of German in dealing with the Bremen-Horseshoe people very nearly disappeared. In 1964 it was heard only when older people from the Horseshoe Creek neighborhood met each other on the streets. With others they spoke English. In a number of households of retired farmers it remained the language used between elderly spouses, and the men from these houses and a few others sometimes spoke German when they foregathered for their games of pinochle.

In 1964 German was practically dead in Hanover; farmers who had retired from the Bremen-Horseshoe district were keeping it alive for a few more years. Contempt for it had disappeared; instead it was regarded as a beautiful language, very much more expressive than English.

HERNDON HUNGARIAN GERMANS (Hi-b, Rawlins E)

Special Bibliog.: Anniversary Booklets of St. Mary's Assumption Church 1930 and of Immanuel Evangelical Church 1927 and 1947

47.28 History. From Traer almost to Atwood, the first settlers of the Beaver Creek Valley were primarily speakers of German. They were overwhelmingly Hungarian immigrants.

German speaking Hungarians are the descendants of colonists settled by the ruling houses of the kingdom on territory delivered from the depopulating Turkish terror. The process went on from the Reformation into the nineteenth century. The Kansas Hungarians come from one of the oldest of these colonies in extreme western Hungary a few miles to the southeast of Vienna. The region was christened Burgenland by the Germans — it is the County of Sopron (from the Magyar name for the town called Oedenburg by the Germans). It is so solidly German that only two or three of the Kansas immigrants were Magyars (Niemeth, Andarka) and very few of the others (for example Paul Goltl) were able to speak Magyar.

The German colonists settled in villages in Hungary according to their religion. Most of the villages were Catholic (Sanct Johan, Sanct Peter, Andau and Zannegg were among those contributing to the Kansas colony); a few were Protestant (Golls sent to Kansas from twelve to fifteen families). The relations between the two branches of Christianity were amiable; a few persons belonging to the other faith than that predominant were found in most of the villages, and intermarriage was common enough from a very early date so that Catholic and Protestant families bearing the same family name claim to be no relations to each other (examples in Kansas, Goltl,

Leitner, Reipl, Zwickl). "Unrelated" families bearing the same name can be found also in one denomination. The Leitners are in four families "unrelated", one Catholic, one Lutheran, two Evangelical. In the case of a mixed marriage it was customary for the father to take the sons to his church and the mother the daughters to hers, an arrangement not followed in Kansas.

Like most of the immigrants to lands east of Germany, the Burgenlanders were originally predominantly from south Germany, and their dialect is of the Bavarian type. The immigrant dialects from this region, however, have been sufficiently differentiated from other south German dialects so that Kansas Hungarians find Pennsylvania Dutch and the speech of the Volgans incomprehensible.

Their reasons for emigration were the usual ones, economic stringency (induced in this case primarily by over-population, for Burgenland is a fertile district) and hatred of military service, not hatred of fighting but rebellion against the brutalities of Austro-Hungarian army life.

The emigration current that led to the founding of the Herndon colony was directed at first into Nebraska. For the Protestants at least, Crete served as a distribution point. From there some families came directly to the Herndon district; others spent some time in Lincoln near by. Beginning as early as 1879, however, most of the families came directly from Hungary.

The community was well settled before the railroads arrived, for the Burlington Railroad did not build its line up the Beaver Creek valley till 1887 (U. P. farther south 1888). The early settlers left the rails

either at McCook, Neb., twenty miles north, or before the Burlington went through there, ca. 1883, at Buffalo Park on the Kansas Pacific sixty miles to the south.

The first settler in the Rawlins County section of the Beaver Creek valley was a buffalo hunter named Jones who took a claim on Section -1-2-31 in 1871 or 1872; he was hospitable to the Germans when they arrived. His farm practically on the Decatur-Rawlins county line was later to become in some sort the focus of the Protestant section of the Hungarian settlement.

In 1877 John Herzog filed a claim on the same section, and in 1878 Mathias Hafner settled across the creek on the next section south; Herzog was a Protestant and Hafner a Catholic. In 1879 the tide of settlement set in in earnest. The Catholics took up the land to the northwest of this first nucleus, the Protestants to the southeast. Small creeks led off in these directions. The main Beaver valley to the west became mainly Catholic, but was mixed near the nucleus. The uplands were occupied very soon. In 1885 only undesirable claims remained to be occupied.

The Hungarians felt very early that this was their colony and gave it the name of Pesth after the east section of the Hungarian capital. But very shortly after settlement began, a Yankee, I. N. George, took a claim on Section 3 a little west of the original nucleus, and opened a store upon it; an ardent Republican, he succeeded in giving the post office here established the name of Lincoln's partner, Herndon. The two names co-existed briefly (see the Andreas history of 1882), but by 1885 Herndon had triumphed. The post office, happily located at the junction of the Catholic and Protestant sections of the colony, developed into a town.

The Catholics held aloof from it as a religious center for some years. Their first church was three miles to the northwest. The building of that church had been promoted locally chiefly by the homesteader located there, Adam Pregler, a Bavarian who arrived in 1879.

In the spring of 1880 Father August Reichert of the Order of the Precious Blood journeyed out from a mission center just established at New Almelo, forty miles to the southeast, to say mass at the Pregler farm. In 1887, the new Bishop of Concordia sent the Reverend John Pichler to take charge. Father Pichler, an Austrian, had just finished ten years' service at Hanover where he had distinguished himself as a builder and a collector of money. As soon as he arrived in Herndon, he started building again, a church in town. When he wished to add a rectory there, his parishioners in the Pregler neighborhood rebelled. Bishop Scannell came out to settle the dispute. It was a futile journey, and in 1890 he transferred Father Pichler and did not replace him for over a year. Then Father Henderson arrived. He lasted three months among the Hungarians. After that, the priests had German names. Among them Father William Wenzel stands out. He arrived in 1896 when the parish, like the rest of the community, was at its lowest economic ebb after the bad years of the early 1890's and he stayed for twelve years. When he left, his church was debt free with a boarding establishment for its parochial school. Shortly afterwards in 1909, the Capuchin fathers, themselves almost all Germans, who had proved their skill in handling Russian Germans in Ellis County, accepted the new parish. They were successful too with the Hungarians. The most notable of them is

perhaps Father Emmeran, 1912-1918, under whom the present church was constructed. It is made of cement blocks molded by the parishioners.

The Jubilee booklet of St. Mary's Assumption church issued in 1930 includes a list of the Catholic heads of families arriving through 1885. It contains very nearly an even half of the Hungarian names that appear both in census records for Herndon Township in 1885 (now Herndon and Richland) and in the cemeteries of the district. The other half are Protestants. The Hungarian Catholics at present number some 120 families. The Capuchins, who have directed the other churches of the county also, have encouraged fraternization between their various units, particularly through a series of staggered picnics. Since the other units are primarily Bohemian in blood, this procedure emphasized conformance to American ways as a common meeting ground.

It would be odd if a population stock that showed so much individualism among the Catholics had a history of undisturbed tranquility among the Protestants. And in truth they behaved as a unit for only a few years after St. Paul's Church was founded. In Hungary all had belonged to one Protestant (i.e., evangelische) church, but they had already been subject to pietistic workers in Europe, and they were ripe for denominationalism. Three groups resulted, a Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, a church of the Evangelical Synod of North America, later the Evangelical and Reformed Church (hereafter called Evangelical), and a Congregational Church. The first organized in 1886, the other two the next year. German Congregational churches have played a not inconspicuous part in the religious history of Nebraska, but in Kansas there were only the Beaver Creek

valley churches and a few in Russian German settlements, fourteen altogether. Along Beaver Creek there were three, one at Traer, one at Herndon, and one at Ludell. The first two began services in 1885, the last in 1896. All three were small, seldom able to support a minister, not at all after 1907/8, and eventually disbanded. The Herndon church broke up about 1931 and most of its members joined the Evangelical church. To us its chief importance is that it was the haven of the non-German Protestants of the community, and so lost its German characteristics more rapidly than the other congregations. The transfer of its members to the Evangelical Church provided a de-Germanizing force in that body. John Franke, Carl Gus Kleindt, and Paul Schramel were among the members.

The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod in the district has had a history that is not devoid of complications, resulting, not from internal doctrinal contentions, but from geographical circumstances. After organization in 1886 there was no building for some time. Then in the very middle of what is now Logan Township, Decatur County, first a sod and later a frame church housed the congregation from 1889 till 1925. This location was central to the membership, but had the disadvantage of being quite inaccessible to those living to the north of it. The sides of the Beaver Creek valley are cut by very abrupt ravines, and the church was situated in the midst of them; there was only pasture land in the immediate vicinity, and the section line roads were very bad except the one running from the high land to the south. Consequently, that part of the congregation nearest Herndon in 1901 separated from their fellows and set up a church on Section 7 a little south of the original nucleus of settlement, two miles east and a

little south of Herndon. Until 1924 they maintained themselves thus, then reunited with their fellows to the southeast. The problem of accessibility was solved by erecting a new church further south in the center of the upland group. The Herndon contingent reaches it by following the main road exiting to the south until they are on the high plains. The result of its present location is that the retiring farmers who belong to it live largely in Oberlin; in 1952 only three families were in Herndon (Lorenz Wendel, Paul Demmer, Mrs. Ecker). Thus, the St. John's Lutherans have become a separate community oriented toward Oberlin, and more affected by de-Germanizing forces.

In its early days the Lutheran congregation was very poor. They had no resident pastor until 1894 and in the next decade had one only part of the time. Until the First World War no pastor stayed more than three years, but in 1917 F. Schopp who had served from 1905 till 1908 returned and stayed till 1924. His successor, F. A. Wegener, remained sixteen years, and E. C. Schmidt afterward, half as long. The length of Pastor Wegener's stay is an especial evidence of stability, for it endured not only through the trying years of drought and depression but through the crisis that resulted from the burning of the church in 1931.

The Immanuel Evangelical Church of Herndon was organized in 1887, and at first met where its cemetery now is at the original Hungarian nucleus. But the next year it built the wooden church in town which served until 1927. The brick building that was then built held its own with the Catholics' cement block structure. The Evangelical organization had periods of financial stress. In the years 1892-1895 "crop conditions

were such that the grim specter of starvation was an ever present menace in the settlers' homes," / Dedication Program, 1927. Again in the thirties, "despite crop failure for seven years and depression the church continued to function... For a short time the congregation received support from the Board of National Missions" / Sixtieth Anniversary Program, 1947. This testimony is of course significant for the community and indeed for the region as a whole. Prosperity later came to all.

The pastors of Immanuel Church have each served it an average of three years, and the pastorates have been remarkable for their adherence to this average. The pastors have been in general, like the first one, H. Tietke, young men just embarking upon their careers. They have therefore represented the forces in their denomination regarded as progressive at the moment of their coming, and have been an "Americanizing" force, less potent than they might have been if they had had time to mature somewhat before taking this charge. The Rev. J. R. Endter, ordained in 1895, was not among these young men. He served from 1921 till 1925 at a time when youth might have been an asset, for then the younger generation was restive under the requirements of the older. Under his youthful successor, L. G. Marx, the new church was built, the language question was solved, and the disbanding Congregationalists were garnered. He departed with drouth and depression.

The hysteria of the First World War against things German in a community used to violent debate was not without its reverberations. There seem, however, to have been no examples of physical violence and less enthusiasm for the Central Powers than in communities where the

settlers came from Germany. Feeling was strong enough however, so that the occupants of the bench before the store gossiping in German were sternly forbidden "to talk that language," and the Evangelical minister of the day felt impelled to change his name from Bollier, which even in those days must have been rather innocuous, to Bailey. His attitude as evidenced by this act was not too unpopular among his congregation; he had come in 1914 and stayed on till 1920.

Never a great commercial center, Herndon owes its modest prosperity to its churches and schools; they in turn undoubtedly derive their strength from the uniformity of origin of the population. The community feels its identity as a unit, and despite its tradition of vigorous argument over questions up for settlement, and despite the divorce of the St. John Lutherans from the rest of the group for geographical reasons, it is locally patriotic.

The only German settlement with which the Herndon Hungarians are in contact is that of the Ludell Lutherans. The separation between these two groups has been maintained with remarkable vigor. The Lutheran section of the Hungarians was not adjacent to the Ludell territory, and for that reason there was no conformity of faith to draw the Ludell Germans and the Hungarians to each other. The German dialects were practically different languages. English, - or standard German, which except in church both groups soon regarded as artificial, - was the only medium of communication between the settlements. There are, however, no geographic barriers; the uplands are unbroken between them, and the Beaver Creek valley joins them with a natural canal of traffic. Township divisions have not conformed to

settlement boundaries, and the two groups of Germans are mingled politically especially in Elk Township. Still the two settlements are very distinct.

Through Catholic contacts and school connections the relations with the Hays German Russians have been frequent, but even in western Kansas where road distances mean comparatively little, the 140 miles of separation have prevented intimate influence. The original connections with Nebraska affected only a minority of families, and have not remained important. On the other hand McCook, Nebraska, plays an important role as a shopping and educational center, greater than Atwood's and, except of course for the St. John Lutherans, somewhat greater than Oberlin's.

47.29 The seeds for the Engl-izing of the Herndon Hungarians were implanted at the very beginning of their settlement. Part of them had had periods of residence elsewhere in the United States, and among the Catholics there was not complete linguistic uniformity. Until 1880 North Germans were numerous, and a few Irish were early among them. But the Irish lived mostly far from the nucleus, and the great number of persons that arrived directly from Hungary carried the day. The community became uncompromisingly German in speech. The written language did not maintain itself so well. Despite that fact, by the time of the First World War English was still the auxiliary language, and there were many people unable to speak it. The crisis of 1917-18 converted part of them and made others stubborn against conversion. For the next decade German, though it was losing ground with most of the young, was belligerently maintaining itself among a part of the old. Toward 1930, it was definitely recognized

by most of the community as a relic of the past; those born since that date are almost unacquainted with it; most of those in the generation next older use it only as a sort of concession in speaking with the old. But German is by no means yet a dead language. For the Traer-Oberlin St. John Lutherans these statements need particular qualifications, but in general are true there too.

The evidence of the cemeteries still has its significance as regards the status of standard German. The three cemeteries where Lutherans are buried are treated as a unit in the table adjoined and the small Union cemetery has been omitted because no German inscriptions occur in it. The Congregational stones are to be found (1) for families having early deaths, in the Lutheran cemetery about three miles to the southeast (2) for families having their first deaths between 1900 and 1930, in the Union Cemetery (3) latterly, partly among the Evangelicals.

Decade	Language of Tombstone Inscriptions - Herndon Hungarians								
	CATHOLIC			EVANGELICAL			LUTHERAN		
	Eng	German	% of German	Eng	German	% of German	Eng	German	% of German
Before 1880				0	1	100%			
1880-89	2	5	71%	1	3	75%	0	2	100%
1890-99	22	16	41%	2	6	75%	5	9	64%
1900-09	20	19	49%	8	3	27%	5	8	62%
1910-19	37	19	34%	22	9	29%	14	1	7%
1920-29	72	3	4%	35	2	6%	18	1	5%
1930-39	48	1	2%	24	2	8%	15	1	6%
1940-49	42	0	0%	32	0	0%	12	0	0%

NO LATER GERMAN INSCRIPTIONS

Critical Period

1913-17	21	6	22%	10	5	33%	7	1	13%
1918-22	33	3	9%	19	1	5%	11	1	8%

These data are less significant for the Lutherans than for the others because in 1925 when the two churches were combined and a new site chosen, a certain number of graves were moved. If we use the date of the last German inscription as a guide the decreasing order of conservatism is: Lutheran (last date 1944), Evangelical (last date 1939), Catholic (1931). For the post-war period this order is correct and is reflected too in other indices; the Lutherans did not leave off preaching in German until 1944, the Evangelicals had none after about 1926, the Catholics none after the war.

The percentiles show that the war only hastened a process already in movement, but one that had not been making much progress until the end of the first decade of this century. Even in the 1920's there were persons hardly able to speak English. The percentiles suggest that about 1910 the Catholics were linguistically twice as German as the Protestants, in 1917 not so German. This seems a sudden transformation, and for those particular years is probably somewhat deceptive. It was in 1909 that the Capuchins came, and the change in the official written language doubtless reflects discreet urgings on their part. Their influence was so potent and brought English to the position of the favored language so swiftly that the Catholics overtook the Protestants in Engl-izing almost immediately after the war. Since this influence is in harmony with regular Catholic policy, the secular clergy would doubtless have done the same work, but not so easily. The Capuchins did not of course abruptly break old traditions. Until the war they preached half in German and half in English; until 1915 the parochial school made instruction in German part of its curriculum for small children. German confessions among the old go on to the present day. But German is a relic.

The chief Engl-izing force at work among the early Evangelical members was the public school. The year that was taken for instruction before confirmation until the First World War was primarily German. Years of previous training had, however, instilled English as the cultural language, very frequently too the language of communication with other children. Since instruction in Standard German was postponed till adolescence, it seemed to the children as compared with their dialect a

foreign language. Even after the war necessitated the reduction of confirmation instruction to Saturdays, the church insisted for a while on confirmations in German. In 1922, however, it permitted English as an alternative, and in 1924 it gave up the effort to maintain German. These were stormy years, for the language question was taken very seriously. Rev. J. Endter tried to remain faithful to the old order; German preaching went on along with English, and he kept his records scrupulously in German. But the atmosphere was so charged that he left in 1925, and a new pastor replaced him only after several months. The Rev. Mr. Marx evidently agreed to make an effort to maintain the German tradition. Through 1926 he kept records that were as German as he could make them, but the effort was great, witness such entries as "palmsuntag." In 1927 he gave up the attempt and "Frau" became "Mrs." Similarly after a short time the congregation became reconciled to hearing him preach only in English. The change was, however, imposed more by circumstances than by the will of the people. In 1952 German hymns were still sung, and more lustily than their English counterparts.

The Traer-Oberlin Lutherans conserved German longer among the young than the other Hungarians. This is the consensus of testimony from both Oberlin and Herndon. This fact is in part to be explained by the isolation of the group, in part by the parochial school that has been maintained according to the custom of the Lutherans, Missouri Synod. The school was not built until 1925, however, and was ultimately as much an Engl-izing force as district schools would be. But in the beginning it held the Hungarian boys and girls together at a time when many of them still preferred German.

The transformation when it came, was swift. Boys and girls born about 1930 not infrequently used German with each other until the time of the Second World War, and when they began to go to high school in Oberlin the character of their English distinguished them. This has not been true of children born later, and except when the old foregathered, the whole community soon abandoned German as the ordinary means of communication.

Thereby, they placed themselves on about the same footing as the rest of the Hungarians. The rural section of the Herndon community was little speedier than the Lutherans in abandoning German among the young. Toward 1930 boys of Evangelical families from the region close to the Lutherans chattered together at high school in German; their sisters did not, more timid and more responsive to the atmosphere of the school, which had for some time made English "the thing" for casual conversation. After 1932 or 1933 German disappeared from the hallways. It did not disappear so soon from the streets where older men and women gathered. In 1948 it was not uncommonly heard, in 1952 less often. In 1964 a few older people meeting at the post office gossiped in German. In 1967, a man aged about thirty-five, evidently regarded as somewhat an exception, was proficient in dialect and conversed in it with older people. Those of his age or even ten years older ordinarily understood, but did not speak German. Persons in their twenties did not understand it.

The Herndon Hungarians have not evolved as fast linguistically as the Swedes to the south of them, but somewhat faster than the Hanoverian Germans at Ludell and the Bohemians in the western part of the county. In comparison with eastern communities in the state, if length of stay is taken into consideration, they have not been conservative, but for some time they persisted in using German under stronger pressures than the eastern settlements experienced when they were forty years old.

KANSAS CITY (Super ***** , Wyandotte KC)

For Kansas City Mexicans, see 47.86

Special Bibliog.: D -- Kansas City und sein Deutschtum, pub. by German-American Biographical Publishing Co., Cleveland, 1900.

Ch-- Chamberlin, V. -- The Danes of Kansas City and Yiddish in Kansas City, Kansas, unpublished typescript, 1956

S -- Scammon, Jean, People of Foreign-language Background, Kansas City, Kansas- The Strawberry Hill Area, unpublished typescript, 1955.

47.30 Statistics and General History. The "old" immigration of Germans and Swedes to Kansas City, Kansas, was of sufficient importance so that we must pay it some heed, but the treatment will be brief (for Germans in large towns see particularly, Leavenworth, for Swedes, particularly Salina). The Danish settlement is unique enough to require greater attention, as the only urban case in Kansas, but "new" immigrants will require closest scrutiny. The foreign settlements of Kansas City, Kansas, are the only well-developed example in Kansas of a complex urban settlement of "new immigrants." The Italians in Kansas City almost all settled on "the Missouri side" in areas not adjacent to the packing house area; consequently the "new" immigration to Kansas City, Kansas, consisted almost entirely of Slavic peoples, with a number of Greeks. To state the numbers of each of these peoples at various periods is difficult because none of them formed a single political entity throughout the period of immigration, and only the Poles did so even after the First World War. However the Czecho-Slovaks of Kansas City, Kansas, of the censuses of 1920 and following were nearly all Slovaks, and among Yugo-Slavians, Croatians were most numerous, Slovenians next with only a small contingent of Serbs. The most enlightening statistics are

those concerning Mother tongue for 1920.

Mother Tongue-1920- of Foreign White Stock (fws) in Kansas City, Kansas
fb - foreign born, fmp - of foreign or mixed parentage,
fb + fmp = fws

	fws	fb	fmp		fws	fb	fmp
German	7407	2021	5386	Polish	1979	1035	944
Dutch	122	28	94	Czech	148	60	88
Flemish	260	148	112	Slovak	510	237	273
Swedish	1588	627	961	Russian*	1104*	647*	457*
Norwegian	116	47	69	Ruthenian	24	17	7
Danish	466	190	276	Slovenian	508	236	272
				Serbo-Croatian	3210	1604	1606
Italian	288	105	183	Lithuanian and	209	119	90
French	461	99	362	Lettish			
Spanish	2420	2056	364	Magyar	121	70	51
Portuguese	2	1	1				
Rumanian	23	12	11				
Greek	326	276	50				

* A note in the census reads:
"Probably includes a considerable proportion of Hebrews erroneously reported as of Russian Mother tongue." Hebrews and Volgans together probably accounted for at least half of the "Russians" here listed. See columns 5 and 9 of following table.

The table below on dates of arrival in the United States show that the peak of the "old" immigration was about 1885, the peak of the "new" about 1910. The "where from to Kansas" data published in the state census shows that about 75% of the "new" immigration had come directly to Kansas from Europe. In 1915 the proportion was 90%. The difference probably indicates linguistic progress on the part of the immigrants. A census taker unable to obtain exact information would assume that a person ignorant of English came directly from the "old country."

Date of Arrival in the United States of the Principal Stocks of Foreign-Born Residents in Kansas City in 1925

	Denmark	Sweden	Germany	Date	Russia bearing German names		Austria		Croatia		Poland		Russia with non German names		Lithuania		Czecho-Slovakia		Serbia		Greece
					Before 1870	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
9	24	111																			
-	18	52		1870-4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	18	49		1875-9	3	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	119	237		1880-4	6	16	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	109	159		1885-9	3	66	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
16	58	107		1890-4	3	73	19	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	-	-	-	-	-
5	25	45		1895-9	9	72	23	12	8	4	2	-	1	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	1
7	39	39		1900-4	6	222	93	75	11	8	14	6	7	-	14	6	7	7	7	7	7
13	14	47		1905-9	67	354	161	171	67	6	8	17	23	-	8	17	23	23	23	23	23
4	13	28		1910-14	89	319	238	277	89	5	5	9	39	-	5	9	39	39	39	39	39
1	9	4		1915-19	21	56	24	33	21	4	1	-	11	-	4	1	-	11	11	11	11
1	8	35		1920-24	9	101	59	54	2	-	-	-	12	-	4	-	-	12	12	12	12
-	-	-		1925	-	10	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
16	33	99		Undated	17	119	55	49	28	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	8	8	8	8
113	487	1012		Totals	235	1421	683	689	227	35	40	32	102	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The census takers evidently recorded all Slovenians and many Croats as "Austrians," but there were also "Austrians" who were Germans from Silesia, Galicia, and Bukovina.

Russians bearing German names were in part Jews, in part Germans from the Volga settlements. Those born in Russia with non-German names included besides Russians some Lithuanians and probably Poles.

To understand the development of its various linguistic groups something of the history and geography of the Kansas City, Kansas, must be set forth. The border of Kansas and Missouri follows the Missouri River south to its junction with the Kaw and from the east corner of that junction, as it was located in 1820, continues directly south. Because of the Kaw's meandering just before it enters the Missouri River, a strip of land is left in Kansas on the east bank of the river. This strip, now the First Ward, was until 1886 the only part of the later city to bear its present name. Opposite it and a little to the north in a small valley that drained from the west into the Missouri the town of Wyandotte was founded in 1856. Before the unification of 1886 Wyandotte had grown to be nearly three times as large as "Kansas City, Kansas." Joined with these two in 1886 was the town of Armourdale which had absorbed an earlier Armstrong. Armourdale, now the Sixth Ward, lies in the bend of the Kaw as it turns north. Both Armourdale and "old Kansas City, Kansas," are in the "bottoms," territory favored by industry, but subject to flooding. The early immigrants connected with industry settled in these sections, particularly in "Old Kansas City" in an area that became known as the "Patch." Opposite "Old Kansas City," the bluffs are very close to the river; they turn westward sharply before it does, thus leaving room for the Armourdale bottoms. These bluffs, broken by another

valley down which Central Avenue was laid out, form Strawberry Hill (less reverently called Hunky Hill), on the slopes of which rent was almost as cheap as in the bottoms. Here immigrants were already beginning to live before the 1903 flood, and here they proliferated in the years that followed it; Poles and northern Slavs on the knob to the south, Fifth Ward, Croats in the Fourth Ward on the slopes nearest the mouth of the Kaw, Slovenians at the opening of the Central Avenue Ravine. Before this Slavic invasion the Strawberry Hill area had sheltered many Germans and Swedes. After their invasion the Germans were concentrated on the heights behind the South Slavs, and the Swedes were still farther west. Across the Kaw to the south Argentine was founded in 1880 and in a valley to the east of it very near the state line Rosedale had grown up earlier, between 1870 and 1872. Both these towns were absorbed into Kansas City, Kansas, in the early years of the twentieth century, but have retained their individuality. Argentine, which owes its name to a silver smelting plant that was built in 1881 and ceased operation about 1900, was also an early railroad center. It contained a German settlement which organized Immanuel Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, in 1884; German services ceased in 1932. Mexican railroad workers also became numerous there, so that the church of St. John the Divine was established for them after the First World War. Rosedale contained a settlement of Welsh*

*The Kansas Rolling Mills established in 1875, was under Welsh management. David Jones before 1883 served twice as mayor, his father-in-law, David Mathias, once, and his brother-in-law, D.S. Mathias, twice. The mills owned tenement houses /a1245.

which was so soon dispersed or absorbed into the general population that it will not farther concern us. Nor will any of the area south of the Kaw

except in dealing with the Flemings. The Strawberry Hill region began to overflow rather early. Families with agricultural leanings began to find little farms west of the city as soon as the First World War was over. The Hill, however, retained its crowded population, exporting only the increase, until the Kansas Turnpike was built in the middle of the 1950's. The greatest displacement to give room for it occurred in 1957. Churches which had once been approximately in the middle of the parish, thereafter, found themselves almost perpendicular above the edge of the highway. Linguistic development was then so far advanced that the destruction only hastened processes well under way, but after it more of each group lived elsewhere than on the hill.

47.31 The "Old" Immigration. Any reader of an account of Kansas City, Kansas, must remember that it is overshadowed by Kansas City, Missouri. The absence of certain developments, particularly ecclesiastical, in the history of the "old" immigrant populations is often the result of growth having taken place in Missouri instead of Kansas. Except in the case of Mexicans, however, the same statement does not apply to the "new" immigration, for the proximity of the business section and the existence of the old Union Depot and the Quality Hill neighborhood left no room for the building of shacks east of the packing plants, so that the history of these people was an exclusively Kansas phenomenon until the settlements had begun to break up.

The Wyandotte Indians had occupied the site of Wyandotte for many years, and it was only in 1857 that a few of them and a few Missourians set up the town. Before the year was over, there were Germans there,

E. L. Buesche, b. Germany 1831/ag 78, and, more prominent, John E. Zeitz, born in Prussia 1831. Zeitz was a merchant and miller/ a 1240.

Briefly in 1861 Wyandotte housed a German newspaper. August Wuerz, the editor of an anti-slavery sheet in German that since 1859 he had been publishing despite public disfavor in Kansas City, Missouri, had to take refuge in Wyandotte. For nine months his paper, the "Post," appeared there until with armed protection it could return to Missouri /D 34. Later German papers lasted till after 1916.

The German population grew steadily, but did not become an overwhelming element in Wyandotte. Persons born in Germany were 5% of the total population of Wyandotte Township in 1865 (this included the town) and the proportion was nearly the same in 1885 and 1895 (559 out of 12,086 and 2,335 out of 48,202) before the great influx of packing house workers. As usual they developed their churches and societies. In 1883 the Oddfellows had a Teutonia Lodge and the Knights of Pythias a Germania Lodge, and the officers of the lodge of the Ancient Order of Foresters all had German names, and there was a German Union in the Equitable Aid Union /a 1234. German churches were not so numerous; apparently the anti-clerical element was strong. The only church of early date was a German Methodist Church, organized in 1859; it had 147 members in 1883 / a 1233. The other German church existent at that time was the Zion Church of the German Evangelical Synod (later Evangelical and Reformed Church) founded in 1880, organized in 1882. The next year it had sixty members, in 1906 - 200, in 1950 - 373. This congregation was linguistically conservative. German services persisted until 1942, though English was introduced during the First World War and schooling in German ceased then. Pastoral work in German was still going on among the old in 1949, and much less frequently in 1955. Conservatism was partly

the result of a certain amount of late immigration, but German persisted in some long-established families. For instance, Joseph Gruendel, b. 1827 in Glatz in Silesia, a '48er, reached Wyandotte County in 1856 after three years at Manitowoc, Wisc. He was a cooper, a brewer, and a grower of grapes. His E-R grandchildren born in the early twentieth century could speak German. During the early 1950's there was a change of attitude even among the older, and only the very old remained linguistically German in 1955.

The other Protestant German Church existent in Kansas City, Kansas, in the twentieth century was St. Luke's Lutheran, Missouri Synod, founded in 1900, located in a district that the Slavs and Lithuanians were already invading on the hill behind the Central Avenue Valley (730 Reynolds). Until the First World War St. Luke's became, it would seem, progressively more German linguistically. The Statistical Year Book of 1906 notes that there were announcements in English (mtl. engl.); in 1910 the note says "twice [a month] announcements in English" (2 mal. mtl. e.); in 1916 there is no note. The membership (no. of souls) was: 1906-228, 1910 - 271, 1916 - 298, 1948 - 789. In 1925 arrived Pastor H. A. Nothnagel, born in Berlin, Germany. He preached in German every Sunday until 1942, then stopped for two years, and resumed German once a month in 1944, continuing until he retired. After 1959 there were no more services in German. During the 1950's the congregation was largely composed of old people. About one third of the people could speak German in 1949, but none of these were young. The late arriving Silesian and Austrian* element was strong in this congregation.

*These Austrians were probably from the crown lands. See Ellis Bukovinian Germans.

The Catholics were active early in Wyandotte, almost as soon as the town was founded. Under three Germans and an Irishman the work languished but in 1864 it "received a pastor who was to become an institution"/b 68. This was Anton Kuhls (1839-1923) born in Holtheim, Westphalia. He continued in the same parish, St. Mary's, for over forty years. It was a mixed parish in which apparently the Irish were the most numerous element. At any rate, in spite of having a German pastor, the Germans became restless, and in 1886 were granted a national parish of their own, St. Anthony's. It was put in charge of the Franciscans of Cincinnati, and in 1962 it was still national with Franciscan pastors. An important argument for the establishment of the new parish had been the Germans' "need of using their native tongue for religious education and instruction"/lp 220. School and church were begun together and were housed in the same building till 1906. The hard times of the 1890's began for the parish in 1889. The longest pastorate, that of Father Daniel Heile (1893-1903), fell in this period. When prosperity returned, and a new church was begun, there were both English and German sermons at the laying of the cornerstone. Saint Anthony's was, however, less devoted to the German language than the Protestant Churches. As early as 1901 the people were asking for English sermons / lp 286. By 1935 German preaching had disappeared and except for the homes of the refugees of the time of the Second World War, German had disappeared in family usage by 1949. Austrians from the crown lands and Russian Germans furnished a considerable element of the parishioners in later days; they came later than the others. The disparity of dialects explains in part the readiness to give up German. At least three of those who agitated for the establishment of the parish were from North Germany, Haffner, Miller, Teeppen. Teeppen

specifically was from Lingen near the eastern Dutch border /ch 90: 848.

The census of 1865 shows two foreign-born Swedes in Wyandotte County. One was "M. Mendle" a single man, not in the census of 1870. The other was John Smith, 44 years old with a wife Cynthia born in Tennessee, three children born in Tennessee, and four in Kansas, the oldest of the latter eight years old. Smith and his family are also in Wyandotte Twp. in 1875. Therefore August Peterson's claim to have been the first Swedish settler in the county in 1868 seems technically incorrect, but Smith did not live among Swedes, whereas 22 other Swedes surrounded Peterson in Quindaro Twp. in 1870. In 1869 Peterson became an employee of the Kansas Pacific Railroad. Many other Swedes worked for the railroad. In 1895 the foreign-born Swedes in Kansas City numbered 812. With them lived 570 children, a total of 1,382 speakers of Swedish. In 1885 there were 217 Scandinavians in the city of Wyandotte, 514 in the county. Of the 514 the census said that 313 came directly to Kansas from Scandinavia, 60%. Apparently by then, direct immigration was fairly common, but earlier immigrants had almost always spent much time elsewhere in the United States, particularly in Illinois.

It is more difficult for the Swedes than for the Germans to separate activity in Kansas from activity in Missouri. The 1883 Andreas-Cutler history does not record for Wyandotte or any of the towns that were to become the components of Kansas City, Kansas, a single Swedish organization.*

*In his biography of 1890 /ch 90: 571, John A. Dahlgren maintained that Tauromee Lodge, No. 30 of the A.O.U.W. was a Swedish order, but in 1882 all the officers but one have names from the British Isles, and that one is J. E. Zeitz, mentioned above as one of the first Germans.

Possibly Andreas Cutler neglected the Nordens Venner, which, however, had not been founded in 1881 /ch 90: Hambee, but was soon afterward. It was flourishing in 1890 and 1911 /ch 11:971. By 1907 the city possessed a "Swedish Building" /ch 11:971. Church activity among the Swedes began shortly after their arrival but no organization in Kansas City, Kansas, came into being until the late 1880's. In Kansas City, Missouri, the First Swedish Lutheran Church was organized in 1870, and for almost a quarter of a century the Swedes in Kansas patronized this church. It was only in 1894 that they founded their own organization, the Messiah Church; they built in 1896 /ot272. Three pastors had previously done missionary work among them. There were 208 attenders in 1906 /ot298; there was then a six-weeks parochial school which 45 children attended; 518 members in 1951. Swedish sermons were regular in the beginning, but disappeared completely about 1932; pastoral work among the old was still going on in 1950. Swedish Baptists began activities in 1868 and organized a church in Missouri in 1872. A church was founded in Kansas in 1879. There was first (1881) a building in the bottoms and then (1890) another in territory to become Slavic. Finally after 1927 the Baptists moved over the hill top (1007 Grandview Boulevard). Until the First World War Swedish held sway in services. Beginning at that time Sunday evening services were in English. In 1927 only a Thursday evening service was left to Swedish /lv35.

The Swedish Mission never established a church in Kansas City, Kansas, but their work began there. "Soon [after 1871] some Mission people moved in and settled in Kansas City, Kansas. The first family was the Sjöbergs... To begin with, meetings were held in the homes in Kansas City, Kansas. Later a schoolhouse was opened for them there, in which meetings continued

for a time. The family most enthusiastic in the work then, was the Sjöbergs. Therefore when they moved over to Kansas City, Missouri, activities moved there. Both cities belong so close together that they developed as one city"/sd 186-187. The Kansas City church reckoned as its date of beginning 1880, but formal organization took place in 1887. Sunday School was still in Swedish in 1917 /sd 289.

The movements recorded for the Swedish Baptist Church indicate a force active upon the Swedes as individuals too. Before the arriving Slavs they moved out of the low rent districts into better areas and in so doing became more scattered. The result was not conservative linguistically. Still in 1950 most persons born before 1910 were able to speak Swedish.

47.32 The maximum number of foreign-born Danes in Kansas City, Kansas as shown in the census tables of Volume I was 233 in 1910. In 1920 the estimated number of Danes (Danish-born and native-born) was about 400 in Kansas City, Kansas, and about the same number in Kansas City, Missouri /kc 17:303.

The history of the Danes of Kansas City is, as in the case of the Seedes, a story that must deal with both Kansas and Missouri, but in the case of the Danes the emphasis is on Kansas City, Kansas, the "old" Kansas City, Kansas, in the earliest days. Like the Swedes the Danes arrived in Wyandotte County after 1865. Lewis Brotherson, b. in Schleswig, 1840, left there after the German conquest of 1867 and after two years in northern Denmark came to Missouri (first Jefferson City); he moved to Kansas City, Kansas, in 1872 /ch 90:529. Jep Mailand, b. 1846, was another Schleswiger who

followed the same route. He arrived in Jefferson City in 1865 and in Kansas City in 1873 /ch 11:701. Both these men were members of the Danish Union Freija which was organized in 1877; Mailand was its first president, Brotherson its president in 1883 /a1241. The organization still existed in 1911. It met in 1883 in "old" Kansas City, Kansas, the First Ward. The treasurer of the Union in 1883 was John Carr (Americanized from Kjaer). He, too, had come from Denmark by way of Jefferson City. Carr and Brotherson were both workers in the packing houses; Brotherson was a foreman at Armour's beginning in 1874. Carr was the Kansas City, Kansas, jailor beginning in 1909; the inference is that he had political connections. His wife was Mollie Johnson whom he had wed in the old Kansas City, Kansas; L. Johnson was treasurer of the Danish Union in 1883. The connection between them and the Johnsons to be mentioned later seems probable. The Danish Union Freija is probably identical with The United Danish Society, active in 1926 /kc 17:303. The Danish Brotherhood that rented a hall two nights a week from about 1890 to 1955 at Tenth and Central, that is, very near the church, also flourished. Both organizations were insurance lodges, and served well both social and economic ends for a long while. Danish disappeared from the lodge transactions at the time of the First World War. After 1955 the Brotherhood existed only for its insurance feature, endangered by various group insurance projects. On the Kansas side there were in 1895, 151 foreign-born Danes with whom lived 67 children, a total of 218 speakers of Danish. They were then not concentrated in any part of the city, though 40% of them lived in the Second Ward north of the areas so far described but near the river, including Brotherson, then. Tradition has it, however,

that in Kansas City, Missouri, they were concentrated on the "23d Street hill," that is, northwest of the present Union Station in territory later to become Mexican (Guadalupe Park is in this neighborhood), and that in Kansas City, Kansas, their headquarters at the turn of the century were in the area which the Poles were taking over south of Central Avenue. To support the second part of the tradition is the fact when the group built a church in 1910 it was a little to the north of Central Avenue. This church, originally Vors Frelzers Kirke, became by translation Our Savior's Danish Lutheran Church and, finally shedding in 1947 its national designation, was named for its new location the Westwood Lutheran Church. Its growth was gradual; the number of souls has been: 1906 - 60, 1910 - 163, 1917 - 283, 1930 - 260, 1956 - 275. Although the Danish Lutherans of Nebraska sent missionaries from the "United Danish Church" to Kansas City as early as 1896, the church was the creation of the Rev. Carl C. Wilhelmsen who was the pastor from 1905 till 1921. Pastor Wilhelmsen worked in slum missions in Copenhagen before he and his wife came to America in 1889. He worked with rural Danish immigrants, particularly at Minden, Nebraska, in Kearney County (2d north of Smith County, Kansas). Urban missions were more to his taste, and he attacked the problem in Kansas City by beginning on Central Avenue at the Johnson saloon. The cooperation he received there was whole hearted, and young Charles Johnson became the pastor's guide to the Danish homes, which the Johnsons knew well. By 1906 he gathered together enough children to begin a school at 2800 Jarboe, south of the "23d Street Hill" in Missouri. The school never became full-fledged. While public school was going on, it was held on Saturday mornings, and two

or three times a week during the summer. The subjects were religion and Danish - until the First World War. The church of 1910 bore carved in the stone of the Gothic arch over its door the words "Herren vel signe dig" (The Lord will bless you), and continued to bear them after the Danes had left. During the years that followed the building of the church, the pastor's efforts were fruitful until the time of the First World War. He knew some English when he came, and presumably his vocabulary increased, but his religious teaching had always been in Danish, and the new situation crippled his efforts. Thus he lamented in September, 1917, "Because of the US entry into the World War, the public sentiment against the use of foreign language -- a sentiment that is shared not least by the American-born children of Danish homes -- has necessitated the use of English entirely in the work of the Sunday School, confirmation classes, and Young People's society. Great is my sorrow that this change has been found necessary. Not that I am unwilling to use the English language, but because I feel I can no longer be for the children and youth all that I want so much to be. Confined to using the English tongue, my wings are clipped. I would gladly, but it is not possible." He continued, nevertheless, but in 1921, he went on to a more recently arrived group in California, and gave his place in Kansas City to his son, Karl J.

✓320

In 1914 he began to publish a church bulletin entitled Sol Glimt. From the beginning it contained a department called "Food for Thought" written in English, but in the main it was in Danish. In February, 1918, appeared a department entitled "Our Soldier Boys." In that same issue there were eleven letters written by soldiers thanking the congregation for Bibles given them; five of the eleven were in Danish. In June there were six letters, one of which was in Danish; this was the usual proportion. An English letter of March, not from a soldier, gives some idea of the character of the congregation's English at the time.. It would doubtless have been edited if the readers had spoken differently. "I read everything in 'Sol Glimt,' and all what the boys in the service says in their letters." In that issue appeared two "cards of thanks" from bereaved families. One was in Danish, one was in English. Sol Glimt went on mainly in Danish until 1920. Then there is a gap. When the bulletin was resumed in 1923, its name was Lutheran Tidings. It continued to announce Danish services as long as they lasted, and as late as 1937 printed a Danish poem.

The situation under Karl J. Wilhelmsen is revealed by this passage from his pastoral report of June, 1923: "Meeting the present needs of our people one full Danish service has been held on the fourth Sunday in the morning every month. Six evening services in Danish were held in the hope of meeting the desire of those who prefer to hear the gospel in Danish. But when these failed to attend, I naturally turned to the language best understood by the little group that had come."

The morning service once a month went on until Karl J. Wilhelmsen was succeeded by Otto Nielsen in 1930. Pastor Nielsen sandwiched in a monthly service in Danish at some other hour until 1933; then they ceased.

After the First World War the most conservative linguistic force was visiting back and forth with Denmark. But stronger forces were at work; one was the Lutheran desire to grow rather than wither away. In June, 1939, came a message from the Synodical President N. C. Carlsen urging the Danes, in order to increase membership, to "overcome that clannishness that sometimes is in evidence." Another cogent force was still greater territorial distribution. A number of Danes had taken up dairy farming on the southwestern edge of Kansas City and had become a relatively prosperous and influential group. When the first pastor came back for a visit in 1929, there were two Danish services on a Sunday in June at the church, and there was also "an evening service at the Klaus Klausen home at Fifty-Second and Roe Boulevard [later the Roeland Park shopping center] out of doors at 8:00 o'clock." After the hard years of the Depression of the 1930's were over, a number of the boys whom Pastor Carl C. Wilhelmsen had shepherded had become prosperous in business and the professions, and lived in areas appropriate to their economic condition not far from the hilly lands that were about to pass from dairy country into built-up districts, so in 1947 a new church was built at 5035 Rainbow Boulevard, that is, just west of the state line in older suburbia, accessible alike to Kansas City, Kansas, (Rainbow was Highway 69), to the retired dairymen, and to those who dwelt near the Country Club Plaza. The old members on moving were instructed to "avoid all impressions of being foreigners and not even use Danish for greeting each other" /Ch 3. So Our Savior's Danish Lutheran became Westwood Lutheran, a quiet dignified community church, half of whose members had no Danish background.

But, though the church eschewed all outward semblance of Danish origin, it preserved its file of Sol Glimt and its older members did not forget that they were Danes.

Two of the children of Pastor Carl C. Wilhelmsen remained in Kansas City. They all learned to speak Danish "although the Wilhelmsen children always spoke English to each other and usually to the parents, the family had a rule that only Danish could be spoken at the dinner table. In addition to the cultural and linguistic benefits derived therefrom, this all-Danish-at-mealtime rule served to make the American-born Wilhelmsen children a good example for other children who had to learn Danish for their catechism and church worship " /Ch 4 . Hans P. Wilhemsen, b. 1896, was one of these linguistic models. He ultimately became president of the Dickey Clay Products Manufacturing Company. He took a wife of Danish origins, but "None of the children were taught Danish in the home and whatever words of Danish they knew they learned from their parents who sometimes reverted to their mother tongue to discuss the requests of their children for money, entertainment, candy, etc." /Ch 5 . Hans P. was at once proud of being Danish and "of the rapidity with which most Danes in Kansas City learned English, and then advanced into the business and professional life of the city " /Ch 6 . He was more or less indifferent to the linguistic portion of his heritage, and "almost never uses Danish now."

His sister, Mrs. Fred Andersen, "retains a much more active command of Danish and a stronger emotional attachment for it... Reading, speaking, and corresponding in Danish is somewhat of an avocation with her " /Ch 7 . She frequently read the Luthersk Ugeblatt, discontinued in 1960, and Christmas usually brought her the Dansk Nytaar, (Danish New Year), a single holiday issue with a circulation of 3,825 in 1956, "a rather popular Christmas gift for older Danish-Americans." In 1956 she still sang sometimes in Danish, and she prayed in Danish. Her husband also learned Danish, but her three

daughters (born 1919, 1921, 1923) know only a few formulas of politeness in Danish, which have been passed on to three grandchildren (b. 1947, 1949, 1951).

Immigrants belonging to the Westwood Church in 1956 were Mr. and Mrs. Hans V. Christensen, born 1884 and 1895, in different parts of the island of Fünen (Svendborg and Odense). They immigrated in 1903 and 1911 respectively. They continued using their Danish with each other and with friends and very often in thinking, but, concerning Mrs. Christensen, "in her telephone conversations with other Danish-Americans, her husband notices a considerable admixture of English"/Ch 9. Their three children, born 1912, 1914, 1916, all learned to speak Danish. The only one who has children is the oldest, Ellen. She "married a second generation Danish-American and took her two children back to Denmark for a brief visit in 1953. During this trip Ellen learned to write Danish and has continued to correspond in Danish with relatives there. Ellen's children tend to make fun of their grandfather for continuing to speak Danish and know only a few greetings and formulas."

The conditions described in these families represent more conservative practice among the Danes. In 1956 "only about five per cent of the congregation or those over sixty used Danish, with an admixture of English, actively; those 40 to 60 can speak some Danish, but would have great difficulty in writing it; and those under forty do not use Danish at all"/Ch 3.

47.33 Meat Packing in Kansas City. Early employment among the Germans and Scandinavians was likely to be with the railroads, particularly in the Kansas Pacific (later Union Pacific) yards just below the bluffs, between Straw-

berry Hill and Armourdale, and in the Santa Fe yards across the river to the south for the people who lived in Argentine. Employment by the railroads continued to be important for this group and not infrequently too for later arriving groups. The minor industries that clustered about the railroads, ice plants for instance, also employed many of the early comers and finally some of the "new." Also immigrants who had been here a number of years filtered off into commerce, particularly into the small establishments catering to late-comers, grocery stores, "joints," (i.e. saloons), etc.

In general, however, the meat packing houses were the first employers of those who arrived after 1880, and very frequently the employment was life long. The Germans and Swedes who remained with the packers after dispersive strikes and attractive commerce had severed many of their compatriots from the industry usually reached positions as foremen or among the managerial staff. All through the period of the most interest to us, late 1880's to the Second World War, the "new" immigrants formed the bulk of packing house employees.*

*Negroes too were important, particularly as they produced leaders. "Hunkies" very frequently left places on bargaining committees to colored representatives after the beginning of the Roosevelt administration. The Negroes were better negotiators, better trained in the will to fight and in the perception of their own advantages.

It is proper then to survey the meat packing industry in Kansas City before considering various linguistic groups among the "new" immigrants.

Kansas City, Kansas, as a meat packing center began to develop about 1870 very shortly after Chicago. Though the industry in Chicago was always much larger, Kansas City, Kansas, by an almost equally wide margin held second place for a long time among the cities of the U.S. The most complete account of the for-ling elements in the packing industry of Kansas City is presented in the Report of the Immigration Commission contained in the Senate Documents of the 61st Congress (1910-11), 2nd session, Vol. 75, written after an investigation made in 1909. It will hereafter be referred to as the 1909 Report.* From the beginning packing in Kansas City has

*The packing companies are not identified by name but descriptive data allow placing the more important ones. The 1909 Report sometimes seems to confuse the Slovenians with either the Croatians or the Slovaks, and reflects quite evidently from time to time the prejudices of the anonymous informant being interviewed on a given subject, but is most valuable.

been largely in the hands of the big companies with primary houses in Chicago. The Armour interests established themselves in 1870. Swift's came in 1887 (according to most authorities; others propose - 1890 and 1885). The line of firms that developed through S and S (Schwarzchild and Sulzberger) and Co. began in 1883. Toward the turn of the century Morris (1903) and Cudahy (1900) set up houses in Kansas City. In 1916 these five companies slaughtered in Kansas City 1,165 thousand cattle, other companies five thousand. Their hegemony was nearly as complete even in the nineties. (U.S. Fed. Trade Commission Report on the meat packing industry, summary

p. 22 in Part K, 1919). Nationally, Swift's was the largest company with Armour a close second. They did almost half of the slaughtering in the country, and the other three a quarter of it, leaving the last quarter to independents. In Kansas City Armour's was larger than Swift's. The 1909 Report attributes to Armour's 4,200 employees, about half of the total at the time, the three other companies

there described had about 1,200 employees apiece. In the decade beginning in 1887 Kingan's, a great Belfast-American company, was important in Kansas City. Local firms were important in the early days; George Fowler & Son may be mentioned. In 1899 there were eleven companies. Geographically Armour's, located in the bit of Kansas (max. width $\frac{1}{2}$ mile) left east of the Kaw at the bend near its mouth, was separated from the other large companies situated on the west bank beginning about a mile farther south. Many tracks lay between them. For linguistic history the importance of domination by the great packers lies in their policy in handling labor. During strikes, threats of strikes, or times following strikes new immigrants were brought in, and dealt with as in Chicago.

The labor force in Kansas City packing as compiled from various sources for the 19th century and from the federal census reports since is as follows:

1881 - 1600	1897 - 7268	1909 - 9261
1888 - 6200	1900 - 7200	1920 - 16071
1891 - 7000	1904 - 8758	1930 - 7352
1892 - 8550	1905 - 9392	1940 - 5264

The great rise, as evidenced also by the dates of the establishment of packing houses, was at the time of the Kansas and trans-Mississippi boom of the mid-eighties; labor at that time was restive in Chicago and thereby encouraged the packers to develop resources elsewhere. The 1890's saw the force remain at about 7,000 after a rise before the panic and labor troubles of 1893.

The industry grew after the turn of the century, bloomed during the First World War, and fell away afterward. The fall during the depression of the thirties was not so great as during the previous decade.

The final decline came after the Second World War; Cudahy's closed after the flood of 1951, Armour's in 1965; in 1968 Wilson's and Swift's were phasing out.

✓ 33

Labor organizations do not appear to have been important in Kansas City until about 1890 when the Packing House Protective Association was established. By 1893 they were strong enough to carry on important strikes, which failed and left companies free to fight the major Chicago strikes of 1894. Organized labor among skilled employees grew strong in Kansas City rather rapidly in the succeeding years, and two units from there were among the five (none from Chicago) that during the winter of 1896-7 banded together into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters under the American Federation of Labor. The new union rapidly became stronger and began to organize the unskilled workers (almost all, immigrants) in 1902. In 1904 the union undertook a strike of national proportions focussed in Chicago. The skilled led the strike with the immediate aim of benefitting the unskilled. It was ineptly conducted and failed completely. In Kansas City 6,000 workers went out, half of them unskilled. The packers triumphed quickly here, and in 1909 almost none of the immigrants belonged to the union /s75: 300. The effects of the strikes on the shrinking of the number of employees among the "old" immigration, and on the growth in the number of the "new" is apparent in the census data presented above.

Until shortly after 1890 south and east Europeans, the "new" immigrants were of no importance in the Kansas City packing industry. The 1909 Report quotes Armour's as saying that before that date they employed all types of Eng-lings, Germans and Swiss. The 1890 Kansas Labor Report shows 40% foreign born among Armour women employees equally divided between Irish, Swedes and Germans. Another company, according to the 1909 Report, probably Swift's, employed primarily the sons of Irish, Swedes and

Germans before 1893. They then left "the plant to engage in other work;" that is, did not recover their jobs after the strike of that year. The "old" immigrants did not, however, completely disappear from the plants; in 1909 out of 3,308 foreign born employees interviewed 353 were Germans, 87 Swedes, 207 Irish, and of 753 sons of foreign-born fathers 260 were German, 36 Swedes, and 240 Irish. Over half of the immigrant Germans, Swedes and Irish had been in the U.S. over 20 years. These "old" immigrants in the plant, who were in positions of preferment /s75:278, and who practically all spoke English (p. 327), regarded themselves as Americans in contrast to the other immigrant workers and were consequently oriented toward dropping bi-lingualism. They, with the colonial Americans, were sufficient in numbers to exert Engl-izing pressure on the newcomers. The Germans and Swedes who left the industry in the early 90's were said in the 1909 Report mostly to have become farmers. The "old" immigrants at the packing plants then need no further consideration separate from that given the generality of their co-nationals in Kansas City.

The strike of 1893 was broken by Negroes and by labor imported from Chicago /s75:278; the strike of 1904 by Negroes and by labor imported from many sources. The Negroes gained only tentative footholds in the '90's, and made a more definite place for themselves in 1904. The "new" immigrants brought in after the strike of 1893, "Croations, Poles and Slovaks," became in the next decade the principal force of unskilled labor.

At the time of this strike Armour's "built up what is known as the Patch back of its plant [in 1909], a veritable labyrinth of narrow, dirty passageways, flanked by the most non-descript sort of shacks, and located many immigrants there" /s 75:278.

In 1895, the Patch, designated by a note in the Kansas State census records, was inhabited almost entirely by Croats (271 of them) with a score of Negroes and as many Germans. Hard by were more Germans, some Irish, a very few Poles, and some "Austrians." The Poles and "Russians" already had a foothold in the districts that were later to be theirs on Strawberry Hill, the tip of the bluffs above the R.R. yards across the river a mile to the southwest. In 1903 flood water covered the "Patch"; later flood control measures absorbed part of its territory. The Croatians largely abandoned the district and established themselves just across the river to the northwest on the hill as described above.

Armour's, according to the 1909 Report, employed Croatians, Poles, and Bohemians 6 or 8 years before any other plant in the locality except a smaller company near by (p. 278); Swift's depended more on Negroes for unskilled labor (p. 274). The immigrants "did not or would not come over to the side of the city where the other plants were located [plants other than Armour's]. The other companies soon found it necessary to induce some of the immigrant labor to work in their plants [Morris and Cudahy were just establishing themselves; Sand S taking over Morris & Butt]. Wagons were sent over to the "Patch" and the laborers brought to the plants...they gradually began to come of their own accord." This was the condition from 1899 to 1903 (p. 278). The 1900 census shows only 119 Poles in Kansas City. There were then 137 Russians and 686 Austrians (i.e. primarily Croatians and Slovenians).

After the strike of 1904 the Slavs including Slovenes, Serbs, and Bulgarians, also Lithuanians, increased greatly in the packing industry. The 1909 Report shows that about half of the Croats and Poles had come after 1905,

three fourths after 1900 (p. 276). Some Italians, who lived mostly in Missouri, and Greeks were added to the stocks already employed. The 1909 Report says that these South Europeans worked at packing only when other seasonal labor was not available, and were regarded as unsatisfactory. The Italians favored packing neither in Kansas City nor in Chicago, and did not become a permanent factor in the industry.* To a lesser degree the same

*Radin, in his study of San Francisco Italians (see Vol III, Bibliography for Italians) recounts the case of a Sicilian who, when arriving in New York, worked his way across the continent with jobs which included salting hides first in Chicago, then in Kansas City, moving on quickly (p. 97).

To a lesser degree the same was true of the Greeks.

In 1909 the employers ranked the nationalities as regards efficiency as follows: Russians, Poles, Croats, Slovaks (probably Slovenians are meant primarily), Lithuanians, Greeks, Italians (p. 285).

The following tables compiled from the 1909 Report show the distribution by nationality of the workers interviewed - three fourths of the total number employed.

foreign-born	3,308	native, nb father	1,828
native, fb father	753	Negro	<u>1,134</u>
			7,023

The 3,308 foreign born in linguistic families are as follows:

English	299	Romance	135
German	358	Greek	227
(Ger. and 5 Swiss)			
Scandinavian	122	Slav and Baltic	2,046
		(includes "Aus.	
		not spec." and	
		46 Lithuanians)	

Japanese	29	:	Slovak	87
Others	52	:	Serb	72
Dutch and Fl.	<u>40</u>	:	Bulgarian and	36
		:	Macedonian	
	3,308	:	Czech	<u>27</u>
		:		2,000
The Balto-Slav group was made up thus:				
Croat	1,049		Lithuanian	<u>46</u>
				2,046
Poles and Slovenes	325	prob. all Poles		
unspec. Aust.	235	prob. the Slovenians		
(1 Montenegrin)				
Russian	169			

The extensive data contained in the 1909 Report on economic conditions (wages, housing, etc.) among the workers of various origins are some of linguistic significance as evidence of social stratification, but here we may summarize only a little of the information on strictly social matters. About 3/4 of the "new" immigrants were literate in 1909. The proportion ran up to 90% for Slovenians, Slovaks and Poles-- natives, Englings, and Ger-lings practically 100%. Marriage was the normal status of all adult immigrants; 2/3 of those in the 20-29 age group were married irrespective of "race." However, many wives (nearly half) lived abroad. Considerable numbers of

those here for more than 4 years had visited Europe since they first came. General immigration studies of the period show that with the "new" immigrants this situation was common until the First World War. When he left Europe the immigrant, usually a young man (the Report shows very few foreign born over 45), expected to return home to live. Frequently he did, either temporarily or permanently. Linguistically this condition meant retardation in the acquisition of English and particularly in giving up foreign language.

Packing House Employees, 1909

Nationality	% of married men with wives abroad	% that had visited Europe	
		Here 5-9 yrs	Here more than 10 yrs
Croats	54	13.5	29.2
Poles	44	4.4	13.3
Russians	60	10	none here so long
Slovenians	43	19.4	11.5
Greeks	93	9.1	none here so long

(compiled from pp. 318-320)

The ability to speak English as shown in the 1909 Report was practically universal among those born in this country, not universal among foreign born even when they had been here for ten years. Percentage data are presented for the households of selected foreign born employees and for 2,537 employees interviewed on the job (no data for spaces left blank).

A B I L I T Y T O S P E A K E N G L I S H

Households
% who speak English

foreign born			age on arrival in US		No. yrs. in US		
	male	female	14- yrs.	14+yrs.	0-5	5-9	10+
Croat	69.4	28.8	83.6	48.7	28.1	67.1	85.6
German	89.2	66.7	92.9	75.0	20.0	70.0	95.8
Polish	70.0	39.7	84.6	50.9	20.1	73.2	100.0
Average fb	72.5	38.0					

Employees
% who speak English

Nationality	number	% of total number	Years in U.S.		
			0-5	5-9	10+
Croat	1,023	59.8	47.7	71.7	83.6
German	349	92.0	66.7	75.9	98.9
Greek	218	45.4	43.6	66.7	-
S. Italian	62	53.2			
Lith.	46	45.7			
Polish	317	39.4	28.2	68.1	81.3
Russian	165	29.7	21.3	83.3	75.0
Serb	71	50.7			
Slovak	86	62.8			
Slovene	114	71.1	54.0	78.9	92.3
Swedish	<u>86</u>	98.8			
	2,537				

In considering the differences between the sexes in the ability to speak English, the relative percentages for the Germans may be regarded as normal. The much greater preponderance of the ability among male Croats and Poles in households is to be explained by the more recent arrival of the women. Some were isolated in their homes, but many worked in the packing houses like the men.

The growth of the number of Slavs in packing house employment continued until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Immigration laws left it low after the close of hostilities.* However, during the twenties

census

*The increase in Yugo Slavs in the Fed. between 1920 and 1930, (Croatsians, Slovenians, Serbs) is probably to be explained by the fact that many Slovenians called themselves Austrians in 1920 and did not do so in 1930- the rapid fall of the Austrian count corroborates this reasoning.

when the labor force in packing dropped from 16,000 to 7,300 the Slav population of Kansas did not materially fall off except among the Russians. The Poles and the Yugo-Slav nationalities had become the firm backbone of packing house labor. During the Second World War they furnished much of the skilled nucleus. Employees between 40 and 60 were Slavs, habitually speaking their immigrant languages with each other.

In 1909 Mexicans are found to the number of 11 among the packing house employees interviewed for the report. The packers had begun to use their services only the year before. They were hired in very considerable numbers during the years of the First World War and were among those who were first turned away during the slump of the twenties. Swift's, Cudahy's, and

Wilson's have employed more of them than Armour's. They preferred work in the packing houses over railroad employment as being cleaner and better in temperature.

After the Second World War, meat packing in its old home in Kansas City declined rapidly because, among other reasons, of the shift in transportation from railroads to highways and because obsolete plants could be better replaced elsewhere. Cudahy's closed after the flood of 1951; others soon followed; Swift's was phasing out in 1968.

47.34 Early Slavs and ^{late} North Slavs. As to the Poles, who seem to have been the group earliest represented, "In 1880, Valentin Lewandoski, presently living on his farm near Vance, Kansas [western Linn County, not a settlement], and the late John Purul moved to and settled near the present Polish locality of Kansas City, Kansas"/lpA:255. Other families appeared soon. As set forth elsewhere, the Polish settlement at Leavenworth began to develop at nearly the same time, and there was in Missouri a Polish settlement at Sugar Creek. Both these groups sent representatives to Kansas City, Kansas. Later Kansas City was further reenforced by Poles from Leavenworth and more importantly from Pulaski Field near Monett, Mo. The part of Poland from which these people came is best shown by the census of 1900 which distinguished as follows: Poles born in Austria 33, born in Germany 18, born in Russia 64.

The first Slovaks arrived in 1885 /lpA:243. "A few Croatian families came to Kansas City by 1888" /lpA:255. The census of 1895 shows that the earliest Russians were there. It is difficult to separate the Slovenians from Croatians and German Austrians in the early censuses, but Krainer (people from Carniola, Austria) appear to have been present among the

Germans in isolated cases quite early; they did not, however, grow rapidly in numbers. There were Slovenian children born in Kansas by 1900. By that time Lithuanians were present. The first Serbs came in 1898 /S 15. The easiest way to follow the group life of the Slavic immigrants is through their churches, Roman Catholic or in two less important cases, Orthodox Catholic. The Catholic Church, we have seen, erected a national parish, Saint Anthony's for the Germans. The same policy, applied to other peoples, led to the establishment of a number of other national parishes. It was a policy of consent, not one of initiative, for more than once there was episcopal objection to the splintering, but the will of the immigrants, supported sometimes by a priest among them, was importunate enough to have its way.

Even before St. Anthony's in 1880, St. Bridget's or Brigid's parish was founded in the "Patch" in old Kansas City, Kansas. It was a church attended, as its name indicates, mainly by Irish at its beginning. Its parishioners shifted in character as Slavs displaced earlier immigrants and Mexicans and Negroes displaced the Slavs. Finally in the 1950's industry and flood protection took over the area so entirely that Saint Brigid's was closed. It furnished a rallying point for the Croatians until about the turn of the century when their own church was organized (see below, St. John the Baptist).

The first church specifically meant for the new immigrants was St. Joseph's which came to be a Polish national parish, but which in its beginnings was evidently intended to take care of all the people on the south knob, which seemed far from St. Mary's. The majority of the signatories to the petition for its creation in 1887 were, however, Poles - 37 Poles,

15 Slovaks, 1 Bohemian /lpA:255. There was early a "sprinkling" of people who were "Croatian, Ruthenian, Krainer [Slovenian] and Lithuanian."

There was dissension for more than a decade. The priests provided were all Slavs, but none of them was Polish. The priest of 1890, Francis Zwacek managed to "restore harmony" /lpA:256, but it was short-lived. Even the name of the parish was a matter of debate. The Catholic directory of 1891 records the Rev. F. J. Kulisek as pastor of the Church of Saint Cyril and Methodius (the present church of that name came into being much later). The directory of 1892 announced him priest of Saint Joseph's (not listed the year before). Father Kulisek, a Slovak or perhaps a Moravian, remained in the saddle from then until 1902, but his seat was not firm. "As the parish grew larger, the struggle for supremacy among the different nationalities was more intense. The climax came with the withdrawal and organization of new parishes.... St. Benedict's ["Irish"], SS Cyril and Methodius, St. John the Baptist, Holy Family, and Saint Casimir's." These parishes do not all consider themselves the daughters of Saint Joseph's, but in proportion as they were founded, St. Joseph's was purged of dissident elements.

Father Kulisek's successor, Father Alexander Smietana, who had begun his priestly career with four years among the Poles of Leavenworth (1893-1897) and then spent five years in Michigan, came in 1902 as the first Pole to care for the Parish. He died in 1915, and was succeeded by John Grudzinski, who like his predecessor had served well at Saint Casimir's in Leavenworth (1897-1913). Both these men were zealous Polish nationalists, and since Monsignor Grudzinski was in charge of the parish until his death in August 1952, the linguistic influence of St. Joseph's was most

conservative. In 1950 a young man from another parish said, "If you want to confess, and you don't go in Polish, he won't even listen." Other testimony agreed. Until the Second World War he succeeded in holding his parishioners fairly close to his views, but the young were rebellious in his later years.

After the death of Monsignor Grudzinski, the Rev. Adalbert Krzyzanowski was pastor of Saint Joseph's for nearly a decade. He died in Sept, 1961. From 1958, however, he was incapacitated and administrators were in charge. To be sure the assistant pastors were usually compatriots of the parishioners, but their succession was rapid enough to suggest that they presided over uneasy conditions. The attendance at St. Joseph's was sinking, for the younger families were moving out beyond the west limits of the city where they felt obliged to join the parishes which maintained the parochial schools attended by their children. For a short period after 1961 a non-Polish priest was pastor. He was succeeded as administrator in Oct. 1962 and as pastor the next August by the Rev. Charles Andalikiewicz, born in the parish in 1930. He had been assistant pastor for a year or two before. The advance toward the complete transition from Polishness passed into understanding care.

St. Joseph's school was founded in 1893 or 1896, and at first "the classes were conducted in the English language on account of the mixture of nationalities attending"/lp 256, but in 1906 purely Polish sisters (Franciscans from St. Louis) came to teach, and Polish became the language of instruction. Thereby the unity of language was increased, for children who heard dialects at home - even White Russian - learned standard Polish. There were 240 pupils in 1915. In 1936 "enrollment ha[d] dwindled to 275"

/lpA:276; in 1960 there were 194 pupils. Instruction in Polish had not completely disappeared from the curriculum in 1955. Pupils could learn to read Polish beginning in the second grade on Tuesdays and Thursdays. In 1960 this arrangement was unknown to the pupils. In the church there were still occasional sermons in Polish. By 1949 Father Grudzinski had so far conceded to public demand that he preached English sometimes at eleven o'clock and read the gospels in both English and Polish, but many of the 300 families of the parish were attending elsewhere. In 1955 preaching in English had been added at another mass. There were two in English and two in Polish. Polish at 10:00 was more heavily attended than English at 11:00. The Polish edition of the Sunday Visitor was still for sale in the church. In 1960 this Polish magazine was not in the vestibule. A contribution box bore over the original Polish label a paper typed in English better to identify the box. The paper had been there long enough to turn yellow. In 1955 the number of families was judged elastically, 250-300. The variations in the size of the parish may be judged by attendance at St. Joseph's School: 1900 - 80, 1915 - 240, 1948 - 204, 1960 - 194. It was in the period of greatest prosperity just after Father Grudzinski's arrival that the imposing church was built. The later shrinkage was caused as much by the scattering of the Poles from their original concentrated area of residence as by distaste for the nationalistic atmosphere.

The church most intimately connected with St. Joseph's was that of SS Cyril and Methodius. The Slovaks were probably less dissatisfied with the situation at St. Joseph's during the 1890's than the Poles themselves, for Father Kulisek, a priest whom they loved, was in command. As soon, however, as Polish domination was established, the Slovaks became restive,

and in 1905 listened to Father Francis Simonik say mass in the basement of St. Mary's. Before that year was over they were an organized parish served by Father Kulisek again; the next year their church was completed. Father Kulisek remained as pastor the rest of his career. In 1935 he celebrated the jubilee of his ordination and the next year he died. He dedicated his new church in 1907 with a sermon in Slovak before all the Slavic Catholic societies in Kansas City, Kansas. Slovak preaching still occurred at one third of the masses in 1955. The fifteen Slovak families of 1887 after passing through a higher peak numbered 68 in 1936, 20 in 1949. The 68 families of 1936 held 558 souls; families were twice as large in their group as in other groups during the depression. Shortly before 1948 the parish received as priest George Burak who remained with it at least through 1960. His persistence in preaching in Slovak speaks of his nationalistic tendencies, but he is a realist, and there has been no pressure for the children to learn Slovak.

The school of SS Cyril and Methodius began with the foundation of Parish. Attendance has been as follows: 1906 - 50, 1915 - 82, 1936 - 107, 1948 - 83, 1960 - 134. Instruction in Slovak was part of the curriculum until 1935. After that, but through 1955, the children learned certain songs and prayers in Slovak - nothing more.

A discussion of the speakers of a Baltic language should, strictly speaking, not be thrown into the midst of a study of Slavs, but since the Lithuanians after wrenching free from St. Joseph's and its Poles had to submit about 1948 to being merged into SS Cyril and Methodius and its Slovaks, we will consider their parish, St. Casimir's, at this point.

The reason for the merger was the smallness of Lithuanian numbers. In January, 1905, thirty-one Lithuanians organized into a Beneficial Society for Men and began meetings in St. Joseph's hall. Because the peoples were neighbors in Europe, they knew something of Polish and learned to understand the sermons of Father Smietana. By 1912 there were 125 Lithuanians in the men's society and its auxiliary. Father Smietana brought priests who understood Lithuanian to hear their confessions, but refused to approve of a separate church. A committee called at the episcopal chancery and Bishop Ward gave unwilling permission to the establishment of a new church, and St. Casimir's came into existence. They found themselves a building, an old Baptist church, and a priest, but the priest stayed only briefly. For almost twenty years no priest stayed long; the maximum was two and a half years, but Father Francis Zekas, who arrived at the end of 1930 was still with St. Casimir's in 1936. By then the number of souls amounted to nearly 275. A school was established in 1922 and in 1931 Lithuanian-speaking sisters came from Pittsburg, Pa., to teach it. The parish history of 1936 /lpA:236-8, leaves no doubt that linguistically St. Casimir's was at that time completely Lithuanian. But growth had already ceased and retrogression had set in. In 1948 the Slovak priest, Father Burak became also their priest, and the next year the parish was abolished; there were twelve Lithuanian families at St. Casimir's, unhappy but resigned. Thus the only group in Kansas representing a Baltic language succumbed.

After the Second World War a number of refugees from Latvia appeared in various Lutheran communities, including the Rev. Nothnagel's church in Kansas City, but they all spoke German, acquired English rapidly, so that no Lettish community ever developed.

47.35 South Slavs. The most numerous group among the "new" immigrants were the Croatians. Their church, St. John the Baptist's, was not organized as early as St. Joseph's, but it was "national" from its beginning, earlier than St. Joseph's was "purely Polish." Before 1898, according to their parish history, among the Croats "some went to St. Brigid's, some to St. Mary's. Others who understood German went to St. Anthony's, but most of them went to St. Joseph's"/lpA:246. In 1898 after a fermentation of meetings they dug a basement for St. John's and met there. They were not fortunate in their first priest. Finally in 1902 Father Martin Davorin Krompotic came directly from Croatia. "It was voted unanimously that a box of beer be bought in honor of his advent." The arrival was indeed propitious; Father Krmptotic remained until his death in 1930, became a monsignor in 1922. He helped his parishioners build their church. To a union steward who demanded his card, he answered, "I do not need any union card; I am building my own church." His identity with his people was complete, but when the influenza epidemic of 1918 so decimated the productive generations that many children were left without parents, his parish erected an orphanage, and children of all sorts were accepted. For a time the influence of the institution linguistically was to make speakers of Croatian of all the children there, but in the long run it was an Engl-izing force. When Father Krmptotic died, Charles A. Stimac, also to become a Monsignor, appears to have taken over the parish at once, and still was its pastor until shortly after 1960. Father Stimac preached once out of five times on a Sunday in English until the Second World War. By 1950 the proportion was 3 English, 2 Croatian and it so remained in 1957; in 1960 only certain announcements of interest

to the old were made in Croatian. "Nobody cares nothing about the old." Thus, those deprived, expressed their resentment. Their special needs had, however, been taken care of as long as they were numerous. The parish publication, The Kansas City Croatian, was in 1950 half in Croatian. Shortly after Father Krmpotic's coming St. John's school began; in 1905 there was a building. The Sisters of the Precious Blood gave up the school in 1909, presumably because they could not completely meet the demand for Croatian, and they were replaced by Franciscan Sisters. Instruction in Croatian was fundamental in the curriculum, but after Father Stimac's coming in 1936, it was dropped. The enrollment in the school was 276; in 1948 it was 334; in 1960, 382. In the latter year the half of the original parish between the church and the river had already been lopped off by the right-of-way of the Kansas Turnpike. The loss to the parish was approximately fifty families, not counting those moving but relocating in the neighborhood.

Slovenians attended various churches in the early years. Nationalism seethed among them, but it was not until Father Podgorsek came from Frontenac, Kansas, to address them in 1907 that they began actively to work for their own church. In 1908 they formed a society that incorporated under state laws and procured themselves a priest without the blessing of the Bishop. "Father Kompare found that the parish was not affiliated with the diocese, but secured the necessary faculties from Bishop Lillis"/lpA:208. He converted a cottage into a church, where he said mass and began a school with twelve pupils within the year. In 1910 the Franciscans took over the parish for a year and brought Franciscan Slovene teachers to the school. Father Anthony Leskovic, newly arrived from Europe, replaced him in 1911

and the parish made further progress. He departed in 1916, however, and Father John Perse (Perše) came from Leadville, Colorado. Father Perše was still the pastor in 1935. Under him preaching was normally in Slovenian; the ceremonial sermon at the dedication of the new church in 1925 was in Slovenian. Young Father Heliodore Mejak, who was the priest in 1948, though Slovenian, had been brought up in a German speaking family, and stopped using Slovenian in sermons, though he could hear confessions in the language, which he understood, and prayers and hymns in Slovenian continued to be common. Also the weekly bulletin, while for the most part in English, continued to bear at least until 1956 a list of the memorial masses in Slovenian. Slovenian was dropped early from the school curriculum- by 1936- at least, but the sisters were still Slovenes, and taught their children playlets and songs at least until after the Second

World War. The attendance at school was: 60 in 1915, 88 in 1948, 110 in 1955, and 96 in 1960. The parish held about 150 families in 1949.

The Serbs in Kansas City, Kansas, organized the St. George Serbian Orthodox church in 1905. Its membership of approximately 700 in 1955 in contrast to statistical data from the 1909 report and the state census of 1925 is to be explained by the wide geographical distribution of the group. The parish includes all Kansas City, Missouri, as well as Kansas. The first church was on north First Street, that is, in Kansas, a little north of and very near the river junction. Squeezed out by industry, it moved in 1925 to a site near Bethany Park, well to the west of Strawberry Hill in the Central Avenue Valley. The Reverend Dushan Milakov was pastor from 1939 to some time between 1955 and 1958. In 1950 half of his preaching was in Serbian, in 1955 he used Serbian once a Sunday. There were also Serbian songs. Schooling in Serbian began in 1913 and continued till 1938. This was extra-hour schooling, and the children received their education in the public schools for the most part. In spite of the Engl-izing forces resulting from scattered residence, relative smallness of size, and little special schooling, this group has been conservative in its linguistic religious practices.

The Russian Orthodox Church, little but tall, and perched where its onion dome can be seen from all the Kaw bottoms to the east was built in 1919. The organization that built it is not much older. Linguistically the church in its services is the most conservative of all the Slavic churches. In 1962 only a few details were heard in English, the Lord's Prayer for instance. All preaching was in Russian; the ritual of course in Church Slavonic. The most obvious reason for this conservatism was that the priest, who had spent

most of his exile from Russia in Argentina, had only limited command of English. The people would not, however, have been willing to accept this complete dominance of Russian if the composition of the parish had resembled that of the other Slavic churches. There were among them a large element of comparatively late immigrants. About one fourth of the attendance was made up of refugees who had gained entry to the United States after the First World War. This linguistic conservatism has not been calculated to keep in the church the sons and daughters of those who arrived earlier. Among them there were many defections. This abandonment was partly promoted by vain efforts to train the children in Russian in an after-hours school. The children who were near attended spasmodically, those farther away used distance for an excuse for not coming. The classes ended about 1935. The children of the late arriving refugees still remained with the church in 1962. The Rev. John Morozoff, who served the church from 1939 till about 1955 estimated that his parishioners came from some seventy families. Attendance was high; other sources say nearly two hundred persons. The indifferent had made a clean break with the church; the remainder were fervent. The faithful congregated close to the church until the time of the Second World War. A number of the others lived in the valley along Central Avenue. Linguistically the Russians were not a solid unit. More than a few were White Russians from the area of Grovno and Minsk, beyond the Lithuanians to the east of the southern Baltic shore. Some were Ukrainians from near the river Don. The early division between religious and indifferent was furthered by the existence for a while of a group with communist leanings who "tried to break up the church." The

adherence to Russian in church usage has been accompanied by linguistic development in other respects quite parallel to that of other Slavic groups in Kansas City.*

*Ukrainians were represented in the population of Kansas City as early as other Slavs (see the references to Ruthenians in the quotation from the Polish Parish History above), but they did not until after the Second World War form a group sufficiently well defined to be the basis of discussion. In 1957 a Ukrainian Baptist Church, meeting in Kansas City, Kansas, near Central Avenue, was organized with the Rev. Michael Tesluk as pastor. He was still in Kansas City at least two years later. The Kansas City Star, 26 June, 1957, says: "The mother tongue is used in the services."

47.36 Linguistic development among the Kansas City Slavs in the family is shown in striking fashion by the case histories collected by Jean Scammon in 1955. The following table analyzes her report.

Yr. of immigration or what generation		Education (highest achievement)	Present use in speaking	Capability of sons & daughters with immigrant language	No. of next generation	Notes
---------------------------------------	--	---------------------------------	-------------------------	--	------------------------	-------

Name

When born

Capability with immigrant language

No. of next generation

Notes

Love, Mrs. Frank	2d	ca 1900	St. John's	Spoke Croatian & Ger.	None at home	3d	None	Married non-Croatian - studied Croat in school
her father		ca 1889	ca 1872	Native speaker	Deceased	2d	Speak	Wife non-Croatian "spoke German, Polish, and English. She learned Croatian after her marriage from the parish priest" all Croatian in area
Love, Bernard	3d	1927	K C U	None	None	-	-	
Podrebarac, Mrs. Barbara	2d	ca 1899	St. John's	Speaks Croatian	Not Always	2d	All know some	Croat at school, a few old women know no English, no children learning
Podrebarac, Matt	1909	1893		Native speaker	Not Always	2d		At Armour's
Her parents				Native speakers	Deceased			Mother did not learn English
Podrebarac, Vivian	2d & 3d	1920		High school	Speaks well			Sister of Charity since 1950
George	2d & 3d	1922		Speaks well	Rarely	4th	None	engineer (mechanical)
Leonard	2d & 3d	1924		M.D. Creighton	Speaks some			
Charles	2d & 3d	1926			Speaks some			
Dolores	2d & 3d	1929		High school	Speaks & writes			Sister of Charity
				St. Mary's				
Marian	2d & 3d	1931		Speaks	Home with husband	-	-	Husband Slovenian
Matt, Jr.	2d & 3d	1933		Rockhurst	Speaks some			In army
Joseph	2d & 3d	1936		Rockhurst	Speaks very little			At home
John	2d & 3d	1938		High school	understand			

Podrebarac, Anna	2d & 3d 1940	high school	} Speak very little understand	-	-	At home
Daniel	2d & 3d 1942	St. John's		-	-	
Louise	2d & 3d 1944	St. John's		-	-	
Loncaric, Mr.	ca 1903 ca 1877	Native Speaker	Deceased	2d	Speak	He learned at work
Mrs.	1906 ca 1879	Native Speaker	Always, alm. 2d no English	-	-	In 1955, housekeeper to son
Stanislaus	2d ca 1907	priest	With mother	-	-	In 1960, Monsignor at Paola, son of above, brother of next
Rebeck, Mrs. nee Loncaric	2d ca 1910	St. John's	Very fluent	3d	Understand	Evidently will cease speaking when she loses her mother
Mr.	ca 1908	public sch.	Knows little	3d	Understand	The two oldest partly reared by grandmother: she speaks Croatian to them all
Daniel	3d 1938	high school	Understands well	-	-	
Gerald	3d 1940	high school	Understands well	-	-	
Joseph	3d 1942	St. John's	None	-	-	
John	3d 1943	St. John's	None	-	-	
Pat	3d 1943	St. John's	None	-	-	
Mary Ber.	3d 1948	St. John's	Understand somewhat	-	-	
Marron Ger.	3d 1954	St. John's	None	-	-	
Aciger, Mrs.	2d ca 1913	St. John's	Speak fluently	3d	The older understand somewhat	She spoke Croat to parents; English to brothers and sisters
Mr.	2d ca 1911		Speak fluently	3d		Similarly in his family; now only to old
her parents & his	1900	Native speakers	3 deceased	2d	Speak	

Volf, Anton	1902	ca 1881	Native Speaker	Usually, but ^{2d} not with young	Speak	He first to Texas, KC 1907, married 1908. Information of 1960.
Mrs.	1907	ca 1885	Native Speaker	^{2d} Speak		
son & daughter	2d	ca 1910	Speak Croat	Rarely	3d Know none	Married "Americans"
Modrcin, Thomas	2d	ca 1938	Speaks poorly	Practically none	-	Parents "took to using English, so the children did, too." Information of 1959.
Sachen, Frances	2d	ca 1903	Speaks well	Some	3d None	She is unmarried, but nephews & nieces know none. Information of 1957.
Fabac, John	3d	ca 1935	Knows none	-	-	Grandmother, brought up in orphanage, still speaks. Information of 1954.
Rodina, Matt. Geo.	2d	1928	Understands, speaks some	Only to old & for secrecy	-	Croat readers till 1936, sister born 1929 speaks less. Information of 1950.
Sigrcb, H. J.	2d	ca 1909	Understands, speaks some	Rarely	3d Very little	Married Croatian, "Women hang on longer to language; closer to parents." Info of 1949. Parents came 1909 or 1902.

Markiewitz, J. A.	2d	ca 1895	St. Joseph's) Speaks well	With old - sometimes with wife	3d None	Runs grocery
father	1880	ca 1873	some school Native speaker	Deceased	2d Speaks	In Ozarks, and in Kansas, to KC ca 1905
mother	1880	1875	Native speaker	Polish is handier		Born Leavenworth - parents came as adults; know English
Mrs. J. A.	2d	ca 1897	Speaks well	Sometimes with hus. & parents	3d None	
8 daughters	3d	1919-36	high school Understand a few words	None	4th None	2 nuns; none married Poles
Jascot, Mrs. Thomas	2d	1903	Learned to speak & forgot	Only English	3d None	Her parents here 3 months when she was born; father died early; he served in army. "No interest whatsoever in maintaining the original Mother tongue nor any regret at having lost it." Polish at school optional & they did not choose.
Thomas	1911	1896	Native speaker	Only English	3d None	
their children (3)	2d	1925-34	Never learned	None	-	

ZaslnoKa, Mrs. Clara	2d	1917	Learned Polish	Only with old3d & to attempt secrecy	Barely understand	Polish at school - born Monett, Missouri
her father	1902	1887	Native speaker	Deceased	2d Learned	Used a mixture of Polish & German often, but English usually
her mother	2d	ca 1895	Speaks	Finds Eng. easier		
Mr.	2d		Speaks	As for wife 3d	As for wife	His parents used Polish much more than hers.
Robert	3d	1939	high school	None	-	
Gerald	3d	1941	high school	None	-	
Jimmy	3d	1946	St. Joseph's	None	-	
			"Sense" the meaning when parents talk for secrecy			
Skibniewski, Walter	1907	1886	Native speaker	Polish is easier	2d Speak	Married here.
wife	ca 1908	ca 1890	Native speaker	died 1940		
Stanley	2d	1911	St. Joseph'sSpeaks	Not in family	- None	Wife is non-Polish.
Wally	2d	1928	St. Joseph'sSpeaks & business	Sometimes with3d wife	None	Wife is Polish
Sophie	2d	1912	St. Joseph'sSpeaks & business	Speaks both lan. 3d	Speaks	Grandfather living in home, so daughter. speaks (no other data on her) "One of the few families in which the foreign language is being maintained and passed on to the younger generation."
			Her husband Slovenian.			

Orloff, Mrs.	1913	1900	2 yrs. in Russia	Native speaker	Prefers Russian2d	Knows some	Alone with father - picked up English
Mr.	1913	ca 1895		Native speaker	Prefers Eng., 2d but Russ. with wife		Both from Don region
Helen	2d	1916	RN K U	Understands and speaks some	Generally Eng. 3d	None	Married "American"
Vera	2d	1920		Understands and speaks some	English	3d None	Married American major

Orloff, James	2d	1926	Understands some & speaks less	English	3d	None	Regrets not knowing more
Violet	2d	1927	Understands & speaks some	English	-	None	All Orloff children attended after-school classes in Russian spasmodically
Walter	2d	1930	Understands & speaks some	English	-	None	Orloffs evidently have bi-lingual conversations between mother and others
Parhomek, Mrs.	ca 1920	ca 1900	Native speaker	Habitually at home	2d	Proficient	Imperfect English that they picked up
Mr.	ca 1920	ca 1900	Native speaker		2d		
their 4 children	2d	after 1920	Speak well	With parents	3d	None	Names Ann, Mike, Peter, Jane (2d generation)
Boris, Mrs. Alex	1910	1903	Native speaker	Eng. easier now	2d	Understand only	Has stopped reading in Russian. From Minsk area, came alone; picked up with difficulty the English he knows. He learned Eng. at work; she hardly did.
Mr. Alex	1910	1893	Native speaker	Wife explains in Russ. to him	2d		
her father	1910	ca 1880	Native speaker	Deceased	2d	Proficient	
her mother	1910	ca 1880	Native speaker	Russian habitually	2d		
Mary	2d	1920	bus. school Understands	None	3d	A word or 2	Borises do not live near church, no school in Russian, apparently a non-Russian neighborhood
Catherine	2d	1923	Understands	None	3d	Too young	
Helen	2d	1926	X-ray tech. Understands, speaks some	Occasionally	-	-	Increased her proficiency with X-ray patients
Barbara	2d	1933	Understands	None	3d	Too young	
Super, Mr.	1898	ca 1880	Native speaker	Use both Sl & Eng.	2d	Can speak	Lived Armourdale. English eventually the lang. of home - Mother learned primarily from children
Mrs.	1907	1889	Native speaker				Father learned some at work

Super, Pauline	2d	1910	Sts. Cyril and Methodius	Speaks, understands better	Only to mother	3d None	Knew no English at 5
Mary	2d	1915	same	Speaks, understands better	With husband "for fun"	3d Too young	Married Mr. Lipnicky
Ann	2d	1917	same	Speaks, understands better	Uses Sl. very little	3d	At home
John	2d	1919	same	Speaks, understands better	Rarely	3d None	Wife Croat - children know some Croat; he has learned some
Lipnicky, Mr.	2d	ca 1913		Speaks well	With wife "for fun"	3d Too young	No English at 5 - husband of Mary Super
Cech, John	1904	1888		Native speaker	Still uses, sometimes eas. than English	2d Speak 2 doz. words	To Kansas City in 1908, learned English mostly after opening grocery in 1913. He attends Eng. because the priest's Slovak is book Slovak.
Mrs.	2d	ca 1895		Speaks			
Frances	2d & 3d	1917	as above	Understands	None	3d None	Helped in grocery store - spoke to Slovak cus.
John	2d & 3d	1919	same	Understands, speaks some	None	3d None	
Yurchak, Margaret	2d	1920	same	Speaks readily, but badly	Sometimes with old, never at home	3d None	Her parents in Penna, went to night school, and English good, but used Slovak at home
Mr.	2d	1911	high school	Speaks			His parents learned English in Missouri but used Slovak at home
Yovetich, Mrs. El1	2d	ca 1914	Pub. school	Fluent speaker	For secrecy to sister & mother -in-law	3d Understand some	
her father	1907	1879		Native speaker	Deceased	2d } Older spoke	He picked up English at work
her mother	1910	ca 1882		Native speaker, always Serb at home	Deceased	2d }	She learned little

Slovak

Serb

S l o v e n i a n	Yovetich, sister Milie	2d	1911	Pub. school Fluent speaker	At home	3d	Married a Serb who arrived 1913
	sister Bessie	2d	ca 1916	Pub. school Understands, does not speak	None	3d None	Married a Pole; children know no Polish either
	brother Kushan	2d	ca 1918	Pub. school Understands, does not speak	None	3d None	Married a Pole; children know no Polish either
	Eli	2d	ca 1912	Pub. school Speaks fluently	To mother & for secrecy	3d Understand some	Police officer
	Donald	3d	1940	Pub. school Understand some	Listen	- -	
	Gene	3d	1946	Pub. school Understand some		- -	
	Dockman, Mr.	1905	1884	Native speaker	Deceased ca 1925	2d Speak some well	
	Mrs.	ca 1907	ca 1889	Native speaker	To family	2d	She learned English well
	Michael	2d	ca 1914	Pub. school Speaks	To mother & old	-	Married American. Nephew, 14, knows Lord's Prayer
	His 9 bro & sisters	2d	various	Speak variously	In two families sometimes	3d None	Only 2 married Serbs.
	Resovich, Stephen	2d	1925	K U Speaks some, understands	A little at home	3d None	Schooled in Serb until ca 1938; doesn't understand what he reads
	his older brothers & sisters	2d	1922-4	Speak well	With Parents	3d A little	A child b 1952, some from grandparents
	his parents	ca. 1922	ca. 1885 - 1900	native speakers	At home	2d	
	his 2 younger bros.	2d	1927-9	resemble Stepen in ability	At home		
	Kostelac, Mrs. Joseph	1914	1899	learned Ger Still speaks, writes	With husband, 2d mother & old	All speak some, girls best	"Americans should speak like Americans." 2 yrs. night school, 2 sisters, 1 here earlier
	Joseph	1907	1888	Still speaks, writes	With wife & old		Packing house - both say English is hard - "Not fair when children go to school with no English"
	Joseph, Jr.	2d	1919	Slov. here Speaks well	-		

Anzicek, Stanley	2d	1928	High school	None	
Edward	2d	1930	High school	None	
Elizabeth	2d	1930	High school	None	
Dorothy	2d	1936	High school	None	
Catherine	2d	1937	High school	None	
Kalich, Mrs. Frank	1903	1885	Learned Ger	Native speaker	
Frank	1902	ca 1885	Learned some Ger.	Native speaker	
Frank, Jr.	2d	1909	St. Ben. Col. Speaks well (also M.A. K U German)	Now now	
Marie Ang.	2d	1912	Speaks little	None	
Teresa	2d	1914	Spoke as child	None	
Elizabeth	2d	1916	Speaks little	None	
Genevieve	2d	1919	Speaks well	Not now	
Richard	2d	1921	Rockhurst	Speaks well	
William Charles	2d	1924	High school	Understand some	
Stanley	2d	1928	KCU	Understand some	

2d { All speak some, girls best }
Married 1908, spoke German in Brooklyn before coming here; learned no English for 4 years

He learned English at work; she from her children; she at ease in all 3 languages.
Married a former high school teacher, grad. student at K U

Married a Slovenian insurance man
Married an Army officer

Married an Italian fruit merchant, children know no Italian
Married Slovenian; they speak some with her parents

Kostelac, John	2d	1921	Holy Family Speaks some	None in his home	3d	None	Married Lithuanian; son speaks a little Lith.
Edward	2d	1923	Holy Family Speaks a little	Rarely	3d	None	Wife does not speak it
Margie	2d	1925	Holy Family Speaks very well	None in her home	3d	None	
Frank	2d	1927	Holy Family Speaks very little	None	3d	None	"Didn't try; not interested"
Anthony	2d	1929	High school Speaks very little	None	3d	None	Like Frank; non-Slovenian wife
Mary	2d	1931	High school Speaks somewhat	Seems none	-	None	In Slovenian plays at school
Al	2d	1933	Holy Family Speaks very little	Seems none	3d	None	
Helen	2d	1934	Holy Family Speaks very little	Seems none	-	-	
Angela	2d	1936	High school Speaks very little	Seems none	-	-	In Slovenian play in 2d grade
Dolores	2d	1940	High school Speaks very little	Seems none	-	-	
Anzicek, Mrs. Leopold	1909	1903	Slov. here Speaks well	Rarely now is implication	2d	Most under-stand	Married 1921
Leopold	when 16 ca 1898		Native speaker				
her parents			Native speakers	Use in home			He learned German in army
her brother			Speaks well		3d	None	
Anzicek, Leo	2d	1922	Holy Family Understands	None			
Mary	2d	1923	Holy Family Understands well	None	3d	None	
Frances	2d	1925	High school Understands some	None			
Peter	2d	1926	High school Understands some	None	3d	None	

The conclusions to be drawn from Miss Scammon's study are below combined with certain testimony from other sources particularly as regards public usage.

First, here is a general statement applicable in its broad lines to all the Slavs of Kansas City, Kansas. Slav immigrants and their descendants until 1930 used English only when necessary in business or if school children with each other. They recognized early that English must be their language of record. Cemetery inscriptions in Slavic were rare after 1923, though there are examples in the 1930's and as late as 1944. The Slavs were in 1941 all able to speak their immigrant language, but those born after 1918 were not using it with each other except as a means of excluding others from a knowledge of their conversation. People born before 1910 still did not hesitate to use the language in public, that is, while they were in secondary groups in large gatherings, on the street, in shopping, and at work in the packing houses. The mixing caused by the very considerable number of young men in the Armed Services during the Second World War hastened Engl-izing. In 1950 those born before 1935 but after 1925 were able to speak Slavic somewhat and to understand well. Those older still used Slavic in their homes unless there were marriages uniting two linguistic stocks. Those born after 1935 were unable to speak Slavic unless they were in constant contact with the old. In 1960 only the old and those caring for the old were using f-lang habitually except for refugee families. By "the old" is here meant those born before 1895. Younger grandparents had usually become accustomed to the use of English. Some of the young were still were able to understand grandparents, however, among whom there were some,

especially women unable to speak English. The general opinion was that Slavic would die with the immigrants. The above statements have been made without regard to sex. The women have been much more linguistically conservative than the men, even when they became packing house workers. Until we arrive at the generations born after the First World War, the Engl-izing rate was about a decade faster among men. The conclusions for each group are remarkably similar and the summaries for them will be repetitious, differing primarily though not entirely in the character of the examples selected to illustrate the general truth.

As the most numerous settlement -- about 5,000 people belonged to the stock in 1955 -- the Croatians held the greatest possibility for linguistic conservatism. Although there were in 1962 more speakers of Croatian left than was true for any other language, this fact was true only because of their superior numbers. Since they were one of the oldest resident groups, and had received reinforcements as long as any, there was more variety in their ability to speak their foreign language than was true in other Slavic groups. Before 1950 there were individuals who had escaped entirely into the general population, not infrequently finding places in the professions, and the families of these men were completely Engl-ized. By that time, too, there was much intermarriage with other groups, and English was almost necessarily the household tongue. However, then, and even in 1960, after much of the original settlement had been cut away by the turnpike older people used foreign language habitually near the church. In 1960 most of those living there were old; this was less true in 1950 and the younger people of the neighborhood had a certain proficiency.

Joseph A. Lastelic, an example of those Croatians who had emerged from the settlement, wrote June 9, 1957, in his feature article in the Kansas City Star on Croatian families about to be evicted from Strawberry Hill to make room for the Kansas Turnpike: "Folk ways were handed down along with the language. Even today some of the teenagers, dressed in typical peasant costumes, perform the dances and sing the old songs. A favorite, "Samo Nemo Ti," tells of a girl who picks flowers for her lover in a secret love affair unknown to the mothers. These are not just memorized verses -- the youngsters are able to understand them. The new generation can converse in Croatian with grandparents, and then at the ring of the telephone jabber for hours with friends about the latest rock 'n roll hit (in English)." Close reading will show that Mr. Lastelic agreed that the teen-agers were much more at home in English, and that he only claims proficiency in Croatian for them when taught by grandparents. In 1962 those born after 1942 seldom spoke any Croatian. In 1966 girls aged 18 still understood Croatian somewhat, because they heard their mothers, who ordinarily spoke English, talking in it with their grandmothers, among whom there were some unable to speak English, conscious of neglect because they knew no English.

The other Yugo-Slavians or South Slavs -- the Serbs, linguistically almost identical with the Croatians, and the Slovenians -- were much smaller groups. They did not become Anglicized at much greater speed at first, but the defection of the young generation was perhaps more complete. The contrast between the young and the old was sharper in 1955. This was in part because the national Servian and Slovenian societies and publications -- wick are bilingual -- seem to have had more influence than the corresponding

Croatian creations. The general effect has been that the Slovenians and Serbs seem more nearly a part of the general population to the casual observer, but more intimate investigation reveals nearly the same proportion of the conservative. Linguistic conservatism has been more marked among the Serbs than among the Slovenians.

The use of Russian has persisted longer in Kansas City than the foreign language of any other small group because of the number of late arriving refugee families. In the restaurants which they frequent on Central Avenue employees learned Russian from the customers until about 1950. In the following decade many customers continued to talk Russian with each other. But the children of the late immigrants were no more faithful to their ancestral tongue than the children of earlier comers. The last immigrants will die later than for other groups, but with them the use of Russian will cease.

The Poles were rather a large group, and until the Second World War stayed close together. They did not often work in the Armour plant, more distant from their quarter than the other packing houses. Their faithfulness to Polish was more monolithic up to that point than that of the south Slavs to their languages. The calling of their young men to the colors, the broader economic opportunities during the Second World War, the aging of Father Grudzinski, and the unsettled conditions which followed his death brought about something of a revolution. The status of Polish among the young in 1960 was essentially the same as that of the other Slavic languages. Indeed they no longer regarded themselves as Polish; a thirteen-year-old girl in the company of other children of Polish stock identified her parents as "Polish" because they were refugees who had arrived after

1945. Earlier comers were not "Polish." Still George Radamski, just arrived from Europe in March 1957, found at least one fourth grader, Zygmunt Marczyk, who could translate from English for him until his own English sufficed /KC Star, 5 May, 1957. Furthermore, there were enough old immigrants so that in 1964 the meetings of the lodges were carried on in Polish; the younger men, though they were members, did not attend. One sermon a month was delivered in Polish, and the authority of the bishop was needed to repress the demand for more. Those born before 1925 ordinarily went to confession in Polish. Those of that age in families where immigrant parents survived customarily used Polish to them, but even those of the second generation who spoke it regarded Polish as a difficult language, forgetting that in childhood they acquired it as easily as English. In some but not all families where children had been born about 1935 those children as young adults had a certain proficiency in Polish. With younger people knowledge was most often restricted to a few words.

The Slovaks, though a small group, have not suffered a similar revolution. Their faithfulness to Slovak was as great as that of the Poles to Polish in the early years. Indeed in 1955 there were 70 Slovaks unable to speak English (as compared with two Slovenians). In 1949 all children could still understand Slovak. But Engl-izing forces were at work among them. The old did not want their children to suffer from a lack of knowledge of English as they had suffered, and the difficulty of those speaking uncultured Slovak in using "book Slovak" kept them away from the agents of cultural inheritance.

47.37 Greek and Yiddish. The Greeks in Kansas City, Kansas, are more numerous than in any other place in Kansas and may therefore occupy us briefly. There were no Greeks in Kansas City until shortly after 1900. The federal census for the three following decades shows :

Persons born in Greece resident in Kansas City, Kans.

1910	230
1920	273
1930	154 (males - 119, females - 35)
1940	146 (males - 113, females - 33)

The state census of 1925, probably incomplete, though there may have been a shift between the two Kansas Cities, records 114. Of these,

1	had reached the U. S. in 1895
8	" " " " between 1900 and 1904
33	" " " " " 1905 and 1909
47	" " " " " 1910 and 1914
10	" " " " " 1914 and 1919
15	" " " " " 1920 and 1925

The Greeks clustered south of the Strawberry Hill section in Armourdale; 88 of the 114 of 1925 were in this area. Here they established in 1926 Saint Dionysius's Hellenic Eastern Orthodox Church. Mostly they resided in this neighborhood until after the Second World War. Greek children played together and often knew no English on starting to school. The personnel staff in the packing

✓372

houses in 1949 regarded the Greeks as the group most firmly knit together. Others too were of that opinion: Internal inspection revealed rivalry and jealousy. The condition reflected by these two statements has been true of many settlements after they have passed their earliest youth before they have yielded to the influences from the outside. The teapot is barely cracked, and the tea within boils merrily. The family at time was nearly as patriarchal as it had been before immigration. Young people were not allowing their parents to choose their spouses, but family approval of a marriage was nearly necessary. Grandmothers had not many years before ^{been} seeing to it that girls younger than the age of rebellion did not walk through the streets unaccompanied. Employment within a commercial enterprise under Greek management did not include other Greeks, except relatives, for fear that business secrets might leak out. The immigrants came from many parts of Greece. Although the group was small, provincial prejudices persisted. Marriage to a non-Greek was a monstrosity; marriage to some one from another province was frowned upon. These social conditions were naturally accompanied by linguistic conservatism. The most important internal tendency that pushed in the opposite direction was the unwillingness of Greeks to trade with Greeks for fear of making one's neighbor more prosperous than oneself. Greeks then became bilingual for commercial reasons and even habitually English-speaking during business hours. For the women, who had been especially conservative because, even more than in other immigrant groups, they remained shut away from outside influences, entrance into the world of affairs was very important as an Eng- lizing force. Outside the group the school was having its usual effect. Children acquired English as their cultural language and complained at having to listen at church to sermons that meant very little to them. All

children were still learning Greek, but most often from their grandparents, for the fathers and mothers of small children usually talked to each other in English. Three times a week the children went to school to learn Greek. All sermons at church were in Greek. By 1957 the changes were not enormous. Some children knew no Greek when they started to Greek church school, but their parents were cooperative in the effort to teach them the ancestral language. The age of respect for foreign language had arrived. (Cf. #94.10)

Inasmuch as statistical data on Yiddish-speaking Jews are difficult to unravel from information concerning other groups, the presentation of the history of Yiddish in Kansas City, Kansas, here takes the form of a condensation of a study made by Vernon Chamberlin in 1956. It follows:

The Orthodox Hebrew Synagogue of Ohev Shalom (Lit. "love of peace"), built in 1925 at 501 North 7th, in the Strawberry Hill area, serves a congregation of 187 families, the majority of whom are of Ashkenazim origin. Its history began after the 1903 flood washed away a two-story frame synagogue in the west bottoms, the old Kansas City, Kansas,

The congregation was once housed at Fourth and Nebraska [later far to the south at 5311 West Seventy-fifth Street in Prairie Village].

Yiddish and English have always both been used in the synagogue. Rabbi Marshall Miller came to the congregation in 1937 [died serving it in 1965]. He estimated

that in 1937, 65% of the adult members spoke Yiddish; at the present time probably no more than 35%. All the members who were born in Europe can speak Yiddish. Of those born in this country, only the ones over 40 actively speak Yiddish; those between 30 and 40 speak very little Yiddish, and those under 30 may understand but do not speak the language.

During the first two or three years (1937-1940) Rabbi Miller preached his sermons in Yiddish at the evening services about fifty times a year.

Then he gradually switched to English, until, now, all his sermons are in that language. Yiddish is used now in the synagogue is only at the Breakfast Club following Sunday [sic] morning services, where many of the older members like to visit in Yiddish, or share letters they have received from Israel (which may be in English, Hebrew, or Yiddish).

In 1938 Rabbi Miller had some requests that he teach Yiddish. After six months, the project was dropped because of lack of interest. Although he personally enjoys Yiddish, the rabbi is certain that the language will soon die out in the congregation, though there is a resurgent interest in Hebrew. The majority of the congregation are business and professional men, although two or three list their occupations as farming.

Mr. Morris Bloomgarten

Mr. Bloomgarten was born in 1874 in an area where the East Prussian and Lithuanian (then Russian) borders meet. In addition to Hebrew and Yiddish, Mr. Bloomgarten learned Russian and German in school and picked up a working knowledge of Polish and Lithuanian on his own initiative. Yiddish was, of course, the language spoken in the home. In 1891 when he arrived in this country, he "picked up his English on the streets."

Mrs. Bloomgarten (now deceased) was born in 1874 of Yiddish-speaking parents and the Bloomgartens continually spoke Yiddish in their home.

Their children Robert (b. 1902), Minnie (b. 1904) and Tola (a Biblical name - Yiddish, Tobbie) are all able to speak, read, and (to some extent) write Yiddish. The two grandchildren, b. 1926 and 1946, understand a little Yiddish.

Mr. Bloomgarten writes in Yiddish to many friends and relatives, but always uses English when writing to his own children. He subscribes to the Yiddish language Jewish Day Journal.

Now retired, he lives with his Yiddish-speaking brother, Louis. He enjoys speaking Yiddish at the synagogue Breakfast Club, visiting with friends, and sometimes accompanying Rabbi Miller on his visits to Yiddish-speaking residents at the Home for the Jewish Aged.

Mr. Abraham Cohn

Mr. Cohn was born in 1892 in Grigopol (in the Ukraine about 100 miles from Odessa) Russia, in population about 40,000. There he learned Russian at school in addition to Yiddish and Hebrew which were used in the home (Yiddish for conversational purposes and Hebrew for religious worship). He also "picked up" a speaking knowledge of German from German colonists. In 1911, he emigrated to Kansas City, via Galveston, Texas, and has been in the furniture business since 1922. He learned most of his English by talking to customers.

His wife (b. 1892 - now deceased) was born near Odessa, Russia, and had a similar linguistic background, but knew no German. The Cohns continually spoke Yiddish in their home. Their children (Fannie-b. 1915, Loue-b. 1917, and Eva-b. 1922) learned from their parents. They learned Hebrew at the synagogue as part of their religious training.

Fannie married a Mr. Cohen, who speaks Yiddish quite well. When they come for a visit, they usually speak about half English and half Yiddish to their parents. Fannie's children (one girl b. 1947 and two boys b. 1946 and 1951) understand Yiddish but can say only a few set formulas.

Loue married a Yiddish-speaking woman and he is quite proficient in writing as well as speaking Yiddish. His children (boy b. 1947 and

girl b. 1950) understand the language, but are able to mouth only a few set formulas and greetings.

Eva, who is able to read, write, and speak Yiddish quite well, is married to Yiddish-speaking Morris Tulchinsky. Their two children (girl b. 1947 and a boy b. 1951) understand but do not speak Yiddish.

Mr. Cohn subscribes to the Jewish Daily Forward (Vorwaerts) and enjoys the Breakfast Club at the synagogue.

Mr. Pete Cohn

Mr. Pete Cohn, brother of Abraham Cohn, was born in 1897 in Grigopol, Russia, and came to the United States in 1912. His background is quite similar to that of his brother except that he also learned to speak some Rumanian.

Mrs. jCohn also was born near Odessa, Russia, in 1897, and came to the U.S. at the age of six. Her family preferred to speak English rather than Yiddish, which accounts for the fact that Mrs. Cohn seldom, if ever, speaks to her husband in Yiddish. Thus their two children Martin (b. 1920) and Shirley (b. 1926) learned very little Yiddish.

Martin's wife comes from a Yiddish-speaking family and they have four children - one boy b. 1947, and three girls, b. 1945, 1950 and 1954. They may be able to understand a little Yiddish, but certainly cannot speak any.

Shirley married a Mr. Levine (from Albany, New York) whose family is intensively Yiddish and intensively Jewish. As a result of this paternal influence their children are able to speak some Yiddish. Shirley has two girls (b. 1948 and 1956) and one boy (b. 1952).

Mr. Pete Cohn, in contrast to his brother, Abraham, speaks English with a very decided accent and he frequently reverted to Yiddish during the interview. Mr. Cohn is an active member of the Ukrainian Club (which is not to be confused with the Polish-Ukrainian Club, whose members are largely Roman Catholic). The Ukrainian Club was formed after World War I to aid Jewish Ukrainian immigrants coming to Kansas City with "free" (non interest-bearing) loans and also to provide social activities for Yiddish-speaking Ukrainians. All official business is conducted in Yiddish and Yiddish songs are often sung. However this club, says Mr. Cohn, is "a dying proposition as the youngest member is about fifty, with no young blood coming in."

Mr. Cohn foresees the extinction of Yiddish in this area in the next twenty to thirty years.

Mr. Ben Dodge

Mr. Ben Dodge, earlier Deutsch, was born in 1892, in the Polova province of the Russian Ukraine, of Yiddish-speaking parents. He attended Hebrew religious schools between the ages of six and sixteen. He learned to understand and speak Russian, but Yiddish was the only language spoken in the home. He came to the U.S. at the age of sixteen, learned English readily, was first in the clothing business, then established the Dodge Furniture Co.,

His three children are Milton (b. 1917), Sophie (b. 1918), and Judith (b. 1923). Milton, a pediatrician, has the best speaking knowledge of Yiddish. During World War II, he found Yiddish "almost a universal international language" during his service in Europe. Although he is married to a girl of Yiddish extraction, his children Jonathan (b. 1949) and Billie (b. 1952) know no Yiddish.

Sophia married a man who knows practically no Yiddish and their two daughters (b. 1945 and 1948) do not understand or speak Yiddish.

Judith knows some Yiddish, but less than Sophie and Milton. She married a man (Mr. Larner) of Ashkanazim extraction "who doesn't know a work of Yiddish."

He subscribes to the Yiddish Jewish Journal. His main hobby is reading Yiddish literature. He has not attended the Yiddish-speaking Ukrainian Club for nearly twenty years, and is more likely to speak to his friends (Mr. Cohn and Rabbi Miller, for example) in English than Yiddish.

Mr. Dodge says there is no doubt that Yiddish will cease to be spoken in the Kansas City area as soon as its present speakers are gone. He is resigned to the passing of Yiddish. "Neue Zeiten, neue Voegel -- Neue Voegel singen neue Lieder." (new times, new birds -- new birds sing new songs.)

Compared to the very large urban centers, Kansas City, Kansas, dealt with relatively small numbers of immigrants, but in view of the complexity of its population and the distribution in time it offers an example of typical urban development simplified somewhat by the importance of a single industry, meat packing. From every point of view it proves that the fears which Americans were expressing in 1915 lest the "new" immigration could not be assimilated were groundless. Engl-izing has been but one detail of a process that has progressed similarly in the whole domain of assimilation.

LAWRENCE GERMANS AND SWEDES (Mid-k and Low-v, Douglas G)
For Lawrence Mexicans, see 47.88

Special Bibliog.: G — Die Germania, weekly newspaper, edited by
Gottfried Oehrle and H. Albach 1877-1918

T — Albach, H., History of the Lawrence Turnverein.

47.38 Lawrence was founded in 1854. The name of the clerk sent out with the Free-
Staters in the first party of the New England Emigrant Aid Society marks
him as German in background; he was Arthur Gunther from Wisconsin. Carl G.
Rau died in Lawrence in 1855; the inscription on his tombstone is in German.
In 1858 Möllhausen remarked that at Lawrence "one notices a German beer
house here and there where good Bavarian beer is served by a heavy-set fel-
low countryman"/ kq 16:376. The census of 1860 shows 28 German families and
33 single individual Germans at Lawrence. Among those whose families be-
came permanent residents of Lawrence were Philip Albach (b. 1830)/co 3:1562,
Alexander Marks (b. 1844)/a 340, and H. Martin (b.1824). Adam Ernst/
co 3:1574, lived at Franklin near by and A. G. Mengel was also living in
the vicinity /a 340. August Selig (b. 1846)/a 344, co 5:2441, had been in
Lawrence in 1858 and 1859 and was to return after the Civil War to spend
the rest of his life there. These are examples of German families in
Lawrence since territorial days. To rank as among the earliest citizens of
Lawrence it is only necessary to have been in the community before Quantrill's
raid of 1863. Seventeen of the 109 victims of Quantrill's men bore German
names. Among the families enduring in Lawrence, recorded in the census of
1865 and having a head born in Germany who was reported to be in Lawrence
during the raid were those of Frederick Barteldes (b. 1814), Carl Graeber
(b. 1826), Jacob Oesch (b. 1818), and Philip Preisach /co 3:1526. Represen-

tatives of these families entered the business life of Lawrence and in some cases there were intermarriages with "Yankee" families. Very few of them lost their identity as Germans -- at least during the nineteenth century, but they were fully integrated into community life. A similar statement can be made for many Germans arriving later. For instance Theodore Poehler (1832-1901) to Burlington, Iowa, 1851, established a wholesale grocery house in 1866 /co 3:1615. He was a leader among the Germans in the struggle against prohibition (# 9.2), but two of his four sons-in-law bore English names. This early group of immigrants was reenforced by a more numerous contingent later. Between 1865 and 1870 the Germans organized the German Immigrant Aid Society of Kansas with headquarters at Lawrence. There was a lull in German settlement in Lawrence in the late 1870's, but in January, 1880, the Lawrence Journal remarked, "The German Citizens of Lawrence form no insignificant of inconsiderable element" of the population of the city.

For Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons born in

Germany and Resident in Lawrence in 1925, see #40.02

Among the later arrivals there were Germans who became as prominent in Lawrence and as permanently identified with it as any already mentioned, but they are cited only as discussion of German activities may introduce their names.

German churches furnish a less complete guide to German activities in Lawrence than for many German communities, but there were German churches.

The members of Trinity Lutheran were not all Germans. In fact most of the charter members of 1867 were "Anglicized Scandinavians"/ot 116. But J. G. Schmucker was a potent force. The church was always "English" and belonged to the Kansas Synod. More and more Germans joined it, and it became a definitely Engl-izing force. St. Paul's, a German Lutheran Church, was organized in 1879 /ot 119, had pastoral difficulties, and is unlisted in the Andreas-Cutler history of 1883. Lawrence Germans with Lutheran tendencies were not attracted by the emphasis on doctrine of the German synods; the Muttersprache did not exert sufficiently strong pull.

The German Methodist church was founded in 1859, and endured until 1918. In 1900 the membership was 100, and (by city directories) 65 in 1907 and 75 in 1917. It does not appear in the Andreas-Cutler history of 1883. Services were all in German until the First World War. The fiftieth anniversary booklet was published in German in 1909. There was a short period when both English and German were used, and in 1918 the congregation disbanded despite the protests of a few who still required German.

The Evangelical Association (later EUB) had three churches in Douglas County, and there was preaching in Lawrence at various times with an effort at organization in 1879; services were then in German /G 8 Jan.80. There

was nothing permanent, however, until 1909. The language question was by then very nearly settled in this denomination in favor of English. From 1916 to 1921 J. K. Young was the minister and the church thrived; no German speaking church was prosperous during that period.

The Evangelical Synod (later E-R) organized St. Paul's congregation in 1889 and the next year constructed a building popularly but inaccurately called the German Lutheran church. It never attained a membership as high as 100. English was first introduced into services in 1913. Despite public pressures German was not driven from it during the First World War. In the early 1920's attendance at German services was slightly larger than that at English services. German was not finally completely abandoned until 1942. According to outsiders persistence in its use led to altercations. Membership dwindled; only two families remained to disband in 1949.

German schooling was always auxiliary to other education in Lawrence. Through most of the 1860's, perhaps into the 1870's, G. W. Barteldes held school on Saturdays and during the summers. In summer his work was continued more or less irregularly until about 1900. The following editorial translated from Germania speaks of an effort in the school year of 1894-5. "Although the German school has been in session for over three months, the attendance is still relatively insignificant. We cannot understand how parents can be so unthinking as to let pass by unused this opportunity for their children to learn to read and write German. Send your children; they will thank you for it later." This was in January. In 1900 the summer session was advertised at 50 or 25 cents a week depending on the size of enrollment /G July 5. There was German instruction in the Sunday schools

too until the early twentieth century.

The Turnverein at Lawrence was first organized in 1857 and had a hall and 48 members early in 1861 /T; see also kc8:148. Forty-four joined the Union forces during the Civil War and the Verein collapsed. It was revived in 1867, and flourished with the coming of the high tide of German immigration. The events of the First World War hurt it badly, but it was not permanently disbanded until between 1937 and 1941. As usual among the chapters, the Lawrence Turnverein was something more than a gymnastic society. Local talent was drawn upon for the theater /T; performances continued at least until 1907 in the hall at Ninth and Rhode Island Street; as time went on the actors became older and older, because the young were not proficient in German. There were parties where the jolliness was unrepressed. All ages attended, and the young heard the old gossiping in German at least through 1913, but the young were not inspired to imitate them. The Turnverein Christmas party of 1917 was poorly attended but the following New Year's party was a success /G. Certain adult Germans who found the Turnverein too plebeian for their tastes organized the Birthday Club which lasted from about 1867 until the Second World War. The Sozial-Verein was organized in 1872 /a 329, for whole families who looked somewhat askance at the Turnverein. It too gave plays and had a hall. There was a masked ball in 1880 /G 3 Feb. We can cite no mentions of it later than the Andreas-Cutler notice of 1883 /a 329.

Germania was the German newspaper in Lawrence. It was first published in 1877 /a 328 cn 179, by Gottlieb Oehrle, taken over in 1903 by Henry Albach, b. 1863 in Kansas, Phillip's son. It was extinguished in 1918 /co 3:1567.

In 1877 there were four small-sized pages, in 1880 the same number of large pages, in 1900 eight small pages, in 1917 eight pages of the usual size, four of them "patent insides, boilerplate" including some in English. One whole page was in English at least by 1914, two by the end of 1915. There was a gradually increasing use of English in the advertising, for terms having no German equivalent a little in the beginning, almost all English in 1917 for local firms. In 1905 on the third of February there was an editorial on German Americans which, translated, runs thus in part: "We must make the use of German obligatory in German groups... It takes acts, it takes work and money to keep our mother tongue on her feet in Lawrence." There were also editorials in English. Part of one published 21 April, 1905, says: "It's too bad that the beautiful German tongue disappears with the second generation in America. German churches and Turnvereins should sponsor German private schools... The Lawrence Turnverein has decided in favor of it, but there has been nothing but words -- words -- words." The news about Kansas was in German for many years, that for Lawrence until the end, but country correspondents were by 1917 writing in English from the German settlements of the county except Eudora. By 1917 there were also sometimes editorials in English. As early as 1885 there were supplements in English. Henry Albach was used to writing in English, for he had acquired the Lawrence Democrat in 1913, and he continued to publish it when the Germania was no more.

The difficulties of Lawrence Germans in 1917 and 1918 can be sensed rather well through the pages of Germania. Announcements of German events were routine in the first months of 1917. Later they were rare. A play in German for the 4th of May, 1917, was announced in both English and German.

After the war began, the district Turnverein held a business meeting without other activities. There were reports of thefts from Germans, of boats owned by Germans being untied to float down the river. The editorial of May 18 that has been cited elsewhere (#41.51) called on Germans to give each other mutual support. The issue of June 22 expressed indignation at a proposal to replace German in high schools by French and Spanish. July 6, greater indignation at Capper's proposal to do away with German newspapers. Sept. 14, Albach found it queer that German papers should be asked to encourage wheat growers in the war effort when the papers were being attacked because they were German. Sept. 21, no news in German, though some appeared in later issues. May 10 and 17, 1918 -- defense of the pastor who had been tarred and feathered at Willow Springs (see Worden). June 14, complaint against subscribers who were not paying -- yellow paint at Eudora.

German as an instrument of business continued quite late in order to deal with shoppers from surrounding territory. Until after 1913, probably till 1917, the Innes, Bullene, and Hackman store employed Jacob Lander to go from department to department as the need arose among German customers. Sporadic cases of calls for German-speaking clerks went on as late as 1949.

The early immigrants from Germany had been for some time in the United States before reaching Lawrence and were in general bilingual on arrival. The immigrants of the 1880's were usually not yet proficient in English. Consequently the process of Engl-izing was at various stages during the nineteenth century. Abandonment of German except as a badge of fraternity when fraternity seemed desirable was widespread among Lawrence Germans quite early. There were many families, however, actively using German through the

first two decades of the twentieth century, and to the old afterward. By 1950 the sons and daughters of early immigrants, people in their late seventies and eighties thought that they might still understand German, but claimed no greater proficiency. Those of the same generation but somewhat younger were the children of people who came later; they had had more practice in German, understood it and had in a few cases an ability to speak it. Those of the next generation knew only phrases. The process of Englishing in three families ran thus:

According to one person, the children in her family were fined a penny for every word of English at the table, but the parents were not able to keep up this practice too long. This might be dated as about 1895. In another family with five children, the eldest brother did not speak any English until he started school. The next eldest girl began to use English before she began school, ca. 1890. German continued to be used in the family for a while longer, however. In yet another family, the youngest brother hardly spoke English till he entered school, ca. 1885, where he soon received the nickname of "Dutch!" This family, too, continued to speak German at home. Unlike the preceding two, however, which were members of German-speaking churches, it belonged to Trinity Lutheran Church, which indicates an early bilingual ability.

Except as employed by a few in contact with the very old German had by 1950 disappeared among those of old German stock in Lawrence unless learned in the classroom.

47.39 The census of 1860 at Lawrence shows five families with at least one parent born in Sweden and four unattached individuals. None of those appearing in the census of that year became permanently part of the community. The restless character of the Swedes is well illustrated by the biography of P. J. Peterson as recorded in the Andreas-Cutler History /a 350.

He was born in Smoland in 1838, to Chicago 1852, to Lawrence and Enterprise 1858, to Chicago 1859, to Lawrence in 1863, to Colorado 1871, to Lawrence 1879. In 1883 he was the president of the Scandinavian Society. He did not remain at Lawrence all the rest of his life. There were Swedish families that became permanent in Lawrence from an early date. Carl Lofgren, born 1840, is reported to have been there before 1860, though he is not in the census of that year. Members of his family were in Lawrence in 1950. Swedes who immigrated in the 1880's furnished the town with citizens who became more permanent. For instance, Joel Gustafson, born in 1856, came there in 1879 with his wife /ch99:803; grandchildren were still residents in 1967. The best known early Swede in Lawrence was Andrew Palm (immigrated 1862) because in the 1860's he brought a group of workmen from Sweden to construct a windmill that was long a landmark.

The most important Swedish social institution in Lawrence was the Swedish Lutheran Church. It was organized in 1869, was strong enough to erect a building in 1884, and was disbanded in 1910. In 1906 there were thirteen members, all communicants; in other words, no children remained /ot 298. The "English" Lutheran church, whose early members were mostly, as said above, "Anglicized Scandinavians," absorbed the Swedes.

The Scandinavian Society, of which P. J. Peterson was president, included in 1883 J. Anderson and O. Carlson in its membership according to their biographies in the Andreas-Cutler history /a 331,333, but the history gave no notice to it otherwise.

The Swedes resident in Lawrence in 1925 were nearly all early immigrants.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons
Born in Sweden and Resident in Lawrence in 1925.

Before 1870	15	1890-1899	1
1870 - 1874	11	1900-1905	5
1879 - 1884	13	1916-1920	2
1885 - 1889	6		

In most Swedish families the immigrants abandoned Swedish as a family language as soon as they had learned English. The report consequently was in 1950 that the sons and daughters of Swedish immigrants were no better acquainted with Swedish than the grandchildren of persons born in Germany were with German. In 1950 the old stock of Swedes at Lawrence knew only a few words.

LEAVENWORTH GERMANS, POLES, AND ITALIANS (Super***, Leavenworth C)

Special Bibliog:

G -- Golobic, Rev. Herman, "The Rededication of St. Joseph's Carmelite church, Leavenworth, Kansas", 1946.

47.40

Leavenworth had its ultimate origins in its Fort, and the Fort has, all through its career, provided a force conditioning the character of the city, making particularly for variety in both mores and population. The political circumstances of its early history, which began with illegal occupancy of Delaware Indian lands in 1854, followed by brief domination of pro-slavery forces and their displacement by a free-state majority about 1857, brought a few early years of insecurity. This period was followed by a boom decade during which the town seemed tantalizingly near becoming the permanent metropolis of Kansas. In 1860 the population of the county was 12,606 of whom 3519 were foreign-born; in 1865 the county counted 24,246 inhabitants of whom 15,804 were in the city (3705 foreign born). In 1870 there were 32,444 persons in the county, in 1875 27,698. The city was then nearly the same size as in 1865, population 15,136. (1885, 29,268; 1895, 20,872; 1905, 20,934; 1920, 16,912; 1930, 17,466; 1960, 22,052) Some of the inhabitants of the first years remained in the town, particularly some of its Germans, but the major formative elements were people who moved into the town in the first years after 1857. In that decade Leavenworth, an important river port, teemed with small industries and wholesale commercial establishments, and even after Kansas City's victory over Leavenworth in obtaining railways, these enterprises continued to be an important feature of Leavenworth's life. Besides the Fort, other Federal and State institutions were provided to dull the edge of the town's disappointment at not becoming the metropolis on the Missouri, namely, the State

and Federal penitentiaries and the Military Home, ultimately to become the Wadsworth Hospital. Coal mining was foreseen as a resource from 1859. The Leavenworth Coal Company, organized in 1863 sank a shaft in 1868 and another in 1880 in the northern part of the city very near the highway bridge over the Missouri River existent in 1962. Later shafts were on the southern edge of town also near the river. This fact probably accounts for distribution of foreign language population. In 1882 the company was employing 300 to 350 men /a 434.

The shock of the First World War was great in Leavenworth; its impact will be examined primarily in studying the Germans. When its effects subsided, Leavenworth's history has few special features of interest to the present work.

The Germans have been overwhelmingly more numerous among for-lings at Leavenworth than any other group, but the Poles have been a coherent body which has been large enough to maintain its identity.

47.41 French and Italians, however, require brief consideration. Frenchmen antedated all other European elements in the community. In the middle of the 18th Century the French maintained a fortified post near the present city. In 1865 there were in Leavenworth 104 persons born in France, including a few Alsatians, in 1895 there were 29* not including some half-dozen Alsatians.

*The published census says 45, but it gives as its total of foreign born a number larger than the sum of the items given; it is manifestly inaccurate.

Late in 1858 the French were sufficiently numerous so that Frank F. Barclay, himself a Frenchman, began to publish L'Estafette du Kansas and offered further "to serve as interpreter to his compatriots and to represent them before the local courts" (30 April, 1859). The newspaper's career was very brief, but in 1870 the French element was still strong enough to maintain a society that gave a ball (Daily Times, 19 November, 1870). In 1868 a French Mutual Relief Society was organized, 40 members in 1882 /a 436. Its first president was John Pinaire (b. 1822 in eastern France, Doubs Dept.) who came to Leavenworth in 1857 /a 451. He had lived from at least 1851 in Indiana. Tony Giacomini, who was Italian (see below), was the first treasurer. The society apparently welcomed members on a broad basis. The Pinaire girls married men with English names. Andreas Cutler says, "Mr. Pinaire has been an active worker in the development of the social life of his locality since coming here" /a 451.

In 1885 there were still 72 persons born in France in the city. The little St. Joseph of the Valley settlement close by helped maintain a small number of French in the city later, but by the 20th Century the number had become negligible, though the Pierrons were well known.

The first man with an Italian name to settle in Leavenworth was Peter Taschetta (1822-1879) who purchased property there during a stay in 1854 and brought his family in 1855 /co 5:2376. There he spent the rest of his life. Taschetta was of Italian parentage, but he was born in Switzerland and took a German wife. The Taschettas continued to be a bit of a force in Leavenworth. Charles Taschetta was postmaster at one time in the twentieth

century. A descendant, Thomas J. Brown, was city attorney in 1961 and 1963.

There were six foreign-born Italians in Leavenworth County in 1865, four in the city; one was the wife of a German. In 1875 there were 17 in the county, 12 directly from Italy. Since the city of Leavenworth numbered more than 15,000 inhabitants in 1865 and 1870 the number may be considered negligible. In 1895 the number had risen to 66. It sank to 35 in 1905, rose to 78 in 1915 and stood at 22 in 1925. None of the Italian-born of 1925 had arrived in the United States after 1910. The 78 of 1915 presumably represented in large part temporary inhabitants. This pulsation in numbers is one reason for taking note of the group; it was in 1915 the most considerable conglomeration of Italians in Kansas outside the Pittsburg coal district, larger than the settlement at Osage City. In large part the Italians were from the lake country in the north of Italy.

Peter Taschetta was something of a capitalist, but among other enterprises ran a grocery and restaurant. Almost all Italians arriving later fell into this orbit. The Giacominis, in Leavenworth by 1868, were running the Delmonico hotel in 1882, and by 1900 had acquired with it the two principal hotels, the Planter's House and the Imperial, successor to the Continental (see Przybylowicz below). The Melles were in the restaurant business. Giorgetta and Tam ran the fish market, later Bellaggio's. The Mezzera brothers, who had a Giacomini mother, opened a restaurant before 1910. Hurrle served Italian meals at his wine garden. Gargotta and Trapani were at the macheroni factory. The last two were south Italians, all the others were from the northern frontier. Part of the Hurrles, also Carnoale, were Piedmontese, and the rest of those named came from Chiavenna or near it in most northern

Lombardy above the head of Lake Como. Besides the families mentioned, an even dozen with Italian names appear in the Directory of Leavenworth in 1961. Apparently most of the Italians of 1925 continued to live in the city. Of the persons born in Italy living in Leavenworth in 1925, 8 came to the United States between 1888-9; 6 between 1890-4; 2 between 1895-9; 2 between 1900-4; 3 between 1905-10. No date of immigration for one.

In general the use of Italian in Leavenworth did not persist beyond the immigrating generation, and immigrant children did not learn to read Italian. But in the home of Orsino Giacomini a grandfather resided (died 1941) and the family used Italian so that his children as late as 1930 learned to understand it. The Italians used to gather on Sunday at Hurrle's wine garden to play bocce (bowls) but like Taschetta, who also had a "park", Hurrle had married a German wife and the language of his household was German so that the scene of the meetings did not favor preservation of Italian.

47.42 Germans in Leavenworth. During the pre-territorial period some of the soldiers at Fort Leavenworth were Germans; their element in the population of Leavenworth therefore goes back until 1827. Ordinary citizens of German birth appeared in the first year of Leavenworth's establishment, 1854. Mathias Wolfsperger, (1831-1898), born in Germany, came in that year /ch99:363. George P. Elbert, born in Hesse Darmstadt also arrived in 1854 and opened the first store /ch 99:456. His son-in-law, August Gates, born in Darmstadt, was also on hand "when Leavenworth first started." The list of "first things" for Leavenworth which is set forth in the Andreas-Cutter history contains a number of unmistakably German names / 3428: Keller, Engelman, Leib, Benz,

Dengler. To be sure the birth place of "Uncle George" Keller, the hotel keeper, was Kentucky. John J. Benz, however, who was to become a member of the state legislature of 1861, was born in Germany. He arrived in Weston across the river from Leavenworth in 1854 and became Leavenworth's first wholesale grocer /kc 10:224. Like him and like Keller too, others of German background, for example, Oliver Diefendorf, came over from Weston, and continued for some time to have interests in both towns.

The German population increased rapidly; in 1858 there were several developments proving this fact. The German Catholics, who had numbered 12 to 16 families in 1856 were in 1858 able to organize St. Joseph's German parish /b47. In that year the German Methodist Church was dedicated *

*The German Methodist building was occupied by the Presbyterians in 1874; their own pulpit was vacant, and the German Methodists are not among the churches listed in the Andreas Cutler history.

and in that year the Evangelical Association (German) began its activities in Leavenworth. Its ^{vi}missionary, the Rev. M. J. Miller, wrote the morning after his arrival in August: "The first German I met told me there were 3,000 Germans in the city...The city has a population of 10,000 " /p217. The Lutherans were at work even earlier--in 1855, but the congregation, though including George Elbert "/ot11, was partly English, had doctrinal differences, and collapsed in 1860 when the Rev. A. Reuter left. The strong Lutheran Church of the Missouri Synod, purely German, was organized in 1862. The existence of all these denominations in Leavenworth so much the more proves the size of the German population, because many of these early Germans were anti-clerical. The Evangelical M. J. Miller speaks of the "sad condition of the people in reference to religion." Ott qualifies Leavenworth of 1855 as "the most wicked settlement in the new territory" /ot11. And L'Estafette du Kansas on the 30th of April, after summarizing the 13 fines paid in a single day for drunkenness and prostitution, comments; "All this speaks most loudly in favor of the liveliness of business, the activity, and the industry which reign in our good flourishing city of Leavenworth." These

These comments do not all necessarily reflect the attitude toward religion of the German population, but here is better evidence.* In 1862 the Ninth

*Father William Fisch, pastor of St. Joseph's, asserted in 1866 that he knew many who were good Catholics while they were laborers, but who sought a fashionable church or none at all after they had acquired a little wealth. Others joined the Masons for temporal advantage"/b 96.

Wisconsin, "made up of 'the old Turners' Germans of the 'irreligious type' /G 12, seized without authority St. Joseph's Church and occupied it for a day. We may guess that the Turners of Leavenworth, who had established their Verein in 1857, directed them to St. Joseph's. Inasmuch as the Turnverein was established primarily as a gymnastic organization, it was more or less an accident that "the old Turners" had a large "irreligious" component. As an adjunct to its gymnastic activities it had others that were cultural and social. It was a purely lay organization, but its cultural interests drew it into activities parallel to those of the churches. Thus in education, though the Catholics inaugurated a parochial school in 1860 and the Lutherans, Missouri Synod, another in 1863, the Germans were not content with these religious schools. The German-English School Society organized in 1859 maintained a school until about 1892. The interlocking character of the Turners and the school society is illustrated by the fact that Jacob Rothenberger, b. Germany 1833, was for 2 years president of the Verein and also for "many years" president of the German-English School board /ch 99:487. The Turners, though anti-clerical in the 1860's, were fervent Unionists. They furnished almost all the soldiers of Company I of the First Kansas Infantry.

Though Leavenworth became a Free State town, in 1855 and 1856 it had been violently pro-slavery. Uncle George Keller, popular though he was as landlord of the Leavenworth Hotel, was run out of town early in 1856, and returned when "the excitement had blown over," apparently in 1858. The transformation of Leavenworth from pro-slavery to Free-State is probably greatly to be attributed to the German immigration. They furnished 3,000 Free-Staters, 30% of the population in 1858. The number of foreign born Germans never exceeded this number, but in 1895 the number of speakers of German had risen to 5,000.*

*Old German settlers and the data presented in Volume I agree on this point.

The number of German institutions in 1883 gives some idea of the German character of the city. There were those already mentioned: Lutheran and Catholic German churches with schools, Evangelical Association and the Turner Verein with its accompanying schools. In addition, Andreas Cutler mentions three Odd Fellow lodges, exclusively German, total membership 228, the German Lodge of the AOUW, and the Maenner Chor or Sängverein organized in 1859. Out of 33 "manufacturing" concerns the managing officers of twelve had German names. There was a German Bank of which the active management had English names, but its capital was held by Germans. Shortly, the Wulfekuhler State Bank was organized.

One hundred and five citizens of Leavenworth born in Germany or a German speaking area caused their biographies to be inserted into the Andreas history. (The total number of Leavenworth biographies was 374.) They represented all sorts of trades and businesses plus a few in the professions, but

no lawyers, though the native-born were not squeamish about this form of advertising. The Germans of the biographies were, we must presume, among the more prosperous of their nationality and this evidence shows them on a footing of full economic equality with their Yankee neighbors, a position which their descendents have maintained. Among the more humble pursuits mining was included, but they did not monopolize such work, they were spread through the community's economic structure.

Residentially they were rather well distributed too. In 1895 they were in a majority in most of the Fifth Ward in the northwestern part of the city and the ward contained a small area where they formed a mass. This area somewhat north of the large German churches was called Little Cincinnati, or irreverently, Goose Town. In the Second Ward in the east central and southeastern part of the city they were in a small section a majority and rather often quite numerous; there was no section free of German families. Much the same thing was true in 1865, though the Fifth Ward did not then exist. A further indication of this distribution is furnished by church location. Both the Lutheran and the German Catholic Church are centrally located, but somewhat to the northwest of the business district, and so was the German-English school. The linguistic effect of such an inmixture would naturally be swift advancement in bilingualism.

Another force contributory to the same condition in early days was the large amount of residence elsewhere in the United States before arrival in Leavenworth. The Germans came from everywhere in the region to the east and northeast and were thus in no settled categories before their arrival. Later immigrants, however, were often directly from Germany. In 1875 33% of the

foreign born Germans in Leavenworth County came directly from Germany, in 1885 60%, in 1905, 70%.

The Austrian element in the Ger-ling population cannot be separated from the Reich Germans for further considerations, but it will be noticed that it is a late arrival group most important in the mining years, when it probably included Slovenians.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Germany
and Austria Resident in Leavenworth in 1925

Year of Arrival	No. of Persons		Year of Arrival	No. of Persons	
	Ger.	Aus.		Ger.	Aus.
Before 1850	6	-	1890-1894	55	17
1850-1854	9	-	1895-1899	34	8
1855-1859	6	-	1900-1904	26	14
1860-1864	21	1	1905-1909	5	9
1865-1869	47	-	1910-1914	6	6
1870-1874	39	-	1915-1919	1	3
1875-1879	30	1	1920-1924	6	1
1880-1884	165	2	1925	4	-
1885-1889	108	15	Year of Arrival not given	<u>26</u>	<u>4</u>
			Total	604	81

The number of surviving immigrants in 1925 who came to the United States before 1860 is good testimony to the large number of early Germans who came to Leavenworth after a period of residence elsewhere. The number of arrivals of the 1880's surviving in 1925 is ample evidence that a great number of recent immigrants reached Leavenworth in that decade.

These comparatively late arrivals were of course a distinctly linguistically conservative force in the community. The impetus to preserve German was therefore strong until 1890. The impetus to learn English was strong from the beginning. The pressure for the abandonment of German became clear before the First World War, but that period was crucial.

The history of the churches will bring out some of these facts. Catholic services in Leavenworth began at least by 1855 /b 47 (1854 by G). Father William Fisch, b. Germany, to U.S. 1851 /b 30, then "had been pastor of Weston and, according to Father Kuhls, his archbishop had directed him to follow his flock from that town to the new territory" /G 11. Whether he or Bishop Miège was the first to celebrate Mass is debated. Bishop Jean Baptiste Miège moved his see from St. Marys to Leavenworth in 1855. A Benedictine, Father Casimir Seitz (1829-1867), became the first pastor of the German church, St. Joseph's, upon its establishment in 1858. Malaria forced him to leave the next year, and Father Fisch succeeded him. He too was plagued with bad health, was in Germany in 1860-61, and returned there to die at his sister's in 1863 /G 11. Father Aloysius Mayer (born in Bavaria, ordained in 1859, died 1875) established St. Joseph's school and was Fisch's substitute during the trips to Germany. Father Mayer continued to serve German communities /b 165. In 1864 St. Joseph's was put in charge of the Carmelites, and in their hands it has remained. "Fathers Cyril Knoll and Xavier Hubers, members of the German Carmelite Priory at Straubing [Bavaria] came to the United States in May, 1864... They arrived in Leavenworth on October seventh, and two days later St. Joseph's parish, which, Knoll reported, numbered six or seven hundred souls, was solemnly trans-

ferred to them. Fresh from Germany, the Carmelite found ten-year-old Kansas a novelty... Leavenworth he pronounced a 'mixture of all nations, colors, and so-called religions.' The Germans of the town were mostly from Prussia and Baden, though there were some Bavarians... Father Knoll opened a novitiate in December and received Father Theodore Heimann, who took the name of Albert in Religion. A short time later Father Louis Gunther entered... The value of these two men was enhanced by the fact that neither of the founders was proficient in English" /b 70-71. Both the novices became pastors of St. Joseph's. Father Louis (Kilian Gunther, 1837-1904, a Bavarian) served from 1870 until 1882 and again in 1895. After

a good education, he had come to America, settled in Leavenworth by 1858 and had become a wagon maker. He was ordained in 1864. At the conclusion of his first pastorate in Leavenworth there were 1,000 souls in his parish.

/a 431 In 1949 there were 220 families. Father Louis loved Leavenworth and returned as assistant priest in 1897 to spend his last years and die. To create this nostalgia, presumably, the character of the community was not greatly different in 1900 from what it was in 1880. Services in church and schooling went on in German until 1917; then public pressures forced sudden abandonment in official use. Confessions in German were still heard, however, and, much restricted in number, were continuing in 1949. In 1960 St. Joseph's was still labeled "German" in the Catholic directory. English as the language of public record had, however, invaded the usage of the Catholic Germans well before 1917. The last tombstone inscriptions in German were of 1900, 1901 and 1902; English appeared in the cemetery by 1881, probably much earlier. German inscriptions were, however, in the majority during the 1880's.

According to J. W. Werling in his History of the Kansas District Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri in the fall of 1861 "a minister in Leavenworth pretending to be a Lutheran--had been abandoned by his people and the Rev. Lange was called from Clark's Creek to serve them until the new missionary (Meyer) should appear" /we. The Rev. M. Meyer was more satisfactory than the Rev. A. Reuter. At least he stayed twenty years and a yet longer pastorate followed, that of C. Hafner, 1882-1907. Other ministers too stayed long, A. G. Dick from 1907 until about 1916, Henry Blanke from 1929 to 1946. The congregation was early large in size, 534 souls in 1884, 825 in 1900, 860 in 1916, 1143 in 1948. The long pastorates

indicated stability, linguistic as well as spiritual. Preaching in English occurred every two weeks in 1900; in 1906 the situation was similar, but English and German were both preached on the semi-monthly occasions. German persisted long. When the 50th anniversary was celebrated, there were on December 10, 1911, German services in the morning and afternoon and an English service in the evening. In the summer following, to celebrate the date of organization, there was German in the morning and English in the afternoon. In 1937 the 75th anniversary celebration lasted several days in April. There was German and English both on Sunday, the fourth, German on Tuesday, English on Thursday, and English on Sunday, the eleventh, preached by the Synod President. Until 1942 there was German regularly at the 8:00 service. At the beginning of the Second World War it was quietly abolished, and in 1946 when the incoming pastor offered to have German services, no interest was manifested. From 1942 until 1946 bilingual singing continued. Part of the congregation would be singing the German words to a hymn and the other part the English words. Pastoral work in German among the old was still going on in 1950. Need for English among the "young developed before the end of the nineteenth century. [scheduled probably for one service a Sunday]. For many years so called 'Christenlehre' was held in German during Sunday afternoons. While the children met upstairs, Mr. Gempel [W. P. Gempel was principal of the parochial school from 1882 to 1905] gathered some children, who were not able to speak the German language in a Sunday School class downstairs." Of 22 confirmed in 1906, five were confirmed in English. In 1910 of 205 in Sunday School, fifty were speakers of English. The parochial school was organized in 1863. There were 125 pupils in 1884; in

1895 the number mounted to 168. It fell off to 120 in 1906 and 64 in 1910. It recovered to 104 in 1916, there were 99 in 1937 and 127 in 1948. Before the First World War the language of instruction was German except, as early as the 1890's, for United States history and arithmetic. The children speaking only English were clearly not attending parochial school; the contrast in 1910 between the 205 in Sunday School and the 64 in parochial school suggests that even in many families where the children learned German, the public schools trained them and thereby developed the habitual use of English. However, at that time children commonly reached school age unable to speak English.

In Leavenworth the Evangelical Association, later to become the Evangelical United Brethren Church, became firmly enough established so that by 1861 with help from the East it built a brick church where the first three meetings of the Kansas Conference were held (1865,6,7)/pz 34. In 1866 the congregation was pleading for help to repair church and parsonage /pz 177, and when it built a new church in 1912 it again had much help from outside. In 1915 it gathered enough strength to become a self-supporting church instead of a mission. In 1882 there were 40 members, in 1948 190. It had a steadfast congregation; in 1939 " Mrs. Mary Schalker had been a member for 63 years; six other members had been in the church more than 50 years and 42 members at least 25 years"/pz continuation 138. In 1882 it was known as the "German Church"/a 432. With its faithful membership it probably was more conservative linguistically than most churches of its denomination.

The German Evangelical Synod, later the Evangelical and Reformed Church, did not establish the Salem church in Leavenworth until 1887. Its location

in the southern part of the city indicates that it appealed mostly to late arrivals. It never became large. In 1906 there were 110 members, in 1949--97. It was conservative linguistically. Its services were primarily in German until 1925 and except for the young peoples societies, the records were in German until the same year. There was evolution rather than revolution, from this time on. The process was sufficiently complete so that about 1950, even before the E.R. -Congregational merger was official, Salem was assimilated to the Congregationalists.

The hysteria of the First World War was great at Leavenworth. "If one had a German name and didn't 'wave the flag,' his business hurt because he was 'Pro-German.'" The furor snuffed out the German lodges and non-religious societies swiftly and completely, partly, no doubt, because their activities were already frequently bilingual. Only the Turnverein which in its prosperity numbered from 125 to 175 members persisted for some time. The members were ardently anti-prohibitionist. Although some of the most violent activities of the early temperance workers took place in Leavenworth, the town was always considered extremely "wet," and until the First World War no one greatly concerned himself with the quantities of beer drunk in the Turner hall. As soon, however, as there was a nationalistic animus against the society, efforts to enforce prohibition began. Persecution drew the members more closely together, but anti-German feeling and the law prevailed; the Turner Hall was sold in 1925 and the society disbanded. With it perished an ardent linguistic force.

Another German institution which came to an end under the stresses of the First World War was the continuator of the Kansas Freie Presse. The

name had disappeared in 1886, but almost immediately it was replaced by the Tribune. The editor in 1916 was M. B. Thiel. Mr. Thiel did not sufficiently mask his pro-German sympathies and "was in trouble," before his paper suspended publication. His tribulations are presented in #41.51. For a while Leavenworth supported two German papers. The other was the Post, a daily founded in 1887, printing an English edition in 1895 and 1896. It ended its career as the Post & Tribune. There was also the Sonntags-gast from 1898 to 1901.

Mount Muncie cemetery has served as the last resting place for most of the non-Catholic people of Leavenworth. The proportion of inscriptions in German is small, as is usual in public cemeteries; but their chronological distribution is significant;

1869	1	1900-9	18
1870-9	6	1910-9	9
1880-9	14	1920-9	2
1890-9	20	1930-9	3

The 1930-9 cases are all on family monuments containing also an earlier inscription. The latest combination commemorates a husband who died in 1928 and a wife in 1935. All but one of the inscriptions in the decade 1910-1919 are for deaths occurring between 1915 and 1918. Furthermore in the preceding decade there are no inscriptions later than 1906. The conclusion seems proper that from 1906 until the beginning of the First World War in Europe, German as the language of public record was practically abandoned, that, until the United States became a combattant, there was a revival of nationalistic pride in German, the manifestations of which were quickly ex -

tinguished. The phenomenon of the tombstone inscriptions corresponds to a dip in attendance at the Lutheran parochial school.

To generalize the history of family usage of German at Leavenworth is much more difficult than for most communities. The early immigrants seem to have varied much in their habits. The linguistic development of stocks arriving in the 1880's can be more easily treated. Among them those who were born before 1900 seem to have used German in the family habitually up until the First World War. The immigrants continued to use it, particularly in the mining group, who were in part Silesians. Their children remained proficient, much more frequently than in many communities, but their grandchildren, in general anyone born after 1915, at best learned only to understand. In 1950 those born after 1905 maintained that they had no opportunity to speak German; certainly there was no opportunity in public gatherings. The older people sometimes used German still, but only a few immigrants were comfortably bilingual. Among older stocks, those originating before 1880, there was a not inconsiderable portion who long remained faithful to German so that their history in the third or fourth generation (that is, their behavior in the 20th Century) is similar to that outlined above. On the other hand, there was also an element that abandoned German early and contributed to the pressures that were forcing Engl-izing upon others of German stock. In 1962 no old couples were left using German to each other habitually, though short gusts of German as a sign of fraternity are not rare among them.

The Jews are a linguistic group that are difficult to separate from the Germans, and their linguistic development in the twentieth century may be said to be chronologically identical with that of the Germans, but they

were sufficiently numerous in early Leavenworth so that from very early they had social institutions and doubtless used Yiddish as their familiar language, Hebrew ritually.* The first Jews very likely arrived in Leavenworth in 1854,

*A list of early Jewish families as recollected by a life-long resident of Leavenworth is:

Abraham	Garfinkle	Michaels (Sol)	Toffler
Alster	Goldenow	Phillips	Winnig
Barlow	Isaacson	Rothenberg	Winograd
Ettenson	Lieberman	Salinger	Woolf
Elltemar	Malsell	Schloss	

but certainly by 1855 (B. Frank /a 443, P. Rothschild /a 452, J. Wollman by census). An Orthodox Congregation of Jews early built a synogogue on Seneca Street between Fifth and Sixth. Many, though not all, of the early families were members of this congregation. Its fortunes declined and toward the middle of the twentieth century its building was sold and the congregation disbanded. The B'nai Jerushan Congregation was organized in 1862 and built a synagogue at 6th and Osage Streets in the north part of town in 1864; in 1882 its membership, presumably adult males, was 45 /a 432. The B'nai B'rith lodge, organized in 1866, had 48 members. The Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, also organized in 1866, had 40 members. The Jews continued to be strong. The synagogue that replaced the first structure in 1916 is imposing. In 1962 the congregation consisted of twenty-five families. Some of its members were able to speak Yiddish, including Rabbi Jerome Rosen. The community was reinforced during the Nazi regime in Germany by certain re-

420
13a

fugees. The Kurt Kulimann family arrived in 1939 and in 1962 were sometimes using German. Burial in the Jewish cemetery ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the north edge of Leavenworth) began in 1862 with the first organization of the congregation. German is used as the language of record for one inscription of 1888. Inscriptions in Hebrew characters are numerous, but English is more frequently used. No inscriptions with Hebrew characters appear for the period 1925-1937. Thereafter, perhaps as a reaction to events in Europe, Hebrew letters recur in a few cases.

47.43 Poles in Leavenworth. Polish born was Bernard Frank, one of the Jews to arrive in 1855. In 1865 there were a dozen heads of families (including, like Frank, bachelors) born in Poland. Their names in general seem Jewish like Frank's. Michael Przybylowicz (1828-after 1906) was an exception. He was born in Posen and came to Leavenworth in 1856. He took a German wife. Ultimately he was a hotel keeper, but the following passage in his life may have some relationship to Polish settlement. "In 1867 he converted all his property into cash, and, leaving his family in Leavenworth, went to Europe where he remained about four months, then returned" /a 452. At least the historians of St. Joseph's parish /G 13, also say that by 1868 "a colony of Poles who had come to work in the mines, joined the parish." It may be that the Carmelite fathers confused their chronology and there were no Polish miners until later because Father Joseph F. Laczniak in his history of St. Casimir's parish makes no reference to this early group, but does say that the Polish miners who came in 1888 were first connected with St. Joseph's parish /lp. Furthermore, no Polish miners appear in the census of 1870 or 1875. Two storekeepers born in Poland, however, in 1870 had names that seem

Polish rather than Jewish (Gaczewicz, Marchefswicz -- later Marchefswicz are Catholics). Father Laczniak was wrong in postponing until 1888 the arrival of Polish miners because the census of 1885 includes at least seven miners' families whose heads were born in Poland: Martin Laboda (source of a permanent Leavenworth family) and August Shaffski had children born in Kansas in 1875. These families were living in the First Ward, that is, in the northeastern corner of the city near the early shaft. The census of 1895 reveals a concentration of Poles in the Sixth Ward not far from the south mines, the Home Riverside group. Their quarter was known as Polaktown, and long remained exclusively Polish. Their church, St. Casimir's, was built there by the parishioners' own hands. Their school was erected close beside it and in 1962 the esprit de corps made the parishioners themselves remodel their school. In 1962, however, though the quarter remained the focus, only three Polish families resided in it. Births in the Polaktown families of 1895 show certain cases of residence in Kansas as early as 1881, a year in which the Leavenworth Coal Company was expanding.

Father laczniak says that this group of 1888 were from Westphalia, Germany, and that with the mine openings in the next two years, other Poles came from the mining area in Illinois, particularly from near Toluca, and from Pennsylvania near Pittsburgh. Soon,

though, most of the miners were coming directly from Poland--from all parts of western Poland. They all went into mines, and from there spread into factories, particularly the Abernathy Furniture Company, and into farms and business. In the beginning their status was so humble that even in 1887 the city directory ignored their presence. The settlement continued to gain reinforcements until 1914, the beginning of the First World War in Europe, as shown by the following table:

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Poland Resident in Leavenworth in 1925

<u>Year of Arrival</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
Before 1880	2
1880-1884	16
1885-1889	12
1890-1894	9
1895-1899	12
1900-1904	18
1905-1909	36

<u>Year of Arrival</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
1910-1914	18
1915-1919	--
1920- 1924	2
no year given	<u>11</u>
Total	136

Sixteen Poles arrived in 1906. The closing of the mines brought about the departure from Leavenworth of a number of Poles.

A Catholic organization was set up in 1889, and in 1893 St. Casimir's became a definite parish. During the four years' interval they were served by several Polish priests, some of whom were not exemplary, but in 1893 newly ordained Alexander Smietana became their pastor and remained until 1897. Father John Grudzinski succeeded Smietana and remained until 1913. There were in 1893 some 180 souls, 54 families; in 1897 there were 75 families. The school was founded early--50 children in the 1890's, 75 to 125 in the first decade of the 20th Century; 160 pupils about 1930, 60 in 1948, 92 in 1960. About 1930 there were 70 families in the parish. Father Laczniak arrived in Leavenworth by 1915 and served there all the rest of his career at St. Casimir's; he retired in 1959. These long pastorates made for linguistic stability, more especially because Father Grudzinski was quite nationalistic. Father Laczniak, though of Polish parentage, did not know the language on his arrival, and learned it to serve his parish. He continued to use it in preaching until 1935 and occasionally at funerals in the years that followed. The Polish societies seem to have developed rather late. A wave of nationalism that was at its crest shortly after 1910 made

the Polish National Alliance form a military company which drilled. In 1912 perhaps as a counterbalance, the St. Jadwiga Society was organized. This society, greatly reduced in membership, composed almost exclusively of oldsters, was still conducting its meetings in Polish in 1962. There were a few Slovaks mingled with the whole Polish group and a few Lithuanians and Ukrainians later joined. The final result was 70% Poles, 20% Slovaks, 10% of the other two stocks. The Slovaks lived in the northeast district rather than in Polaktown.

The use of Polish in the family was encouraged by the late date of continuing immigration from Europe and by the rareness of intermarriage with other stocks until about 1930, but by 1950 a bare 10% of the children could speak Polish, and it was imperfect. The children of those who immigrated as children had not learned Polish. In the Catholic cemetery there are monuments with Polish inscriptions dating deaths as follows: 1896, 1908, 1908, 1909, 1915, 1918. English was used as early as 1894.

In 1962 the situation in the Zielinsky family was typical. Michael Zielinski, born in Poland in 1874, crossed the Atlantic to join the settlement in 1891. He worked thirty-five years in the mines and became a founder and faithful member of the St. Jadwiga Society. He used Polish at work all through his mining career, required his children to speak Polish at home, and in 1962 continued to use his language with those who could understand it. His son Joseph, born in 1903, could in 1962 speak Polish readily, read it, and write well enough to correspond with Poles abroad. He had been educated in the Polish school. In 1962 he preferred to speak Polish with certain of

the old whose English was defective. His brother, Florian, born in 1917, understood only simple Polish and found no need for it. The children of these men and children in general knew no Polish.

LINDSBORG-McPHERSON SWEDES (Super*****- McPherson A)

Special Bibliog.: B -- Babcock, K. C. The Scandinavian Element in the United States, University of Illinois Studies, Vol. III, No. 3

P'-- Pihlblad, C. T., "The Kansas Swedes," Southern Social Science Quarterly, XIII (1932-3) 34-47

P"-- Pihlblad, C. T., The Language Assimilation of a Swedish Community in the Middle West. Unpublished Master's Thesis of the University of Missouri, 1920

P'"- Pihlblad, C. T., "A Swedish Community in Kansas," American Swedish Historical Museum Yearbook, 1945, Philadelphia, Pa.

T -- Two Decades, 1908-1928, an anonymous booklet produced for the twentieth anniversary of the Messiah Church at Lindsborg

W --Wheeler, Wayne, "Frontiers, Americanization, and Romantic Pluralism," Mid-Continent American Journal, III (1962) 27-41.

47.44 Lindsborg is the focus of this settlement, and is located very near its geographic center. It lies in what its people call the Smoky Valley, that is, the valley of the Smoky Hill River. No one else along this river uses the term; it belongs to these Swedes. The Smoky Valley in their sense extends from the point where the river leaves the hill country near the Ellsworth county line and reaches almost as far as Salina where its flood plain merges with that of the Saline River. It is broad and fertile; the surrounding country is such that, except to the south toward the city of McPherson, the Swedes refer to it as "back in the hills." To the south beyond the Valley is the great featureless plain which extends beyond the Swedes across the Concentrated Mennonite District and still farther. After studying Lindsborg itself, we shall pass on to the sub-settlements in the Valley to the west, Freemount and Marquette,-- then to those in Saline County which occupy the Valley as it turns north, Falun, a little to one side, and Salemsborg, Smolan and Assaria, - finally to those on the upland plain, New Gottland, and McPherson. Salina, though as much a part of the settlement as

Marquette and McPherson, is discussed as a separate settlement.

Among the three Kansas groups of recent foreign origin who have written much about themselves, Mennonites, Ellis County Volgans, and Lindsborg Swedes, the Lindsborg people are those who have studied most closely as a phase of their social history their linguistic development. We possess three extended statements on the subject, two by C. Terence Pihlblad and one by Emory K. Lindquist in his Smoky Valley People, particularly pp. 181-183. The dates are well-spaced, Pihlblad's Master of Art's thesis, 1920, his article less important, 1932, and Lindquist's book 1953. The material for the thesis was gathered in 1919, thus almost in the year which Vol. I of this work recorded as the critical year for the Lindsborg Swedes, the year in which the parents in the majority of homes with growing children ceased to speak Swedish habitually. Because his observations allow us to come more nearly to an understanding of the meaning to be attributed to the terms "majority" and "habitually," they are considered at some length farther on with remarks which compare the phenomenon in Lindsborg with what is usual.

The first Swede in the Lindsborg area settled in 1864 (Carlgren), in 1866 seventeen more came. There were others in 1867. These were homesteaders and with the arrival of so many the settlement had certainly been begun. They were as yet only half attached to the soil, for the men were helping build the Kansas Pacific, though staying on their claims for periods necessary to hold them. Half the land through the district of settlement belonged to the Kansas Pacific Railway. The Swedes tend to date their real establishment from the formation of the First Swedish Agricultural Company in Chicago in April 1868. By September it had purchased 13160 acres to dispose of to its

members, all Lutherans. On this tract Lindsborg was immediately founded.

The newcomers through C. R. Carlson attracted the Rev. Olof Olsson and some 110 persons from his immigrating Värmlanders, They with many of those who had already arrived put the stamp of Värmland on the whole community.

"The great emigration of natives of Karlskoga from Sweden to the Lindsborg Colony in Kansas in 1869 is one of the most important group settlements we know" /N 631, says Helge Nelson. Group settlements "consist of people who most frequently are relatives from the same region of Sweden."

Pihlblad says that Värmlanders have been given to strife, and therefore the town of Lindsborg and its immediate surroundings have witnessed more turmoil than the rest of the settlement, where people from other provinces are more numerous /P' 36. Strife has not, however, been the chief characteristic of Lindsborg, rather its enthusiasm in carrying out traditions. There have been, it is true, two great dissensions in the town, both connected with the church. The settlers began to worship at once, and upon Olsson's arrival a congregation was organized. This was a Lutheran body of pietistic complexion. Its members could not agree upon the doctrine of atonement and upon the propriety of joining the Augustana Synod. After it had joined the synod and in the midst of heated doctrinal argument, C. R. Carlson and his party withdrew in 1874 to worship separately. In the temporal domain the victory was certainly Olsson's; his Bethany Church (1910 members in 1908) and the Augustana Synod have dominated Lindsborg. But the victor quitted Lindsborg at the end of 1876 still beloved by his people. His mantle fell upon Carl Swensson. The new prophet was not yet of age, and Lindsborg waited until he finished his studies at the seminary. Then in 1879, aged 22, he took his place. His heart killed him in 1904. From beginning to end he led Lindsborg;

under him in 1881 and 1882 the Messiah chorus and Bethany College came into being. He was president of the college and saw it through a deadly financial crisis in the hard times of the 1890's. He was also a zealous pastor and a public figure active beyond his community. Olsson too had entered politics. Thus Lindsborg's leaders were from the beginning bilingual in their work. But they were apostles of Swedish culture; presumably they, Swensson particularly, were unaware that vigorous participation in American life would hasten the abandonment of Swedish. The Messiah chorus has been Lindsborg's great publicity agency. The audiences who began coming from a distance within ten or fifteen years from its inception have doubtless been an Engl-izing influence, but the linguistic effects upon the members of the chorus are of more interest. Even at the first performance the oratorio was sung in English. The singers were the immigrants. "English was still a strange and awkward language for the majority of them, and it was only natural that the explanations by the conductor were made in Swedish" /li llo. The performers were not all townspeople; in order to rehearse some "walked miles across the prairies to the stone church." English as a cultural language was thus introduced into farm homes. The chorus has always had a broad basis of membership. As communication became easier, trips from McPherson over long periods of rehearsal are a commonplace for some of its members. These people are not all Swedes; music and not nationality is the basis of membership. So Lindsborg has been submitted to another Engl-izing influence. The chorus has, however, been also to some extent a preservative of Swedish. Swedes from every part of the settlement have had opportunity to see each other in an atmosphere sympathetic to their original culture; so at least in 1942 part of them were conversing together in Swedish.

The sympathetic attitude toward Swedish culture has also been a feature of Bethany College. Undoubtedly though, the college has been a marked force for linguistic shift, and this in spite of first intentions. In 1883 "the study of Swedish language and literature was required in all courses. A resolution of the board of directors on December 3, 1884, declared: 'In our school the Swedish and English languages shall be considered equally important.'" In 1912, however, according to Babcock "only in the classes in Swedish language and literature is the instruction given in Swedish"/B 113, i.e. Swedish was studied as a foreign language. But, continues Lindquist, "the official policy of the college later provided that students of Swedish parentage should study at least one year of Swedish, although by 1929, when this statement appears for the last time in the catalogue, it had not been enforced for many years"/li 96. It is clear from other testimony that the "official policy" which Lindquist here sets forth caused resentment for some time before it became a dead letter. Some of the reasons will become clearer elsewhere, but certainly one was the early and continued infusion of non-Swedish elements into both the faculty and the student body. The faculty of 1891 /li 97, was mostly Swedish, but the teacher of painting -- Birger Sandzen had not yet come -- and the two teachers of commercial subjects were not Swedish. The School of Commerce had existed since 1886. Lindquist's list of the school's outstanding teachers also contains a few non-Swedish names /li 242, not those he most emphasizes to be sure. As to non-Swedish students the school's early excellence in art and, especially, music soon attracted them. At least at one moment so did football. The "terrible Swedes" of 1904 included Bailey, Banbury, Clancy, Gibbs, Pugh, Skidmore, and Wiley. Very likely, the presence of these valiants attracted other eager souls

favor of it. The outcome was the establishment of the Messiah Lutheran Church on the Bethany campus in 1908 after much turmoil. The quarrel was similar in character to struggles over the "language question" that have occurred in churches in hundreds of immigrant communities, scores of them in Kansas, but it was more bitter than some. Certainly with faculty used to formulating its ideas on paper on one side and a pastor who was already an experienced author on the other, the polemics preserved in writing and in print give us much better documentation than is usual. Strain can be sensed in this public pronouncement issued by the Bethany Church: "Should an English-speaking Lutheran Church be organized in our city, which accepts our constitution and asks for admittance into our synod, we are as a church council willing to recommend its admittance... The language question is a serious matter, and we hope and believe that our people will solve it in a Christian way"/T 41. No further emphasis is needed to make it evident that there was a struggle tending to make everyone stubbornly persistent in the habitual use of the language of his choice, and thereby the generations were divided. Not all the young went into the "English" church, however; doubtless some who might have joined it did not feel at home with the college element. It attracted about one fourth of the Lutherans (in 1952, 454 in Messiah, 1180 in Bethany.) In the Bethany church sporadic English services began as early as 1885 /P' 44. From 1905 to 1909 there was English once a month in the evening. Lindquist says p. 187 "By 1908 only four young people had used the English language in the important confirmation rites [all four after 1904].... Soon... a choice was given classes to use either Swedish or English." Pihlblad in his thesis says that 28 English Bibles and two Swedish Bibles were presented to

the confirmed in 1919 (p. 55). In the same era the Sunday school was still using Swedish printed materials. "The discussion and explanation were conducted in English." /Li 187. After the secession the Bethany Church seems to have abandoned English until the First World War, at any rate in 1919 there was still only one evening service a month in English; also the young people's meetings /P-50. In 1922 /P-44 English entered more services; in 1928 it shared almost equally with Swedish. In 1931 there were "double-headers" every Sunday morning; the first half was Swedish. Beginning in 1934 the language of the Church Minutes became English. Swedish finally succumbed with the advent of the Second World War and the passing of the Rev. A. Bergin except for one Bible class and services on the day after Easter and the day after Christmas. On the Easter Monday of 1950, 120 persons attended the Swedish service; those in the Bethany Home for the aged were listening to a remote control apparatus.

In 1873 a congregation, which soon joined what became the Mission Covenant Church, was organized at Rose Hill, five miles northeast of Lindsborg. It lasted till 1916. In town C. R. Carlson and his party after the secession of 1874, organized the church which is at present the Mission Covenant Church (100 families belonged in 1881; 231 members in 1916 /sd 288; 193 members in 1949). In 1916 Större Drag describes Lindsborg as a place where "doctrinal disputes have exerted great influence" /sd 45. English could not be welcomed easily. For some time there was also a "Free Church" in Lindsborg which collapsed shortly before 1918, and the Mission Church thereby gained members. In 1916 English had not penetrated into the activities of the Mission Church; however, on the 17th of October, 1917, Linds-

borgs-Posten announced that a visiting minister would speak in English. In 1919 Pihlblad's thesis /P" 51, records one English service a month with Sunday school and young people's meetings largely in English. Lindquist says: "Swedish was the official language for services in the Mission Covenant until 1923, when it was decided to use Swedish and English"/li 182. Lindquist's source seems here to have been documentary. Pihlblad is a contemporary witness. The two statements can be reconciled by granting that English, which had been an interloper until 1923, was then accepted by vote as of importance equal to Swedish. In other words beginning then, half of the services were in English. Lindquist (1953) says "All services have been in English since the late 1930's." The Swedish Methodist Church was organized in 1871, 61 members in 1881; the "English" Methodist Church, organized in 1879, had then 20 members. They worshipped in the same building. In 1917 the English church (300 members in 1952) absorbed the 17 remaining Swedish Methodists. The War of course was in part the cause of disbanding, but the attraction of English was doubtless what had reduced membership to its low status.

The Swedish Baptist Church (115 members in 1952), though there had been Baptists among the earliest settlers, was not organized until 1880. In the midst of dissension it was disbanded and reorganized in 1886. Part of the trouble arose from the fact that a portion of the membership lived near Falun; it split off in 1909. In 1919 Pihlblad says in his thesis "The Baptist Church is more Swedish than the other two [Bethany and Mission], due to the fact that the congregation is almost exclusively composed of first generation Swedes, many of whom do not handle English easily enough to use it in worship"/P" 51. P. Lovene, the Baptist historian writing in 1927,

says, "In 1922 the English must be used in the evening services and three years after the English has usurped the forenoon also, Swedish being spoken only in the Bible class for the old people. And this was the most thoroughly Swedish community one could find in Kansas, if not in all of the United States" /lv 47. Lovene's testimony of 1925 contradicts Lindquist's statement, "English was adopted in 1930 in the Baptist Church"/li 182. Lindquist is a very credible witness, doubtless depending on information from the congregation, but in this matter Lovene's testimony must be accepted, partly because of its date, largely because of the indignation exhibited against the fact being recorded.

Parochial summer schools in at least the Bethany and Mission churches gave instruction in Swedish until 1918 /P" 67, sd 47. Pihlblad's data of 1919 show that attendance fell off in them in the last years /P" 66. The percentage of attendance at parochial schools in the various grades of the public schools is here quoted.

grade where pupils were questioned	year in which these pupils were aged 6	% of pupils attending
2	1918	25%
3	no data	
4	1916	40%
5	1915	70%
6	1914	37%
7	1913	49%
8	1912	58%
high school	1907-11	65%

The high percentage of grade 5 is probably the result of a last desperate effort in 1915 or 1916 to bring the straying sheep back into the fold. Lindquist says, "When Swedish was no longer used in the Sunday School or in the church school in summer, English... became the language of the church"/li 187. The attitude of children toward this schooling is expressed by the words that Anna Olsson, the Rev. Olof's Olsson's daughter put into the mouth of one of the characters of her "I'm Scairt", first published in Swedish in 1917, and then in English in 1927. Presumably the author is making the child express the sentiments that she had herself felt a generation before;

"But Papa and Mamma won't let me go to English School. 'Cause I will learn bad things if I go there. And Papa he always says, 'If you wait till you are a little older, you can go to Swede School.'

"I don't want to wait! I want to go to School now-- right away! And I want to go to English School! 'Cause English School in Town is much more fun than Swede School in Old Man Skoglund's house." / quoted on W 32.

"The ambivalence of the second-generation toward the Swedish language and the older generation is well-expressed by a young Lindsborgian in a 1910 letter to his sister." So says Wheeler, and he quotes a paragraph:

"I also notice that they will inflict Swedish on you in the high school. Not that it is not cultural study but I can't see any use for it. That is one thing where father and I can't agree. Never will. However, I advise you to take it and to do some work at it as it is a great satisfaction to know the language. I look for the time to come when I can make capital of my knowledge of Swedish." /W 32.

Wheeler further quotes the son of an immigrant: "I asked my father if he

had any desire to visit the old country... He'd say, 'Well, what would I do there? Sweden has never done anything for me'... But feelings about Sweden skipped me. Now my daughter, she was just crazy to travel,... she's been to the old homestead where father came from" /W 33. The grand-daughter exhibited Swedish "nationalism."

47.46 The chronology of Swedish nationalism in Lindsborg is important in studying linguistic displacement there. By nationalism is meant here high regard for the language and culture of the ancestral home and will to preserve them. There is no question of a will to spread them. The history up until 1930 follows the usual trends, but in Lindsborg they were more accentuated than in most rural settlements. In general the immigrants were throughout their lives almost as fanatically Swedish as they were Lutheran and Republican. There was no place superior to their settlement both because it was in America and because it was Swedish in the best tradition. They fought vigorously to remain Swedish, but they did not regard certain matters as essential to this end. Most of them were ready to become bilingual if convenient and were convinced of the necessity of accepting American agricultural and business methods. Indeed some of them were bilingual on arrival because they had worked elsewhere, though at Lindsborg their English might become rusty from disuse /P" 35. Usually they readily accepted American schooling for their children. For perhaps a decade their children shared their views. Then in certain respects they reacted violently against them. They remained ardently Lutheran and rather felt that other ethnic stocks were inferior, but they wished to give no basis for other American communities to criticize them. They were definitely ashamed of people who had never learned English, and

many of them toward the close of the nineteenth century became ashamed of being bilingual. This attitude was more evident in town than in the country, and more marked in college circles than in the rest of the town. There were some who were bilingual in a rather supercilious manner, using Swedish only to those unfortunate enough not to be better equipped or perhaps as a mark of courtesy to distinguished visiting Swedes. In 1908 G. H. von Koch was treated to an evening reception at Bethany College. "What I found indoors," he said, "was not real Swedish youth. The language was there, although spoken with a certain effort, but this was perhaps the only thing that bespoke Swedish descents" /ne 372. A more general attitude was, "If you aren't handy enough with English to want to use it all the time, practice will do you good. At least you can't expect me to be stick-in-the-mud along with you." Children who answer in English parents who address them in f-lang are a common phenomenon in any settlement, but about 1900, at least in town at Lindsborg, this phenomenon seems to have been the accepted practice among children who were attending school. In some places the older generation yields rather easily to this education by the young, but the older people of Lindsborg were not of that type. Until about 1910 they all went ahead speaking Swedish. Some began to yield then, and a great many more yielded by 1920. Until America entered the First World War patriotism was but little involved in these attitudes. Then when the country as a whole regarded the use of any language but English as nearly traitorous, the younger generations at Lindsborg tended to agree with the doctrine. There were those who believed that it was not only good to use "the language of the land"; it was a sin not to. Through the 1920's this attitude faded gradually, but something akin to it still was present in 1930. But in no generation had the conviction that Lindsborg was a superior place died. In 1931 a young Swede from

the neighborhood described the spirit as "a certain fierce pride in Lindsborg and Lindsborg institutions which is almost clannish and a jealousy of outside things which amounts to petty provincialism." The spirit of local patriotism, which impresses most observers as rather agreeable, began to get the better of the notion that Swedish language and Swedish customs were old-fashioned. The world kept on applauding Lindsborg for something that belonged peculiarly to the town, the Messiah chorus. Why should it not also applaud Lindsborg for being Swedish? By 1940 all generations were cooperating to preserve the Swedishness of the community. In 1939 the Svensk Hyllningsfest (roughly, the Honoring Festival) was established in October. Homecoming celebrations were about that time becoming widespread among small towns, but this parallel festival at Lindsborg emphasizes the settlement's origins and honor to its founders much more than is usually the case. Swedish culture and the "Pioneers" are exalted. What most of Kansas calls "early settlers"; Lindsborg calls "pioneers." Swedish neighbors (others than the one quoted above) sometimes smilingly refer to the citizens of Lindsborg as "professional Swedes" and speak of "commercializing." There is a grain of truth in these terms, but there is no doubt that the enthusiasm is fundamentally sincere. A nostalgia for the old days does exist. The result is that, while it is too late to bring back the community as a whole to the use of Swedish, old timers in the 1950's have been encouraged to, rather than discouraged from, the exhibition of any traits, including language, that bind them to Sweden and the pioneers.

Doubtless an element of some importance in bringing back Swedish nationalism was the pattern of immigration. New arrivals almost ceased

during the hard times of the 1890's, but foreign-born in Lindsborg increased from 1900 to 1912. As long as immigrants, young or old, were numerous in the population, the Swedish language was very frequently used. Their proportion in Lindsborg's population is exhibited in these census data (state figures copied from Lindquist):

	Year	Total pop.	Lindsborg born in Sweden	% born in Sweden
	1885	885	390	44%
	1895	1312	527	40%
	1905	1903	649	34%
	1915	1950	705	36%
Federal	1930	2016	503 all the fb	25%
	1940	1913	291	15%

Although the early settlers were almost all young men the proportion of foreign-born could not have remained so high without the old who retired from the farms. They came not only from the Lindsborg-McPherson district but from other Swedish settlements too. While immigration did not entirely cease until the First World War, one may say that from 1895 on, these immigrants were old men and women.

Until 1930 then Swedish was very frequently used in Lindsborg because of this element in the population. Part of the second generation had changed its habits. Those born between 1880 and 1900 were almost all bilingual, and in the early part of their lives had used Swedish habitually. After 1918 most of them shifted. For those born after 1880 English was the cultural language and the commercial language. For those born after 1900 as soon as they reached school age, it became the language for all purposes. Still

parents in most homes with growing children were using Swedish until 1918, and so 1918 may be regarded as the critical year. As shown above, the children in these families were very often exclusively using English before that.

What the final result was to be was evident by 1900 except to the most willful. Lindquist quotes Carl Swensson as saying in 1902, "Shall our children not speak Swedish? Shall our nationality disappear in the whirlpool?" /1186. Lindquist further says that a Swedish visitor of 1908 reported that at a social occasion the guests "used this language [Swedish] with considerable effort and a strange accent." These were college people who abandoned habitual Swedish early. Children were already using English as the playground language in 1905. P. Lovene's description of conditions in the same year is a contrast, "Swedish was spoken everywhere in the post office, in the banks and the stores. Even the American-born learned Swedish" /lv 47. By American born, he doubtless meant a few people of British ancestry as well as the children and grandchildren of immigrants. His remark is supported by other evidence. Till 1908 then we may say that in Lindsborg only the second generation intelligentsia and youngsters habitually spoke English for other than cultural purposes. There were enough of them to force the establishment of the Messiah church.

It is now time to consider in detail certain of C. T. Pihlblad's observations in his thesis of 1919.* He founded his study of homes upon question-

*Helge Nelson depends in great measure upon Pihlblad's work on Lindsborg for a discussion of the community /ne 271-281. Traveling from Sweden he visited the community in 1921 and perhaps in 1925, 1926, and 1933. Evidently his observations were identical with Pihlblad's.

naires answered by the heads of 67 families. His most general conclusion was that in the last ten years home use of English had increased greatly; 84% of his answers said so. Two thirds of these homes were bilingual; one fourth used only English. In 92% of the bilingual homes, the children preferred to use English. The reasons for the increase in the use of English as proposed by the questionnaire and the percentile of answers choosing a given reason as primary were:

1. children's preference	40%
2. pressure of outside contacts	27%
3. English, the national language	10%
4. father or mother not Swedish	6%
5. death of the old	6%
6. other	11%

We have already seen data supporting Reason 1. Pihlblad says further that the third generation and the younger second generation "resent any forced measures to preserve Swedish." He says also: "In many of the families there is an attitude of actual hostility toward the old language and customs on the part of the children. This attitude has been accentuated during the recent war." In other words Reason 3 had become important. Pihlblad cites a grown daughter who reproached her mother at table for asking for a dish in Swedish on the grounds that such behavior was unpatriotic. Children did not want to answer questions in Swedish because they felt some stigma was attached to its use. Even college students had the same feeling and seldom spoke to each other in Swedish /P" 67. On the other hand Pihlblad says, "In some of the older families and in those in which we find a higher degree

2469

of education in the first generation, the Swedish is preserved to a greater degree, and we find children who do have a good knowledge of both." That is, the young aristocracy was bilingual almost as a badge of caste.

Reason 4, intermarriage, is of interest. Many have claimed that the Swedes have frowned upon marriage with any but a Swede. Lindquist as well as Pihlblad offer evidence on the subject. Lindquist says that Pastor Olsson performed no mixed marriages at Lindsborg. "In the period, November, 1870, to January, 1880, there were 76 licenses issued in which both parties were Swedish and 8 in which only one was of that nationality, for a ratio slightly higher than 9 to 1. In the period, March, 1880, to March, 1887, 181 licenses were purchased by Swedish couples to 38 when only one was Swedish for a ratio of 5 to 1. In more recent times there is no substantial evidence to indicate that national background is the decisive factor in marriage" /li 182. Pihlblad found 5% of the pupils were children of a Swede and a non-Swede, in the third and fourth grade 15%. In his day Bethany students said it would make no difference to them whether a spouse was a non-Swede, and that parental objections on this score would have no weight. This is to say that there might well be parental objections. Certainly, the tradition is to object to such marriages, and certainly they occur in great numbers. Like most foreign settlements Lindsborg produces more children than it can support when they are grown. Most sons and daughters of the city with non-Swedish spouses will prefer to live elsewhere. Thus the town remains essentially Swedish. This is a common pattern for foreign settlements.

Another evidence cited by Pihlblad of the decrease of the use of Swedish in the home was the decline in the sale of Swedish books. A book store had sold

\$900 worth in 1909

650 worth in 1914

450 worth in 1919

Since prices were twice as high in 1919 as in 1909 the drop was indeed great. This same decline went on. In 1931 an investigator, after noting that Lindsborg's Posten had just perished, continues, "A good many other Swedish newspapers, chief among

them the Svenska-amerikaner and the Tribunen-Nyheter, are still received in the community, but the writer was told by Carl O. Lincoln, the postmaster, that their number has decreased fifty per cent in the last eight years." Pihlblad reports the instructor of Scandinavian at Bethany college as saying that in 1919 no student was sufficiently at ease in Swedish to enable him to write well in that language.

We have seen that in 1919 there was only one service in English per month in the Bethany church. Here are the

Preferences as Regards Language of Worship

	Heads of families	Children
Swedish	52%	18%
English	28%	73%
No preference	20%	9%

The Swedish preferences existed because those having them, usually people of the second generation, felt that they "got more from the sermon" in Swedish. This is a reason found in all foreign settlements. In its most extreme form, it becomes the assertion that a soul can be saved only in the f-lang of the person advancing the argument. Usually as here it means only that the speaker's English vocabulary has not been developed to the point that such words as "atonement, redemption, immortality" have the proper semantic and emotional content; for the speaker they are cold and meaningless. In some communities people of this opinion are so stubborn that their churches lose their young people. But this was not true in Lindsborg. Here as in many other communities the old finally agreed with a man whom Pihlblad quotes "The far-seeing parent must try to use the church language of his children if he wants them to remain loyal to the church " /P"57.

Pihlblad vigorously denies that knowledge of Swedish is a detriment in learning English. He supports his allegation with the opinions of teachers and by citing his own case. He knew no English on going to school; he was completely at home in it a year later. Not every one has been of his opinion. Often parents have abandoned the use of f-lang so that their children might not be handicapped on entering school. There is some evidence that this occurred at Lindsborg too.

Pihlblad's inquiries as to the use of Swedish in business showed that ²/₃ of his customer informants thought they did one fourth of their business in Swedish. The merchants on the other hand thought that they did only 5 to 10% of their business in Swedish. Pihlblad's explanation was that a customer might think he was talking Swedish when the words he was using were really English. The Swedish commercial vocabulary in Lindsborg was contaminated from the very beginning by the lack of a word in Swedish, or at least in a given speaker's Swedish, to identify a host of objects common in America. Immigrant populations everywhere employ these contaminations. Various other explanations could be added to Pihlblad's. The most simple to state is: Not all business is done with merchants -- farmers, for instance, may dicker with each other. The merchants testified that there had been a great change in Lindsborg in the last five years.

Pihlblad contended after making these observations that business hastened anglicization; we may agree with him both for Lindsborg and for other settlements. The particular occupation of farming, he concluded, advances the process less than other occupations, but only slightly. Out of eleven heads of families who told him that they used no Swedish in business only one was a farmer; there was a far larger proportion of farmers in his sampling than this. He also observed that there was more Swedish on the streets of neighboring villages than in Lindsborg and that young people's societies in the country used more Swedish than those in town. The parallel to all these observations can be found in many settlements. He finally remarks that the contrast between town and country in 1919 was not so great as in 1909. This was to be expected. Engl-izing of those in town aged less than

twenty in 1909 was so near completion that it could not advance much; the young of the countryside caught up during the decade. On the other hand many of the old in the country retired during this decade and became inhabitants of the town. Similar phenomena are found elsewhere.

Pihlblad thought in 1919 that Anglicization was so far advanced that Swedish would practically have disappeared in 1930. His article of 1932 does not make him contradict himself. In fact he says little as to the situation in that year; rather he adds enlightening bits about early history which have already been utilized above. He does, however, reveal that Swedish was still habitual in certain country homes. Students from Bethany would make progress in eliminating mistakes in English during the week and have relapses after weekend visits. He ignores the evidence of strife between the generations that he had set down in 1919, and insists upon the lack of evidence of isolation of parents from children, emphasizes that the community has no sense of shame, rather a sense of pride in its cultural background. He records the advent of the period of nostalgia. A neighboring Swede who wrote in 1931 after remarking that you heard Swedish on the streets of Lindsborg, qualified his statement. "It becomes increasingly uncommon," he said, "to hear Swedish on the streets and in the stores, for many of the younger generation cannot speak the tongue of their fathers and few of them can read and write it." We shall see that very similar statements have been made about conditions in 1950. Swedish was at its nadir in 1930 and gradually came out of hiding later, not to grace more tongues but to be used without a sense of shame.

In 1942 an informant native to the town recorded that Swedish was used in

small social groups and habitually in the home. He should have said that the homes and the groups were usually made up of people born before 1890.

In the 1950's there existed a large sign announcing livestock sales in both English and Swedish. It was of rather recent origin; the paint was in good condition. The bilingual display was only for show. Anyone who knew how to read could read English and not all could read Swedish. The sign was brought out only on special occasions. Wheeler notes in 1962 that "The local bakery makes and sells a braided coffee bread known in the singular as Kringla. The plural form in Swedish is kringlor... The bakery... advertise[es] kringlors" /W 37. The vocabulary item remained, but the morphology was lost. At the 1948 Hyllningsfest the effort to present old times included a very complete menu in Swedish at a public smörgåsbord. The program of the meeting, almost all English, contained one joke in Swedish. It was based on drunkenness. The laughter following it was thin and almost all feminine. More women than men had understood. The joke teller was born about 1910 and the character of his speech verified what Swedes twenty-five years older said, that the younger speak only "for a kind of game." They said that even those born in the 1890's hesitate to use Swedish. Most of those who had lived in town and who had been born after 1900 had forgotten their Swedish. The facts varied in country neighborhoods. In some places those born as late as 1915 spoke rather well, a few born as late as 1923. The enthusiasts for Swedish sought each other out in favorite haunts. A young witness in 1940 declared, "In the drugstore on Saturday night it sounds like Stockholm."

Visitors from Sweden at that time found persons in active life who could

converse fluently with them. Lindsborg Swedish has a flavor of the nineteenth century. The limits of the size of the group using Swedish at that time can probably be correctly deduced from the number of those attending the Easter Monday service at Bethany Church, 120, not counting those listening over a loud speaker in the home for the aged. The church had something over 1200 members and the town nearly 2500 inhabitants. From a fifth to a fourth could enjoy a Swedish service.

47.47 Secondary Centers. Fremont or Freemount (Point 2) is now only a church with its cemetery and was scarcely more at any time, but the neighborhood has a certain unity owing in part to its origins. As at Lindsborg the first comers were in large part members of a land company formed by prospective settlers. This company, organized in 1868, was the Galesburg Land Company. Galesburg, Illinois, and the surrounding territory (61, 131 and 142) was not only a Swedish settlement; it was a sort of way station where immigrants came before going on to other areas to find permanent homes. This Galesburg company, by intent, lasted only so long as it was necessary to buy land (14,080 acres) from the Kansas Pacific and distribute it to members. The first settlers arrived in the winter of 1868-9 (among others Hawkinson, Rodell). They were in large part from two parishes in the province of Småland /P' 35. They organized their church at once (345 members in 1906, 242 in 1950). The cemetery reveals an early confusion of written words that probably corresponded to oral confusion of Swedish and English. In 1883 in the midst of an inscription appear the words "daughter of" instead of the very similar Swedish words. This inscription commemorated an infant of the Hokansen family; the

spelling Hawkinson is found upon a stone of 1892; the English spelling is used thereafter. Family usage in this area seems to have followed in close chronology that of the town of Lindsborg.

Marquette (Point 1, population 609 in 1940) is on the western fringe of the Lindsborg district and has never been completely Swedish as Lindsborg came to be. It feels independent of Lindsborg, and tends to smile at Lindsborg's zeal. It is only three miles from Freemount and the farming population to the east has largely the characteristics of Freemount. Not altogether, though, for Falun is to the northeast and there some people came from a more northern province, Dalarne, the Dales. To the west is a nearly normal American situation; such populations usually describe themselves as a "Duke's mixture." The town nucleus originated in 1866, was platted '74, Swedes on the plat from 1868. The Lutherans worshipped at Freemount till 1877, then built in town in 1878 (650 members in 1952). Sermons once a month in Swedish persisted till 1940 nearly as long as in the Bethany church at Lindsborg. The Mission Covenant Church (93 members in 1949) claims only 1901 as the date of its foundation, but its antecedents in town go back to 1883. In 1889 a Free Mission Church was organized. After a decade of strife the ultra-Free won, and they had the church building to themselves until they collapsed in 1906. Mean-time the Mission people had organized (1901), and have continued since. In 1913-1916 high school students understood Swedish, but did not speak it unless they were the children of late immigrants. At that time a few people were still arriving from Sweden. (On the fringe late immigrants were naturally more numerous than in the center of a settlement since that is where land unoccupied by others of their nationality was to be found upon their

arrival). Here too the situation was not greatly different from that in Lindsborg. At the same time, however, the situation in commerce was not the same. Swedish was used in it sometimes, but much less than in Lindsborg. Still those born in 1924 learned a few words of Swedish, and an informant in 1942 recorded that Swedish was used sometimes in buying, though in general only to the old. In 1949 there were still a few people who used Swedish habitually, and a certain number of Swedish customs, cheerfully accepted by young people, still persisted. In 1967 a woman born in 1917 knew no Swedish; her daughter had never heard her grandparents speak Swedish, but her grandfather had told her that he was proficient. The renaissance of the Swedish spirit, though less marked than in Lindsborg, exists there too.

Falun (Point 9 in Saline County, population in 1940, 205) is like Marquette a fringe settlement, but it is more completely Swedish, both because it is smaller with a negligible commercial element in the population and because, until Camp Phillips cut off the land near by to the northwest, it was more nearly engulfed in the Swedish district. Serious settlement (first comer 1868) began in 1869 when a group of forty, led by Major Eric Forsse, arrived. Another group from the same sources came in 1870, and Falun had a post office next year. In the United States these people were from the old communistic settlement, Bishop Hill and from Gava near Galesburg, Illinois, (Henry County 61, 131). Forsse had been in Illinois almost twenty years, but his companions were very recent arrivals. Many of them were from the province of Dalarne (the Dales), and Falun was named for a town in that province. The newcomers were not all Lutherans; from 1875 they worshipped together for some time. In 1887, however, the Lutherans organized a church

(maximum membership 300). English was used in the Sunday school there from the beginning. Regular English services once a month began about 1909; Swedish was abandoned in 1935. The last Swedish inscription in the was made in 1923. Beginning in 1910 the Swedish Baptists also had an organization in Falun. The year before "Americans" and Swedish had endeavored to worship together using both languages, but the 18 Swedes had not been content. Swedish was used occasionally in 1942. Those born in 1910 only understand, and cannot speak. Official Engl-izing at Falun went on somewhat faster than in Lindsborg. The habits of the young have been much the same.

Salemsborg (population 29 in 1940, Point 8 in Saline County) would probably have been a village of several hundred inhabitants had not the railroad passed it by in 1886; commercially Smolan superseded it. Like Fremont Salemsborg lies in land purchased by the Galesburg Land Co. in 1889. In the same year settlers came from the Galesburg area to occupy the purchase. As at Freemount the kernel of early settlers came from the province of Småland. They organized a Lutheran church at once (601 members in 1906, 365 members in 1951; Camp Phillips took part of their territory). The congregation has been well-to-do; the church is impressive. Confirmations in Swedish went on here until about 1925. About that time the old church burned down. When the new one was erected, there was so much debate over the language to be used in the inscription over the door that two entrances were built, one surmounted by the Swedish for "A mighty fortress is Our Lord," the other by the English version. Dedicatory services were in both languages. After 1943 Swedish was used no more in the services, at the last in a talk to the old during Sunday School. The moving spirit of the early days was C. J. Brodine.

The inscription on his monument testifies to language usage in 1905:

"Broden: The Pioneer Missionary of Smoky Valley: C. J. Broden 1821-1895:

Anna Broden 1823-1889: Upprest af Bern och Vänner [Erected by children and friends] 1905." In this cemetery Swedish inscriptions predominate until 1908; there was one made in 1931. This is more Swedish and later than in any other cemetery in the Smoky Valley, but English crept into a Swedish inscription here as early as 1873 ("son of" along with "fódd" and "död"). Children born in this area before 1920 learned Swedish, but the last to learn frequently forgot it later. One Anglicizing force: "The picnics sponsored by the Salemsborg Telephone Company attracted thousands of people and outstanding state and national speakers" /li 175.

Smolan (Point 7 in Saline County, population 154 in 1940) is the offshoot of Salemsborg created by the railroad in 1886. Its name, a re-spelling of Småland, reveals the origins of early settlers. Its Lutherans belonged at Salemsborg until they formed their own congregation in 1893 (45 members in 1906, 100 in 1951.) A Mission Covenant Church (50 members in 1949, 60 in 1917) had its beginnings in 1873. Its church building was nearer Salemsborg than Smolan until 1912 when it bought in town the building that the expiring "Free (Mission) Friends" Church had erected. Even this small congregation maintained, at least until 1917 /sd 12, a church summer school that gave instruction in Swedish. The formation in 1915 of a girl's society in addition to the women's society implies the necessity of the use of English in a junior group. In 1920 Swedish was so much used as to be an irritant to American spouses of Swedes, and Swedish in commercial use continued for years afterward. In 1951 there were still old Swedes in the neighborhood presumably towards Salemsborg who knew little or no English.

Assaria (Point 10 in Saline County, population 232 in 1940) is toward the eastern edge of the Saline county portion of the Lindsborg District, but it is hardly a fringe settlement. It is in the Smoky Valley. At this point the hills on the valley edge are not far off to the east, and the Swedes have had little to do with country beyond them. Land near the future Assaria was part of the Galesburg Land Company's purchase. The Kansas Pacific's organ, the National Land Company, in late 1868 sold other land to Swedes (Peterson, Hessler) from Blekinge, which lies on the Baltic Sea south of Småland. Only Skåne stretches farther to the South, and there are people from Skåne in the neighborhood of Assaria. But many more people from Blekinge came in -- the first comers were part of a group of 108 that had been in Illinois since the preceding year. O. H. Thoralenberg, a promoter as well as a settler, had been in the United States since 1854, eleven years at Galesburg. The town of Assaria was not born until 1879 when the railroad went through the area but in 1876 the Lutherans had already formed a congregation at this point and named it Assaria. In the years preceding they had worshipped at Salemsborg; they separated because of the distance or, thinks C. T. Pihlblad /P' 35, probably because the Blekingar wished to separate from the Småland people. In any case the church prospered (519 members in 1951). English was first introduced into the services about 1916. In 1931 English was still used only once a month, but by 1936 Swedish had been abandoned. Confirmations in Swedish were optional beginning in 1918. From about 1922 all children were confirmed in English. The Church summer school in Swedish continued until about 1914. For some time there was an organization of the Swedish Mission Church, defunct several years before 1916. In 1910 a Methodist Church was established.

The present church has some Swedish members. Family usage was such that by 1913 it was regarded as improper for a child to enter school without knowing English. The conflict of the generations seems to have been as sharp here as at Lindsborg. The period when parents spoke Swedish and children answered in English was well marked here. The older people, while swayed by the forces at work during the First World War, resumed their use of Swedish. Some children learned Swedish probably from their grandparents. A non-Swede entering commerce here in 1931 learned some Swedish by casual listening, but could gain no practice because Swedes felt that only Swedes should be addressed in the language of their youth. A large proportion of the population was old in the next two decades and the abandonment of Swedish in church to hold the young worked a hardship upon an appreciable element of the congregation. In 1949 Swedish was still heard.

South of Lindsborg the Swedes were not attracted to the band of broken country on the border of the Smoky Valley. Their holdings in this area are still not solid. But the plain beyond attracted them as soon as the Valley was occupied. In 1871 three years after the settlement of Lindsborg Swedish settlers including Swan and Gust Burk installed themselves on that plain.

New Gottland (Point 5) as a center is only the Lutheran church now and never was much more. The name does not indicate a province of origin. The tradition is that it was derived from "new goodland," presumably because in coming from Lindsborg one passes through poor land before arriving here. The people are mostly from Småland (like Salemsborg and Freemount) with a large admixture of Varmlanders (like Lindsborg) and Västergötlanders. Its people trade in McPherson. The Lutheran church, organized 1872, 502 members

in 1905, 418 in 1951, was Swedish until 1916 except for an English Bible class. Then, after a year's struggle, one evening a month became English. In 1921 every evening service became English, and in 1926 one morning a month was allotted it. In 1937 Swedish services were given up. In 1895 Swedish and English alternated as the language of the Young People's Society, and in 1919 it abandoned Swedish. A few old people needed pastoral services in Swedish in 1949. Swedish Mission services began in 1874, but no church was organized until 1894. In 1916 it had only 35 members, many had moved into McPherson. At that time one English class existed in the Sunday School. There were 87 members in 1949. Most of the people unless they were quite young traded in Swedish in 1910; their number lessened during the decade. These people were bilingual and continued to use Swedish in the home for some time. High school students of the late 1940's knew some Swedish.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the New Gottland Cemetery

	English	Swedish	% of Swedish		English	Swedish	% of Swedish
1870-9	8	10	56%	1920-9	40	3	8%
1880-9	28	13	32%	1930-9	50	2	4%
1890-9	26	2	7%	1940-9	50	1	2%
1900-9	46	8	15%				
1910-9	63	4	6%				

McPherson (Point 6, population 7194 in 1940) was founded in 1872. It has never been primarily a for-ling settlement, but Swedes and Ger-lings have had some importance in it from very early. The German residents were not numerous enough until late to make it proper to study their linguistic history. The town was a trading place for the Penn Germans and for certain Mennonites

very early, but few established themselves in town in the early decades. In the 1950's it was more usual to hear Swedish than German on the streets. Swedes established themselves on farms close to the city as soon as it was founded and were soon among the merchants in town. Until 1881 Lutherans worshipped at New Gottland. Then the Swedish Lutheran Church was organized in town. (130 members in 1895, 397 in 1906, 774 in 1951). The membership of the church in 1951 was almost half non-Swedish in ancestry. The Swedish language had then disappeared from any church work, although a Swedish song might be sung at a funeral. The forerunners of the Swedish Mission congregation (50 in 1895, 40 in 1916, 120 in 1949) were meeting from the beginning of settlement. They too organized and had a building in 1881. The denomination attempted to establish Walden College at McPherson in 1904. Failure soon followed. In these years the McPherson congregation demonstrated a characteristic that might often be remarked on in Swedish settlements. Many members moved away, and others moved in. There is a tradition of restlessness among younger Swedes. Even the Sunday School was all Swedish in 1916. In spite of urban surroundings the Swedes of McPherson have been slow to abandon Swedish. They were bilingual early, but in 1950 families with children born before 1940 were using Swedish occasionally and the children knew a few words. The old were still conversing with each other.

Examination of the characteristics of the sub-settlements in the Lindsborg-McPherson area strengthens the observations made in detail concerning Lindsborg. Bilingualism came early. Swedish retreated rapidly in the first quarter of the twentieth century and slowly in the second quarter.

Year of Arrival in the United States of
Immigrants from Sweden Surviving in 1925 in the Lindsborg-McPherson District.

through 1865	McPherson Co.		New Gott-Union Smoky			Saline Co.		Smoky		Smolan	Total
	Lindsborg	McPherson	Marquette land Twp.	Hill Twp.	Assaria	Falun Twp.	View Twp.				
1865-9	16	3	2				2	1	24		
1870-4	130	30	24	7	17	9	8	16	68	12	321
1875-9	67	38	19	8	7	5		7	28	6	156
1880-4	48	19	14	1	3	5		10	6	2	108
1885-9	136	60	27	17	17	13	7	21	30	12	340
1890-4	57	16	10	6	10	12	4	9	33	3	160
1895-9	29	15	9	3	3	5	2	8	14	5	93
1900-4	8	2	1	1			3	1	5		21
1905-9	32	6	8	1	3	5	2	3	16	1	77
1910-14	15	2	2	1	6	2	4	1	7	2	42
after war	12	2	1	1	4	5		5	8	4	42
Total	6	1	2		3	1	1		4	3	21
	521	191	120	46	75	62	31	81	221	51	1405

In 1870 of 281 persons born in Sweden in Smoky Hill Twp. including Lindsborg 60 were children under 11 years old and 24 were between 11 and 19 years old. As shown above in the same area there were 155 persons who had immigrated before 1870. With these data in mind, granting that in 1925 the pressure of the time had made those capable of using English with ease into habitual speakers of English and allowing for a low death rate, we may guess that the number of habitual speakers of Swedish in the Lindsborg-McPherson District in 1925 was about 1000 as against 7000 in 1895.

MARIADAHl SWEDES - (U-Hi***-Riley C)

Special Bibliog.: Ny -- Nyquist, F. W., The First Half Century of Randolph, Kansas, and Community, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Kansas State University, 1954

- 47.48 The Mariadahl settlement is the oldest Swedish settlement in Kansas. John A. Johnson (1831-1893) settled at what was to become Mariadahl in 1855. Three years before, he had come from near Göteborg to the area of Swedish settlement in the neighborhood of Galesburg and Andover, Ill. (61, 131, 142). Thence in the company of the farmer who had employed him, William Shannon, he came on to Kansas and immediately chose his future home beside the Blue River. "Within four years after his arrival in Kansas there were nine in his family of his generation there, and his mother (1805-60) was also there" /tk 175. The Lutheran church that came into being in 1863 was named for her - Mariadahl, Mary's Valley, as was also a "thriving hamlet" described by Andreas Cutler in 1882 as "containing a stone school house, 25 X 36 feet, two stone churches, the Swedish Lutheran having been built in 1874 at a cost of \$4000, a Swedish Methodist in 1878, at a cost of \$2,500; a blacksmith shop; a grange store, J. Williams, manager, who is also postmaster. Jno A. Johnson, the proprietor of the place laid it out April 12, 1871, on 5-5-5" /a 983. Mariadahl received its post office in 1876 and lost it in 1903. When the Andreas-Cutler account was written, the hamlet had already seen the peak of its development, for in 1880 the Kansas Central Railroad passed it by, and the railroad up the Blue Valley was built on the other side of the river. Thus the Swedes who went to church at Mariadahl traded at Olsburne upstream, Randolph downstream, or Olsburg beyond the bluffs to the southeast on the Kansas Central line. Olsburg as the name was spelled in its first years, had its post office in 1873,

but its modest prosperity arrived only with the railroad. It had been named /ch 54, for its first postmaster, Ole Trulson, a Norwegian born in 1832. He appears in the 1870 census with a daughter a year old who had been born in Wisconsin, and he does not appear in the census of 1880. According to Andreas-Cutler, Oscar Fagerberg, who had moved there from Mariadahl when the rails were laid was a merchant and the postmaster at Olesburgh in 1882. John Johnson ran a drugstore. The half-dozen other business men had German, Irish, and Yankee names. There was a Swedish Lutheran Church organization, established in 1881, another of Swedish Methodists, a third of United Brethren, all meeting in the school house that had been built to welcome the railroad. By 1895 the United Brethren Church had disappeared. The Lutherans had 178 members, the Methodists 22.

At the same time, 1882, the Andreas Cutler History records that the only church organizations in Randolph were Swedish, a Methodist and a Mission Church founded 1874. In 1895 the census shows churches with membership as follows: Swedish Mission 75, Swedish Baptist 12, United Brethren 11. The Baptists were organized in 1888, with 23 members, disbanded in 1900, reorganized in 1906 and were still struggling in 1927 /lv 70, but succumbed soon. The postmaster in 1882 was J. W. Nelson and A. Wikander's store carried "the largest stock of goods," but these two Swedes were a minority among the business men of the village. It had been a Swede, however, Gustav Ruthstrom who opened the first store in 1866. He sold out to John Beckman in 1870 and established himself on a farm at Walsborg (see Leonardville Swedes). Beckman had a Swedish wife. Wikander had begun as a cabinet maker, leaving Sweden after 1866, present at Randolph by 1870. Randolph had received its

name from the head of a pro-slave clan which settled on the site briefly beginning in 1855, claimed much land in the neighborhood, and established a postoffice. The Free-Staters who displaced him named their town Waterville, but, doubtless because of the other Waterville upstream, the name of the post office finally prevailed. Germans came in as early as 1856, and Randolph was somewhat of a crossroads. The Swedes were, however, much more important in the village than the Germans, who arriving at nearly the same time, had taken up the Fancy Creek Valley to the northwest. Randolph came to be regarded as essentially a Swedish town, a center common to the Mariadahl and the Leonardville groups. Cleburne, known as Big Timber until 1886, had its post office in 1866. Andreas-Cutler speaks of no business houses but mentions as postmaster A. Vilander. The Swedes thus had a foothold there before a town was organized. The Swedish Mission Church dates from 1886. The Swedish Methodist Church in 1895 had 68 members, and the Mission church 30. The Methodist Church is evidently the one that was across the river in Mariadahl a decade earlier, for the census of 1895 records only the Lutheran Church at Mariadahl. The strength of the Swedes lay in their rural population, for none of these villages became even as much of a cultural hub as Scandia on the Republican River, and were far from being a center like Lindsborg. In the earliest years besides the Johnsons, Swedish families soon appeared from Illinois, the Carlsons, the Dahlbergs and Samuel Rolander in 1857 (Andover, Illinois) and John Sanderson and the Axelsons (later, Axelton) in 1858 /da. "In 1858 L. Pierson settled just below the mouth of Swede Creek, and N. Christenson, a Dane, settled a little farther down the Big Blue"/a 1302. As regards Christensen at least this statement of Andreas-Cutler is slightly inaccurate

according to /ch 90. He came to Manhattan in 1858, but settled on 32-6-7 in 1862 when he married a Johnson. He was in New York 1854-1856; Woodstock, Illinois (61, 104) through 1857. Christenson, various Johnsons, Axelson and Dahlberg were the charter members of the Mariadahl church in 1863 along with M. Falleen who arrived in 1860 from Galesburg /ch 90: 225, with his brother Charles. Three families came in 1864, two in 1865, none in 1866. In 1867 the current quickened; by 1875 all homestead land of value was occupied, but railroad lands--half of the area--were still almost intact.

The settlement was from very early on both sides of the Blue River extending to what was to be Cleburne by 1870. Lewis Hawkinson (1841-1915) who settled very near its site in that year has left in the Chapman Album of 1890 a notice on himself typical of others. He came from farther south in Sweden than the majority, from near Kristianstad in Skåne. The America fever was engendered in him, not by letters, but by a returned emigrant who taught him English and talked about the United States. In 1866 he came to Chicago and shortly journeyed on to Princeton, Illinois (61, 132) somewhat northeast of the Illinois region of the majority. He attended school there and went through the fourth reader--a fashion of learning written English that occurred with a number of other culturally ambitious immigrants. In 1869 after three years as a farmhand he had accumulated enough capital to buy three horses and a prairie schooner. He drove to the Blue River via Burlington, Iowa, and St. Joseph, Missouri, and after winter with Victor Johnson, one of the members of the family first arriving, he took the claim on 10-6-7 that was to become his permanent home. He married the next year. He declared that he was the first man from his region to emigrate to the

Mariadahl area, but that many later came to it from Kristianstad because of him. To support his contention the 1885 census shows five Hawkinson families of his generation on the west side of the Blue. He and his wife Ellen (1841-1919, b. Anderson) whom he married in 1871 had no children. They were Lutherans. on the other hand, Peter Hawkinson (1838-1916) and his wife Elna (1845-1926) buried in the Bellegarde cemetery, and therefore presumably Swedish Mission people, had in 1885 six children, all born in Kansas, of whom the eldest was fourteen, indicating that Peter and Elna arrived very shortly after Lewis and established a household as soon as he did.

In Sweden the home of the Johnsons had been at or near Linköping (on our map, 71, about where the O of Ostergotland is; Ny 16 specifies Snararp Pums-kulla). Many others were from that province. Next in frequency as points of origin were the neighboring provinces of Nerike (Orebro) and Småland (Kalmar); fewer were from Westergotland just to the west, some like Hawkinson were from Skåne farther south. In the United States sojourns in Illinois before coming to Kansas were common, usually of rather short duration. Data on immigrant survivors indicate that arrivals in the center of the area were common until 1886, on the fringes till 1892; very late comers tended to come to the center of the area.

Dates of arrival in the United States of Foreign-born Swedes in the Mariadahl Area in 1925

	Blue Valley Township	Olsburg	Jackson Township	Swede Creek Township	Randolph Township	Total
before 1865	3	3	1	3	5	15
1866-1879	9	8	8	8	7	40
1870-1874	4	8	3	10	8	33
1875-1879	5	2	2	6	6	21
1880-1884	13	8	8	19	11	59
1885-1889	5	7	9	8	10	39
1890-1894	3	1	3	7	-	14
1895-1899	2	-	1	3	-	6
1900-1904	4	-	-	3	-	7
Later	1906 1907 1909 1910	1908	-	1908 1924	1906 1906	

As in most Swedish settlements, there was a considerable floating element among the Mariadahl people. Though the landowning population held on to its farms, others came and went. Furthermore the area early received all the people its farms could support, and since no urban centers developed nor acceptable land to spread into, it had much population to export. Manhattan attracted some, Marysville none, and there were no other towns of any size nearby. Men and women whose grandparents lived along the Blue are quite frequently to be found in Topeka and Kansas City. These cities have therefore exerted a certain Engl-izing influence upon the area.

Church membership - Mariadahl Area

Lutheran				Mission Covenant			
	Mariadahl	Olsburg	Total		Randolph	Cleburne	Total
1895	180	148	328	1895	75	30	105
1906	305	305	610	1916	70	65	135
1948	137	277	414	1948	50	32	82

Others

Randolph Swedish Baptist		Cleburne Swedish Methodist	
1895	12		68

The Mariadahl Lutheran Church was the oldest Swedish congregation in Kansas, and it set the Lutheran mark so firmly upon the area that the population remained overwhelmingly Lutheran. Though the congregation was organized in 1863, it was only in 1866 that a church was built and in 1867 that a regular pastor was secured. A stone plaque over its door declared in Swedish that the picturesque stone church which was to serve to the end was built in 1866; Andreas-Cutler's contradiction, quoted above, places construction in 1874.

The monument installed in the middle of the transplanted cemetery also places the construction of the church in 1866, and dates the bell tower as of 1884. Presumably the structure was very small till 1874, it was never large.

The pastors changed frequently until 1876 when the Rev. H. Olsson arrived. He stayed until 1889, and served also as the first pastor of the Olsburg and Walsburg churches. He also secured for the community the Children's

Home of the Kansas Conference in 1879. Its first superintendent, Bengt Berg, bought a farm in the area nearby. The lay members of the Board of Directors lived in the neighborhood in 1890. From 1889 till 1892 there was a vacancy in the church and then a short pastorate. This was probably a period of crisis, but a long pastorate followed with L. J. Sundquist, 1892-1905. C.J.E. Haterius, who immediately succeeded him wrote a history of the congregation in Swedish in 1913 on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary /kq 19:258. Swedish was used exclusively in preaching through 1926. By 1933 English had replaced it completely except for an occasional Swedish song at Christmas or Easter. The singing continued in 1954.

At Olsburg the history of language usage in Lutheran services was chronologically the same as that at Mariadahl. After the Olsburg congregation was organized in 1881 the two churches shared the same pastor until 1891. As the table on the size of the congregation shows, Olsburg eventually surpassed Mariadahl in size, and since it was on the hill tops, it was not drowned like its mother church by the lake behind the Tuttle Creek Dam. Swedes with pietistic background appeared in the Mariadahl area as early as 1866. Meetings at Randolph and in the Bellegarde schoolhouse began in 1870. Bellegarde was a post office upstream from Mariadahl from 1872 to 1879. The editor of Chapman's Album of 1890 wrote the name down as Balla Guard, doubtless reflecting the Swede's pronunciation of it. In 1874 a congregation was organized at Randolph. There was a separate Sewing Society at Bellegarde and sometimes preaching in that area. At first some of these meetings were in the Mariadahl church, and people drawn toward the Mission regarded themselves as still Lutherans gathering outside the regular services for addi-

tional edification. But after 1874 "it was decided by the Augustana congregation [i.e., the Mariadahl Church] that no separatist should present himself and preach in their church, and most particularly during the pastor's absence. This brought forth a protest from the minority's side, but no attention was paid to it. Thereupon there were several who left the Augustana congregation and joined in the activities of the Mission Friends. Among these was Jacob Welen [1837-1914, arrived 1866], who after the Mission Congregation was organized, except for two years, was its president" /sd 68. August Smith [1856-1933], who had been the deacon since organization, became president in 1911. The Bellegarde congregation was organized at the end of 1886 with 16 members. In 1892 it moved across the river to Cleburne. At Randolph the congregation "was fortunate in having gifted tract distributors from Sweden settle in this area. They served faithfully with the gifts that God had given them. Such were Charles Hawkinson, John Mills and others" /sd 68. Hawkinson (1831-1909) and Mills (1829-1902) were buried at Randolph. The Blue Valley was also visited repeatedly by the itinerant Mission preachers. Among the pastors, partly because of his work in surrounding areas (Bellegarde, Alert, and territory between), William Person is of interest. Strödda Drag says for Randolph: "The 26th of March 1875, the congregation called its first regular minister, namely, William Person, who accepted the call and successfully served the congregation several years. His successor was Wikstrand from Sweden but his activity in Randolph was not long, because he was negligent in his duties and was requested to move by the congregation. After him William Person was again the congregation's minister for a while" /sd 69. "William Pierson, the man with the strange gift, uniquely original,

born in Vinge, Halland [central west coast of Sweden] the 11th of January, 1839. Converted 1865. Journey to America 1868, and came to Osage City 1873; there he began to testify publicly concerning the Lord. Pastor in Randolph about fifteen years. Traveled extensively for the Conference" /sd 292, of which he was president for seven years beginning in 1890. He died in Iowa in 1903. The writer in Större Drag for Randolph announced in 1917 "The truths of the Word are still proclaimed loud and clear in our beautiful Swedish language" /sd 66. At that time the Sunday School too was all in Swedish.

Activity among the Swedish Methodists began as soon as Mission preaching. One of their preachers by the name of Sjögren was holding meetings in homes in 1870 /sd 67. The next year there was a Swedish Methodist Church at Mariadahl /ny 59.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions
in Cemeteries of Mariadahl Area

	Mariadahl*			Bellegarde			Randolph**		
	Eng.	Swed.	% Swed.	Eng.	Swed.	% Swed.	Eng.	Swed.	% Swed.
before 1870	4	2	33%				5	1	17%
1870-9	13	11	46%	2	2	50%	6	3	33%
1880-9	12	9	43%	3	2	40%	23	4	15%
1890-9	6	12	67%	5	1	17%	32	7	18%
1900-9	12	7	37%	13	2	13%	57	0	0%
1910-9	24	8	25%	21	3	12%	27	2	7%
1920-9	15	1	6%	13	1	7%	one		
1930-9	20	2	9%				later		
1940-		one in					in		
		1941					1950		
					none				
					later				
					in Swed.				

*The Mariadahl Cemetery was moved to Olsburg in 1949 to avoid flooding behind the Tuttle Creek dam. Almost all the monuments are those that were in the valley, but there are some exceptions.

**The situation in the Olsburg cemetery is very similar to that at Randolph.

The accompanying table concerning tombstone inscriptions shows that almost throughout the period of assimilation the majority of the Swedes accepted English as the language of record. The earliest comers, presumably because they were few in number and therefore more conscious of the universality of English in America, exhibit this phenomenon more markedly than those who arrived a score of years later.

The Augustana Lutherans operated the orphan's home at Mariadahl beginning in 1880 /ot 274. Here, says Nyquist, basing his assertion on the Mariadahl Anniversary Album, "in 1884 a three-month term of Swedish school was held. In 1890 they had an eight-month term, using both the Swedish and English languages"/ny 55. The account of the home submitted to Ott in 1906 says: "The Home has a school of its own... In the summer, two months Parochial school (in the Swedish language) is held [the parenthesis is in ot]" /ot 275.

Parents of growing children in general ceased using Swedish in the home by 1914 in the Mariadahl area, and few born after 1910 became very proficient in the use of Swedish, but the old were not weaned away; family ties were strong, and grandparents endeavored to teach many children born as late as 1930 their native language. As a result in 1961 here more people of this generation of the twenties understood Swedish fairly well and knew certain

expressions than in comparable areas elsewhere. The Swedish songs persisted. All during the twentieth century the rural uplands in Pottawatomie County were somewhat more linguistically conservative than the valley. The abandonment of Randolph, Cleburne and the farmhouses along the Blue about 1959 preserved the more persistently Swedish neighborhood. Olsburg, which early was similar in linguistic habits to Randolph, received from the valley some of the older inhabitants forced into retirement from the farms to be flooded. Along its business street, though Swedish was seldom heard, English flavored with Swedish accent was common, and in its Lutheran church the julotta was celebrated as something more than a nostalgic relic. The active generations, however, had long been completely Engl-ized.

CONCENTRATED MENNONITE DISTRICT (Super *****, Marion F)

Special Bibliog.: B -- Brack, William, Wheat Country, New York, 1950.

U -- Unruh, Otto D., Schisms of the Russian Mennonites of Harvey, McPherson, and Reno Counties, Kansas. Typed Master's dissertation, University of Kansas, 1940.

47.49 This is the principal part of the Main Mennonite District. The whole Main District lies in the counties of Marion, McPherson, Reno, and Harvey. It is all one great plain. Only the groups within the Concentrated District, some in each of the four counties, are discussed here. For other groups in the Main District, see:

Elbing Whitewater

Gnadenberg

Southwest McPherson

Halstead

Newton and Vicinity

Tampa-Ramona

The Concentrated District may be divided into Marion County and a western section. Originally the Russian Germans were nearly severed by a series of small settlements just west of the Marion-McPherson County Line, the Spring Valley Penn-Germans, the Spring Valley Lutheran Germans, Meridian Penn-Germans, and the Elivon French. These groups are now enclaves rather than barriers. The western section is discussed by counties, although some groups overflow county lines.

Within the counties church congregations are the unit of discussion, except in part for the cities of Hillsboro, Mound Ridge, and Inman. The congregations are grouped according to Mennonite denominational membership.

The Mennonites have published and continue to publish many works on their own history. Any interested reader can learn much more about them elsewhere on every subject except on the subject of their shift from German to English. The Mennonites who moved into the Concentrated Mennonite District (See map entitled The Main Mennonite District, Vol. I, 58) were in the majority Black Sea men, but there were also Mennonites of other origins. Mennonites originated in Switzerland and were not extirpated there. They spread into, or, persecuted, took refuge in neighboring areas too. Those who settled and developed in the Palatinate sent many of their numbers to Pennsylvania when that state was settled. Mennonites became a very strong element among the Penn-Germans. Switzerland and south Germany, particularly the Palatinate, sent emigrants to Kansas, but after the Black Sea folk, the most important group were a body of Swiss who after eighty years of wandering came to Kansas from Volhynia, a part of Poland as it was in 1730 and 1930, the part nearest the Russian city of Kiev. The Mennonite movement to Kansas lasted perhaps a quarter of a century, but the great bulk, particularly from the Black Sea, came within only a few years. The main group came in 1874. See the end of this Mennonite study for confirming tables. Not all who came to this state settled in the Concentrated Mennonite District nor even in communities near by, but nearly all the Black Sea Mennonites settled in or near it. Because this was an organized emigration by people with leaders and with more or less capital, their choice of a place of settlement was undertaken with deliberation. The railroads holding land grants all competed for them. In Kansas, C. B. Schmidt (discussed elsewhere) with the Santa Fe was the successful agent, primarily because he could offer land of the desired character, rich and similar in contour to the flat plains along

the Molotschna and lower Vistula.

Since the climate was not unlike that in South Russia, Kansas would probably have had a greater proportion of the immigration, if 1874 had not been the grasshopper year so that Schmidt's rivals outside of Kansas could speak ill of the state. As it was, half of the Russian exodus came to Kansas. The chief rivals were Nebraska, South Dakota, and particularly Manitoba. Penn-German Mennonites were also establishing themselves in the Kansas district. This was an additional reason for choosing this area for settlement, not so much because of the prospect of mutual aid, as because advice from the east doubtless encouraged the choice of land here. Similar was the word from Summerfield, Illinois, whence South German Mennonites were beginning to come to Halstead just to the south. The first Russian groups to settle were from Crimea, the Brudertal (in 1873, only partly from Crimea /ml 2: jy 39) and Gnadenau (summer 1874) congregations (Points 10 and 18 on Map I). The strongest group in wealth and numbers, the Alexanderwohl people from the heart of the Molotschna settlement, came the same year, 1874, in late autumn to form the Alexanderwohl (near Point 19) and Hoffnungsau (McPherson County Point 15) communities. The Swiss Volhynians appeared the next year (see Eden). By 1877 the basic settlements had all been made.

The Mennonites are divided into various sub-denominations. For further discussion and for more detailed nomenclature, see #41.25 to #41.28. At present we are interested primarily in six Mennonite subdivisions which for the most part existed at the time of arrival in Kansas, though without organizational crystallization. The members of the Mennonite Church are primarily Penn-Germans. We shall call them Old Mennonites, as they are commonly denominated. The Amish too are Penn-Germans; this religious body is further subdivided; in Kansas we are most interested in the Old Order Amish. Primarily Russian German, at least in Kansas, are the following groups; the

General Conference Mennonites, the largest and least conservative of those here to be named, but varying internally in conservatism to a great degree, the Mennonite Brethren, quite conservative, the Krimmer Brethren, a trifle more conservative, and the Holdeman Mennonites, -- officially the Church of God in Christ Mennonite--, most conservative. Conservatism in religion has some relationship to conservatism in language.

See the end of this discussion after the tables on cemetery inscriptions for a general linguistic statement.

47.50 I. Groups in Marion County

An Old Mennonite Church, Catlin (Point 21), first arrival (Hornberger) 1873, meeting house 1886, membership then 65, not many arrived later, in 1953 membership 21. At the time of building of church, services were in German, and Penn-German was used in families, but had ceased to be used among the young by 1900. Two other small Old Mennonite groups, later without churches, settled farther north near Canada (1872) and Marion.

Krimmer (later M B) Mennonite Church, Springfield (half way between Points 12 and 19). Daughter church of Gnadenau (see below), established 1902, 110 members in 1910. Service, except for an occasional message, all German till 1942; then German completely abandoned. Records basically German till 1936, then a gap. The young people's society began records in English in 1932, and from 1929, elsewhere, song titles and terms like "Junior Choir" are in English. See under Goessel for family usage.

Mennonite Brethren Churches

Gnadenau (2 miles south of Point 13. This is the present church, Section 9, original village on Section 11) until 1954 a Krimmer Brethren Church. At Annafeld near Simferapol the entire membership of some 25 families, organized in 1869, moved in 1874 across the sea to its present location. Leader and Elder, Jacob Wiebe. This settlement attracted much attention from the public here, and was much visited and written about. They were not a rich group, but their credit with more wealthy Mennonites was sufficient to tide them through. Church Membership has never been large, 120 in 1950. Services appear to have been almost all in German until the Second World War. There was some English in 1944 /kq 13:279, introduced about 20 years before. Schooling in German began immediately after arrival. In 1876 the four months of district school where the language of instruction was English was added to this. As district school terms were lengthened the proportion of German training became less. The German school became transformed into a Summer Church school in which German was still used in part at least into the 1940's. For the rest, see the General Linguistic Statement for the Hillsboro neighborhood below.

Ebenfeld (Point 18), established 1875. The year before at least two families were in the neighborhood, but in 1875 arrived the first of the formative elements from colonies on the Volga. More Volgans, including the leader, Peter Eckert, arrived 1876. He remained till 1882. The Volgans were mostly recent converts from

Lutheranism and were poor. Other Mennonite Brethren joined them, and the church prospered, 253 members in 1888, 250 in 1953. Preaching in Standard German was here regularly in 1945, rarely, as an exception, in 1966. For linguistic usage see the conclusion of the statement for Hillsboro.

Steinreich (6 miles west of Point 20) daughter church to Ebenfeld, services began 1904, separated completely from Ebenfeld 1946, 60 members in 1948. Outside of the concentrated Mennonite district, isolated from the main body by other groups. The original settlers were largely made up of individuals attracted from distant settlements (Loewen, Manitoba; Regier, Butler County; Rempel, Woodson County; Koslowsky seems to have been in neighborhood from immigration in 1883--his Polish name sets him apart). The group seems to have gathered around Regiers at the beginning of this century. German was never exclusively the language of church services; partial use seems to have ended about 1940. Use in the home of the child-bearing ended about 1924.

Hillsboro (Point 13), M. B. Institutions (Other aspects of Hillsboro discussed later). The Hillsboro M. B. Church owes its organization in 1881 to the 34 members who lived in the Johannestal neighborhood just north of town, but the next year it found a building in town, 827 members in 1954. Part of Hillsboro's prosperity came about because it became the capital of the Mennonite Brethren, seat of their publishing house, college, Board of Missions, and their General Conference Headquarters. Because a large proportion of Mennonite Breth-

ren Churches are in Canada and because the Canadian settlements through isolation and late immigration have remained to a great extent linguistically German, the institutions of this church in Hillsboro maintained the German Language as an instrument of culture better than any other element in Kansas. Nevertheless, German has been giving away before English. The following statement from the Mennonite Encyclopedia (1956) is by the M. B. Church's pastor, Waldo D. Hiebert: "Originally the Low German dialect was used in homes and German in services, but in the last 15 years both homes and services have changed to the English language. The older people's Sunday-school classes still use German and occasionally it is used in services." In the church English was introduced into preaching about 1932 and German was abandoned in 1942. Church abandonment of German was largely necessary because children adept in Low German did not receive enough instruction to become competent in the High German of religious usage. Hiebert's statement regarding family life needs a great deal of qualification. Other evidence indicates that Mennonite Brethren born before 1925 were still using Low German with each other (and of course with those older) in casual conversations though not in business dealings in the late 1960's. In town those born between 1925 and 1935 do not use Low German with each other or with their children but are capable of using it. Many of those born after 1942 do not even understand the language. For people in the country these time limits may be advanced five years. In the publishing house and

in the general church offices competence in standard High German is necessary, for many publications are either in German or are bilingual. At Tabor College (established in 1908) one of four curricula in 1925 was called German-English Academic. By 1960 German was taught only as a foreign language. The students of the 1950's were almost all, however, conversant with Low German, and often liked to play in that language. This is particularly true for Canadian students and those from beyond Kansas.

General Conference Mennonite Churches - Goessel Neighborhood. This neighborhood is almost completely insulated geographically from neighbors of English speaking extraction, and the inhabitants are homogeneous in origin.

Alexanderwohl (12 miles northeast of Point 19). All Alexanderwohl Russians emigrated in 1874. A great part of them under Jacob Buller settled here later that year. Was a well-to-do group. Church established at once with 265 members, 968 members in 1950. The Goessel and Tabor churches presented below are daughter churches. Cornelius Krahn says in the Mennonite Encyclopedia: "Until after World War I all services of the congregation were conducted in the German language. By the end of World War II only an occasional German service was held. Although High German is seldom heard and English has become predominant, Low German is still common in the homes and in social intercourse." More specifically as regards the church, English was incidental till 1936 when it was introduced regularly. In 1940 services became half German,

half English. The stage of the occasional German sermon had been reached by 1946. The area maintained a strong school system from the beginning. Parochial Goessel Preparatory School, begun in 1906, had for its aim "to teach Bible and German." By 1925 the amount of German had been much reduced /al 45. It became Goessel Rural High School in 1926. Until 1937 there was German school half-days for five weeks after the close of the district school. Until this time zealous parents were anxious that their children should learn High German so as to understand church services. The efficiency of this school declined in its last years; only half those who should attended it then. Few born after 1925 can handle High German in this area. The Hoffnungsau Church discussed with McPherson County is closely related to Alexanderwohl.

Tabor Church (3 miles south, 2 miles east of Point 19), daughter church of Alexanderwohl, established 1908 with 150 members, 387 in 1948. Services were bilingual in 1935. In 1950, three sermons were the rule, two in English, of which the first was for the children, and one 15 minutes long between them in German. The German sermon was omitted whenever old people failed to appear at service. The children's sermon was created after the First World War. In 1925, a Young People's Society using English was begun; another society, called Christian Endeavor, continued using German.

Goessel Church (Point 19), daughter church of Alexanderwohl, established 1920 with 180 members, 317 in 1953. Services were bilingual in 1935.

1508

Family usage in Goessel neighborhood. Although English has practically displaced High German as the cultural language, Low German was in 1950 just reaching its critical year, that is, families with growing children were still using it habitually, unless the children were just learning to talk. High School students in the 1940's generally but not always spoke English at school with each other. In grade schools English was in the 1930's the language of the playground primarily because German was frowned upon; the habit thus established persisted during summer school when it seemed right to use a cultural language since the children were going to school, but impossible to use High German because of ignorance. In 1964 many children born about 1950 were still able to converse in German, and their parents talked frequently in German with each other. In 1966 most of those somewhat older--born about 1947--, both at Goessel and at Buhler, conversed with their grandparents in German, rarely with their parents or with each other. Even in families where only one parent was of Mennonite stock, the young had learned to understand their grandparents, though they answered them in English.

The North Border-- General Conference Churches. These churches, heterogeneous in origin, have neighbors still more varied in background, some of whom (Scully renters) have been of English speaking background.

Brudertal (Point 10) The first Mennonite in this area (P. Funk) arrived in 1873. He was from Crimea. Wm. Ewert, a leader from the Vistula delta, joined him the next year with other Prussians and the settlement without any mass arrivals grew rapidly to

its present size; church membership in 1952 was 200. The group was made up of people of both Prussian and South Russian origins. It was strict at the start. There was a daily Bible school as well as a church. At Ewert's death in 1928 "Prof. P. C. Hiebert delivered a funeral sermon in English," and Rev. P. H. Richert of Tabor church... and other speakers delivered like addresses in German. Ray Funk in the Mennonite Encyclopedia speaks of the early monopoly by German of church and church schools, then adds, "For the past twenty years there has been a gradual transition to the use of the English language both in the homes of the members and in the Church." Other evidence corroborates him. English was introduced into services about 1920; in 1950 the minister sometimes read a scripture passage in German. "German is for the old."

Johannestal (Point 9) The ten founding families arrived with Ewert in 1874, but elected to go on farther west than he did. These families were from the colonies in Poland proper up the Vistula but below Warsaw. Worship began at once, but no organization came into being till 1882. A few years later there was a schism. Two congregations used the same building 1890-1898, two churches 1899-1906, 199 members in 1956. English seems to have entered comparatively early into religious life. There are no German inscriptions in the cemetery after 1922. The inscription for John Plenert (died 1937) is a long personal history in English. He served as elder from the healing of the schism in 1905 till his death.

Hillsboro General Conference Church. Established 1884 with 39 members; 386 in 1955. For linguistic characteristics see the general Hillsboro item. Services were bilingual in 1935.

Lehigh (Point 12) This was originally above the northern boundary of the Mennonite District. As late as 1925 the Mennonites who penetrated it were in part tenant farmers /al 40. The town was founded in 1881, and in 1884 a Mennonite Brethren congregation was organized. It had 100 members in 1890 but was amalgamated with Gnadenau in 1955. The General Conference people began meeting in 1890, but had no organization until 1900, building 1906, 227 members in 1954. In 1955 it became the only church in the town. Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist Churches had expired. These churches existed in Lehigh because of another Russian German element in the population. Volgans from Dreispitz /sa 34, arrived in considerable numbers in 1876. Although the landowners around Lehigh have become almost exclusively Mennonites, the disappearance of the other churches is probably to be explained in the same way as the demise of the M. B. church. The automobile has made it easy for rural members to attend at Hillsboro. In town 80% of the people are Mennonites. Preponderant Mennonite populations, and this has happened specifically at Lehigh and at Goessel, tend to give their neighbors such persistent invitations to join them that resistance requires a constancy that to many seems useless. The G. C. Mennonite Church began using English about 1928. About 1930 every third Sunday was English; five years later the proportions were reversed. Then German disappeared from the church services.

A Holdeman Church, Alexanderfeld (Point 17) had its first minister in 1887, its first churchhouse in 1910, 88 members, 122

in Sunday School in 1953. To judge by the names of its members and by P. G. Hiebert's statement in the Mennonite Encyclopedia that the members are of Dutch-North German-Russian descent, that is, mostly of Molotschna origin like all their neighbors, this congregation originated through the conversion of other Mennonites in this immediate area. "Many speak the Low German dialect in their homes." In other words, High German has been abandoned in favor of English as an official language, but Low German is persisting longer than among the neighbors of the congregation. In 1964 most teenagers of this group were proficient in German, but "little kids, five or six, they hardly know any."

Hillsboro--A General View. Hillsboro and the railroad line that made founding a town possible both came into existence in 1879 as a means of serving the Mennonite settlements. The prospects of exploitation brought together an early bilingual population of sundry origins. In 1884 the mayor was Jno. F. Funk, and four of the five members of the city council bore German names. The population was less completely intent on religion than the surrounding Mennonites. The Ebel store with its "grossartigen Handel" carried "gay colored ribbons which were regarded with suspicious glances, particularly by the Gnadenauer as a lust of the eye and a snare of Satan to beguile the soul and tempt it from the path of humility." /Hillsboro Star Journal, 5 Mar., '59. The Methodist Church, locally called the "English Church," was founded about 1881, a Lutheran Church in 1883. The Methodist Church withered

into a Sunday School, and was succeeded in 1925 by an Evangelical Church (EUB). The membership of the latter, besides a small non-German element, contains among its Germans many who were disowned by the Mennonites. With its English tradition extending back into Methodist days, services have never been in German, though there is an occasional choir number in that language. Still, German as a speech in the home is quite prevalent among the members. The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (181 members in 1948) has drawn its people not only from the merchants of non-Russian origin but from Volgans who came to the west and the north in 1876 and 1877 /sa 34, from a Bessarabian group that arrived in 1885 /hc 15:589, and from a group whose original home was described by two informants as being "in Russia near the German border." These people were arriving as late as 1905. (They may be more people from Bessarabia imperfectly located by the informants.) The membership is then quite self-consciously Ger-ling. However, English had entered the service by 1922. German predominated till 1946, and was abandoned in 1950. The Church constitution was translated into English in 1937; at that time it still required bi-lingual ability among the officers. The provision became a dead letter after a few years and was dropped in a revision of 1956. This congregation is not of Low German origin, but its dialectal variety made German as a lingua franca among its members less attractive than English. Still, older members, particularly of the lower social strata, found it convenient to learn Low German as a means of social communication. English has long been the accepted language of

affairs in Hillsboro except in dealing with people from the country. Though able to speak English, the country people of an age to spend money liked to deal in German about 1950. In a restaurant in 1942 the eight people present at six p.m. used only English. On the other hand in the late 1950's, while most of the town citizens on the street used English to each other, visitors from the country were more likely to be using Low German among themselves and with acquaintances in town. It was also then still profitable to have clerks able to speak German. Only people born in town after 1925 became reluctant to use German, and those born after 1949 incapable of doing so. Of course country people moved to town so that in the late 1960's Low German was not uncommon. English in Hillsboro had in the 1960's frequently an accent, and such expressions as "I am born here" were commonplaces. For the Mennonites to the North of town similar statements are true, but to the South the people have been more conservative. There the critical date may be fixed at 1942. Children born after 1945 still understand somewhat, but are unable to speak German.

47.51 Western Section.

II. Groups in McPherson County

An Old Mennonite Church, Spring Valley (Point 8). The Penn-Germans, notably Bishop Brundage, reached this area in 1873; in 1955, 64 members. Penn-German was dropped from family usage in this group between 1915 and 1938. Its late continuance may be explained by the solid German speaking surroundings.

Holdeman Churches

Lone Tree (Point 9). The members of this church are largely the descendants of Tobias Unruh's congregation of people from near Ostrog, eastern Volhynia, who arrived late in 1875. Other Mennonites commonly refer to them as "Poles" (while they never refer thus to the Swiss Volhynians). In their mouths it is a term of some disapprobation, because for some time after their arrival these people were so destitute as to be a charge upon others, who did not approve of their conduct either as Christians or as farmers; they had had no agricultural training. John Holdeman's missionary work among them led to the conversion of 60 in 1878. The people became strict, and their economic status improved. This congregation of Holdeman's church is now its largest, 540 members in 1955. Because of their early poverty, they could not buy farms on arrival, and were by the other Mennonites placed on 40 acre lots. They were thus overpopulated from the start, and since Holdeman Mennonites remain agricultural, Lone Tree has many daughter settlements (for one see North Mennonites), Oklahoma received many of them. The isolation resulting from early disapproval and from later adherence to Holdeman strictness has caused this group to persist in their use of "Polish" Low German so that in 1950 most small children, though not all, were learning it. For preaching purposes High German has been abandoned for English. The young Low German speakers do not understand High German.

Zion (Point 13). Names of members indicate that they are, like

their Mennonite neighbors^{at Inman}, of the stock that came from various Molotschna villages. Arrivals in this corner of township by 1879. The congregation was founded by 1885, partly with dissidents from the Bethel Church. In 1953, 158 members, 212 in Sunday School. English was then largely but not exclusively the language of worship, but Low German the language of every-day life to the extent that in 1951 trading with older members of the sect went on in German.

Meridian (Point 18) has largely but not entirely Penn-German membership, 157 members in 1953. Its first settler David Holdeman, from Pennsylvania by way of Indiana, arrived in 1873 and founded the congregation. Its adherence to John Holdeman's Church of God in Christ Mennonite came later. The admixture of surrounding Low German stock in the congregation was an unsettling linguistic influence. Persons born in 1930 cannot use German, but many born before 1918 remain proficient despite long disuse.

A Krimmer Mennonite Church-- Zoar established 1879 by dissidents^{at Inman} from the Bethel church, 370 in 1950. It became "quite prosperous, but very rigid with reference to church discipline and matters of doctrine" /al 70.

General Conference Churches

Emmanuel (1 1/2 miles west of Point 9)-- 87 members in 1875-- organized in 1875 from same stock as Holdeman Lone Tree Congregation (q.v. on early history and linguistic development.) This minority church among the Poles has never been strong.

Inman (Point 14) See Inman -- General View. Services were bilingual in 1935. German services every third Sunday about 1945 and occasional services in 1950.

Bethel (1 mile south of Inman), organized 1875, 313 members in 1953. The neighborhood was settled by people from twenty different Molotschna villages. Religious unity did not exist within them. Bethel's first elder, Jacob Klassen, withdrew in 1879 to become elder of the Zoar Krimmer church (q.v.). Another upheaval in 1884 led to more defections to the Krimmers and to the gathering Holdeman Zion Church; still another in 1888 brought about the establishment of an evanescent congregation in the neighborhood (dissolved 1906). These divisions testify to the concern of the area with its own affairs; no need of a united front to resist outside influence. The same spirit of independence kept Bethel out of a conference until 1945. When it did become part of the General Conference Church, two more years were needed before it joined the Western District along with its neighbors. "Until 1942, the German language was used almost exclusively. Then it was decided to have the catechism class in English and also to have one English sermon a month. Now most of the services are English and only a few Sunday School classes are conducted in the German language," P. T. Neufeld in /ml 8:135. (See Inman, A General View on language in the home.)

Hoffnungsfeld or Hopefield (Point 16), established 1874 near Mound Ridge, 100 members in 1953. Jacob Stucky brought his congregation of about

70 families here in 1874 from Kotosufka 25 miles northwest of Zhitomir in the province of Volhynia, then Russia. They were the Swiss group that had maintained its unity and linguistic identity through almost two centuries of wandering. For a century they had been near Montbeliard in eastern France, went east in 1790, and moved four times in the next 80 years before coming to Kansas. They were poor on arrival and are well-to-do now. Stucky held the group together in one church till his death in 1893. In 1895 it split in church allegiance into two bodies, Hoffnungsfeld in the original quarters and Eden 1 1/2 miles away, see below, which grew to be the principal church. Hoffnungsfeld was the more conservative linguistically as shown by the cemetery inscriptions, but it was bilingual in 1935. For community linguistic usage see Eden.

Eden (1 1/2 miles north of Point 16), established 1895, 777 members in 1955, Swiss Volhynian in antecedents; see Hoffnungsfeld. Standard German for church usage was preserved until 1917 by schooling, which in the years leading up to the First World War, lasted for six weeks in the summer. After 1917 this schooling became negligible and only the group's particular Swiss dialect was taught the young. Until 1949 services in German were maintained, however, only once a month in the last years. In 1950 there were still four Sunday School classes using German. At that time those born in the early 1920's in casual intercourse were speaking Schweizer, often in preference to English; those born in 1930

knew some German but so little as to have no understanding that the reason they could not follow the German sermons at all was because the language was different from what they heard at home. One reason for somewhat swifter disappearance of German than has occurred among neighboring congregations is that the group has ceased to be inbred. In 1949 only 2 out of 18 marrying couples had both bride and groom from Eden Church. Swiss dialect would not likely be contributed by a spouse from elsewhere (Pretty Prairie perhaps excepted).

First Church of Christian at Mound Ridge, 275 members in 1953, organized 1874 by South Germans from Summerfield, Ill. and Lee County, Ia. A great many Swiss Volhynians (same stock as at Eden) soon entered the membership. The succession of elders represents the two elements, V. Krehbiel, South German, till 1901, J. C. Goering, Swiss, a minister 1902-8, elder 1908-17, P.P. Wedel, Swiss, 1917-1951. Albrecht in 1925 considered it the third Swiss congregation. The names of officers indicate almost complete Swiss membership in 1946. There was here essential linguistic unity. The church was bilingual in 1935.

West Zion at Mound Ridge organized 1888; 278 members in 1948, 306 in 1935, when it was using only English. The South German element among the Mennonites furnishes the greater part of the membership; there are some Low German Russian additions. Business men as well as farmers make up its membership. Albrecht in 1925 called it a "progressive church" /al 152.

Hoffnungsausau -- 369 members in 1954 -- The section of the Molotschna Alexanderwohl community under Dietrich and Gaeddert arrived there at the end of 1874 and organized their church in 1875. These colonists were surrounded by settlers from other Molotschna villages. They have developed into the total Mennonite Community that includes Buhler and Inman, prosperous settlements. English first introduced into services 1918. In 1949 only an occasional German service. The "Hoffnungsausau Preparatory School was... organized in 1906 and continued to give instruction until 1929" /ml. As an introduction to his notice on this school Unruh wrote, "The Mennonites were primarily interested in religious education and this in the German language... When the district schools were organized and built, the Mennonites immediately co-operated by obeying the regulation of the state in regard to school attendance. In all cases only the minimum term required by the state was taught in the English language. The rest of the months till May were devoted to German Bible school. When the law required a minimum of five months of English school they had three months of German school, and when the state law required eight months of English school, they had from four to six weeks of German school. Since the parents of these children were German-speaking this program was the only solution... With the lengthening of the school term required by the state, some people became alarmed with regard to the future of the religious training of their children and of the training of the German language"

/U 133-136. The establishment of the Hoffnungsau school resulted. "The primary purpose of the school was the teaching of the German language. There were also some courses in the English language... For a time... practically every young boy and girl from the entire locality... attended this institute for two years" /U136. On domestic use of language in the neighborhood see Buhler in Reno County.

Inman - A general view. Inman (pop. 507 in 1940) was founded in 1887 at the coming of the Rock Island Railroad, a decade after the settlement of the surrounding country. A considerable number of Reich Germans were in the neighborhood, and Mennonites from various Molotschna villages and of various religious complexions held all the land to the south and east. The Evangelical (later E-R) Church (164 members in 1950) organized as soon as the town was formed with the Reich Germans for members. There was no Mennonite Church in town until 1909, when a mission of Hoffnungsau was established. It was organized as a separate church in 1921 with 106 members, 206 in 1953. Surrounding country Mennonite Churches (Bethel, Zoar, Zion) took care of many town inhabitants. Other denominations have not settled permanently but evangelistic groups have, and have had more or less enduring organizations. In the Evangelical Church German disappeared from services about 1923, apparently as a point of honor to distinguish it from its neighbors. The evidence of the city cemetery (very few Mennonite graves) is similar; Unruh records that Mennonites seldom attended

Inman High School until after 1917. More enrollment resulted when "the World War brought about a great deal of pressure for the more liberal use of the English language and the German language was checked very severely in a good many instances" /U 139. German inscriptions become rarer in the period 1925-1930; the last is 1934. The history of Elizabeth Downs extending from about 1920 to 1928: The Downs family, when Elizabeth was in the third grade, moved to Inman, "the first non-German family." Her school mates all used Low German invariably, and she and her sisters used it everywhere except at home with their mother. Their English was affected; instead of taking off clothes, they "put them out." There was not perceptible change in linguistic habits in the community during their whole period of residence. During this period the community was by no means completely bilingual. The English of women, even those young enough to be mothers of small children, was very limited. By 1939, however, children had become ashamed of their knowledge of Low German. They used it at home, but studiously avoided it at school. The final break came with the Second World War. Those born in 1936 are still proficient in Low German, but habitual users in the 1950's were born in 1918 or before. Among the rural population to the south, nearly all Mennonite, Low German has held out better. Those born in 1942 are proficient in its use; but not those born in 1950.

Mound Ridge - A General View; Mound Ridge (pop. 864 in 1940).

It began in 1874 as Christian, a South German Mennonite settlement.

In 1886 the station on the railroad built that year a mile to the north was called Mound Ridge, and it became a center serving Russians, speaking Low German, Swiss Volhynians, Reich Germans (see Spring Valley Germans and First Mennonite Church of Christian), Penn-Germans, and a few French Canadians (see Elivon French). The First Mennonite Church of Christian (q.v.) was moved into it and West Zion Mennonite Church (q.v.) was established in it. The Evangelical Association, now EUB, organized a church there in 1883, 87 members in 1948. Until 1905 the church was two miles to the southwest. In 1895 the Lutherans Missouri Synod, placed a church there credited with 162 members in 1895. In 1906 it had 88 members, and in 1948, 55. There were other church organizations in Mound Ridge; in 1950 forty per cent of the families were not Mennonite in town (only 22 per cent in the country). Such a variety of background favored the introduction of English. Still, the community was long essentially German. The Mound Ridge Preparatory school, 1909-1918, gave instruction in German. To be able to use German about 1925 was a business asset, for some customers knew only German. Still English triumphed in town comparatively early, since the West Zion Church was using only English by 1935. In the country the statement made under Eden applies for the Swiss elements. For the Low Germans see Buhler.

III. The Group in Reno County at Buhler

Buhler - A General View. Buhler, population 634 in 1940, was incorporated in 1888 when it became a railway station, named for

A. B. son of Bernhard Buhler. Since 1877 the place, though without a post office, had called itself Hamburg. The focus of the community of which it was a part lay four or five miles to the east, not far from the Hoffnungsau Church in McPherson county. Here in the country the Hebron Church (q.v.) and the Ebenezer Mennonite Brethren Church were located. The Ebenezer church was founded in 1878, developed a daughter church in Buhler in 1904-8, and was absorbed into this daughter in 1921. Hebron Church maintained its location, but members are to be found in town. There is in town too a General Conference church, daughter of Hoffnungsau. "The church was the special social center, the German language was used in the church, and 'low German' was used in the home... Yankees were only tolerated" /U 159. So says Unruh for all the Buhler neighborhood without specifying chronological limits. The Mennonite Encyclopedia (1956) affirms that the town is almost 100% Mennonite. "It has no theater and no intoxicating drinks are sold there. Although Low German is still used, English has become the chief means of communication." In business, and among the young this is true. Still farmers born in 1900 expect to be able to do business in German. In 1930 a teacher unacquainted with Low German had a disciplinary problem in supervising the lunch hour. The students used their linguistic knowledge to put him in ridiculous positions. Summer school in German went on until 1941. All those born before 1938 can speak German, and until 1942 usually did. Those born since that time are not proficient. Those born since 1910 do not now generally use German habitually.

Buhler Mennonite Brethren Church -- organized 1908, members 512 in 1951. Daughter of Ebenezer (See Buhler, a General View.) German used only in two Sunday School classes in 1949. The pastor made announcements of interest to the young and to men in English. Those of interest to older women were in German.

Buhler (General Conference) Mennonite Church, organized 1920 after a status of seven years as a branch of the Hoffnungsau Church; 367 members in 1951. The church was bilingual in 1935. J. F. Schmidt preached in German there every third Sunday from 1939 to 1941.

IV. Groups in Harvey County

General Conference Mennonite Churches

Hebron (Point 2), 207 members in 1955 -- founded in 1879 by Bernhard Buhler. Members from various Molotschna settlements had tendencies toward tolerance (sprinkling and immersion both acceptable). For long it held aloof or was held aloof from other churches, but about 1924 was received by the General Conference. In 1937 German services were being held twice a month. About 1940 this was reduced to once a month and so continued at least through 1946.

First of Garden Township (Point 3) -- organized 1887 with 51 members, peak 147, in 1955 -- 90. The membership was largely of the South German group.

Burrton (Point 7)-- organized 1907 with 25 charter members, 107 in 1952, mostly rural. The town of Burrton is beyond the

Concentrated Mennonite area, and settlement around it is only secondarily Mennonite. Burrton was hostile to German during the First World War, and English was then introduced into Mennonite services there. German persisted in them until 1937 and the last German Sunday School class was dissolved in 1943. A few of the old had a German Sunday School in 1949. These were almost the only persons habitually using German. There were then two families where the children had learned Low German. Many marriages to non-Mennonites here; to draw the spouses into the church English was needed.

Walton (Point 6), 119 members in 1948, was established a few years earlier (after 1938), a secondary settlement not in the Concentrated Mennonite area. Church, English from the beginning. In general those born after 1925 know German imperfectly.

Old Mennonite Churches. At Hesston (Point 4) is the church organized 1910 in the wake of the opening of the church's Hesston(Junior) College in 1909, 520 students including high school in 1951. Three miles from there toward Newton is the Pennsylvania Church, members in area by 1878, meeting house built 1883. Although in the beginning in at least one family not even the father could handle aught but Penn-German, most of the population came direct from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where Penn-German began to disappear early. This settlement therefore began using English early. Vachel Lindsay's account in 1912 in Adventures while Preaching the Gospel of Beauty indicate that no Penn-German was used in this area then.

Language of Inscriptions in Cemeteries of the Concentrated Mennonite District

	Buhler Mennonite Brethren		Hebron Mennonite Brethren		Goessel-Alexanderwohl		Canton-Lone Tree Holdeman	
	English	% of German	English	% of German	English	% of German	English	% of German
1870-9			2	67%				
1880-9			5	17%	1	92%	1	100%
1890-9	2	33%	4	44%	11	83%	1	50%
1900-9	6	65%	15	46%	43	88%	1	63%
1910-9	15	40%	10	55%	11	76%	7	21%
1920-9	9	44%	5	17%	22	53%	21	6
1930-9	6	0%	12	14%	30	23%	38	14%
1940-9	no German		no German		43	3%	34	3%
Earliest Eng. Inscription	1895		1874		1887		1895	

	Canton- Emmanuel	Mound Ridge Hoffnungsfeld	First of Garden near Mound Ridge	Gnadenau Hillsboro	Lehigh
	English German	German Eng.	German German	English German	German English German
	% of	% of	% of	% of	% of
1870-9	6	100%		1	100%
1880-9	1	100%			
1890-9	1	67%	7	4	100%
1900-9	1	91%	5	12	63%
1910-9	7	42%	3	21	78%
1920-9	3	40%	6	13	48%
1930-9			12	3	17%
1940-9			1		9%
Earliest Eng. Inscription	1894	1893 (new stone)	1892	1900	1914 (oldest German 1913)

The earliest English inscription in the following cemeteries:

Inman City 1910
Hillsboro City 1903
Ebensfeld 1897

Until 1910 five of these cemeteries show a rise in the percentage of German inscriptions.
Explanation: many who died in the first years were children, and young parents were more likely to use English as the official language than the relatives of the old.

General Linguistic Statement for the Concentrated Mennonite District.

1935 may be set as the average critical year for this district, the time at which in the majority of homes with growing children Low German ceased to be used habitually. We have seen, however, that in the Goessel neighborhood the date is as late as 1950. For any whole group it would be incorrect to fix 1920 at the other extreme, but by that date it was true for many families in fringe areas. Similar statements can be made for the larger area, the Main Mennonite District. It must not be thought, however, that the critical date applies to all the descendants of the original immigrants. Departures into the World were rare until 1920, and generally meant a break with the community with no linguistic effect upon it. In later years many have gone forth, maintained good relations in the settlements, become completely Englishized and had a very considerable effect upon their relatives in the District.

Two or three general statements by Mennonites themselves on the subject need consideration at this point. In his thesis of 1925 Abraham Albrecht said: "Since the Mennonites came to Kansas from so many different countries they naturally spoke various languages, and especially a number of dialects. They had, however, a written language in common namely, the 'High German.' This language all could read and speak quite fluently.... These dialects are to a great extent still spoken today, that is in those localities where the American language is not generally used, and also generally by the older people. But since the education of the younger generation is almost exclusively American, the other languages lose their significance therefore disappear quite rapidly. In localities where the people desire to keep up the

German language, this is done thru the medium of short summer school terms. Church services are conducted partly in the German language in all these settlements while in some localities this language is used exclusively as yet, but in the Sunday School the American language is quite prevalent already, especially in the children's departments. [The] groups [that] came to America only 50 years ago... are just in the transition period at present, a fact which renders work in churches and schools quite difficult. But if the transition from the German to the American language will keep up the present pace the difficulty will soon be eliminated" /al 77. Albrecht says in effect, "High German is going," and less emphatically, "We still speak Low German." He is in accord with other evidence. At about the same time Janzen speaks similarly, and shows how religion was affected: "Since a great many of the homes use the Low German, the German language is practically doomed in this community and will pass out in another generation. Increasing numbers of young folks are unable to understand the written or spoken [Standard] German, and are therefore in danger of being lost to the church" /ja 103. In 1940 Otto D. Unruh said of the Mennonites, "They are gradually accepting English as their everyday language. This process has taken place slowly, peacefully, and harmoniously" /U 107. As a contrast he says in another place, "The [First] World War created some hard feeling toward the Mennonites. They were called yellow, slackers and pro-Germans, because they refused to take up arms and were still using the German language" /U 159. He writes mainly of the non-Swiss churches near Mound Ridge, Buhler, and Inman, and his statements must be regarded as intended primarily for this corner of the district. "Since the Mennonite churches are

still using the German language, it usually means that the Mennonite marrying outside the Mennonite church will withdraw from the religious group" /U 149.

In 1950 Wm. Brack in Wheat Country, quoting "a young college instructor" from the Mennonite District as his source said: "Before 1939 every child grew up learning German, speaking it in his home, his church, his school. 'We liked to think of the language as a barrier behind which we could withdraw' my informant told me, 'from the stresses of outside life in our communities. The [Second World] War changed that. German is gradually giving way to English'" /B 96. Brack's informant was obviously speaking of Low German, and he too is essentially in accord with other evidence.

In The Mennonite Encyclopedia (1956) Dean Harold S. Bender has an article of a page and a half with the heading "Language Problem" [in Mennonite history]. One of the "cases of serious problems caused by language transition" is, he says, "The transition from German to English among immigrants from Russia to the prairie states.... This transition occurred in the first quarter of the twentieth century." If Dean Bender is speaking of acquisition of bilingual ability, there can be little quarrel with him. By 1925 all but the stubborn or the stupid among the old people had learned English. If he is speaking of the complete displacement of German either High or Low by English his date is too early. In 1935 the only General Conference Mennonite Church in the Concentrated District not having any German in services was West Zion at Mound Ridge. There was no German in 7 others in Kansas, four urban churches, Wichita, Hutchinson, Halstead, and the college church at Newton, two small isolated churches in western Kansas,

Kismet and Hanston, and the Swiss Church at Whitewater where the small Swiss group was isolated linguistically among Low German speaking neighbors from the Vistula Delta. Only the Old Mennonite churches among Mennonite churches can be covered by the Dean's statement as applied to complete abandonment of German in church services. If he considers that the transition had been made as soon as the camel got his nose under the tent, he is right, for there were few churches that did not have some bit of English worship by 1925. If by any chance he was speaking of the displacement of Low German by English, he is certainly forgetting Goessel (and he knows Goessel). In his concluding statement he is essentially right: "Language problems are characteristic of all immigrant religious groups who find themselves in a new and strange language culture situation. But these problems have been intensified among Mennonites by their distinctive emphasis upon nonconformity and nonresistance." Even here however, it may be pointed out that more bellicose German sects have been as resistant when their settlements were as large and as solid. The Mennonite tenets, however, have helped to make their settlements large and solid.

Without any governmental pressure other than the levying of taxes for the establishment of English speaking district schools, the United States has done what Russia did not do, weaned the Mennonites from cultural German and almost from Low German.

Year of Arrival in the US of Immigrants from Russia Surviving in 1925 in

Mound Township and Moundridge, McPherson County (first item)

West Branch Township, Marion County (Contains Goessel) (second item)

1872-1-0	1875-15-4	1880-0-2	1893-3-0	1902-1-4	1910-0-1
1873-1-0	1876-3-4	1881-0-2	1894-0-5	1903-1-0	1913-0-6
1874-85-83	1877-12-3	1883-1-0		1906-0-1	1914-0-1
	1878-4-5	1884-3-0		1907-1-1	1916-0-1
	1879-9	1885-2-2		1909-0-3	1917-0-1
		1886-1-0			1921-1-0
		1887-0-0			
		1888-1-0			

MILBERGER RUSSIAN GERMANS (Hi-b, Russell G)

47.53 The Protestant Russian Germans of Russell, Barton and Rush Counties form a series of uninterrupted units, which considered as a whole deserve a rating of highest importance. These settlements lack general unity, however, and only the Milberger-Russian Germans in Russell County are treated in these settlement histories; see the County Surveys for the other counties. The linguistic history of the other settlements is similar.

The Protestant Russian Germans came to Milberger and vicinity in 1876. Certain accounts of the event deserve reproduction. Sallet speaks as follows:

"In the spring of 1876, emigrants from Mohr took up homesteads north of Otis. Also 74 families from Eckheim, Kratzke, and Schoendorf, Jagodnoje and other [Volga] villages, who arrived in Lawrence in 1876, settled late the same year on homesteads of Barton and Russell County. They founded two separate settlements. Those from Jagodnoje went to the west of Hoisington. Those from Kratzke and Eckheim settled south of Russell. The latter was called the Bender Colony from the name of the leader of the squadron. The settlers here too began to make a village like that from which they came, but soon gave up. A little hamlet in the vicinity is still called Millberger, named after an Eckheim family" /sa 35. Sallet adds that later occasions so strengthened the "two separate Colonies" that they grew into each other and expanded north and west to meet the Catholic Volgans, and north to Russell. The Russian settlement at Dorrance to the northeast, he records, was established the same year by "people from Dreispitz and Tscherbakowa."

In December, 1904, Judge Ruppenthal's account in the Russell Record

emphasizes the Krug family, from the Volga, but earlier, originating in Wurtemberg.

The Volga villages referred to in these accounts may be located on the map entitled "Germans on the Volga," Vol. I, 72 as follows:

Eckheim - Point 29

Kratzke - Point 40 or else the village just south of Eckheim. Both are Kratzke. Point 40 is also called Potschinnaja and the other village has the alternate name of Aerenfeld.

Jagodnaja is possibly Neu Jagodnaja, Point 27, the most eastern point on the map, probably Jagodnaja Poljana the most northern because

Pobotschna [ja] is a few miles south of Jagodnaja Poljana.

By saying Kratzke is 50 miles from Eckheim Judge Ruppenthal expressed his conviction that Kratzke was Point 40. Kratzke (Potschinnaja) and Jagodnaja Poljana were founded in 1767; Pobotschnaja in 1772 and Eckheim in 1855. Eckheim was one of the Bergseite colonies established on the Wiesenseite. The combination of colonists is thereby more easily understood.

"July 11, 1876, with his family and many others, [Jacob] Krug left Kratzke for America... From Germany, an immigration agent named Roedelheimer accompanied the party. They stopped first at Lincoln, Nebraska, where most of them remained a month in the emigrant house. Jacob Krug, John Jacob Bender... and Adam Dietz were chosen as a committee 'to spy out the promised land' for the colony. The committee did not like Nebraska, so the party went to Lawrence, Kansas where they again occupied an emigrant house, while the committee roamed over the state. Finally in

October or November 1876, the colony settled in the beautiful valley of Landon Creek, about 12 miles south of Russell. On October 27, 1876, George Dietz filed a declaratory statement in the United States land office of his intent to take up land in the chosen region, and in November 1876, J. J. Krug made a homestead entry...

"The immigrants from Kratzke and vicinity in this first colony included the following men and usually most of their families, even to the 2d generation: Jacob Krug, John George Bender, George Jacob Meier, Jacob Berschauer and his brother, (the latter afterward returned to Russell) the brothers Adam and Jacob Dietz, Henry Bender, Adam Mai (a son-in-law of Jacob Krug), Frederick and Peter Deines, Henry Lohmann Bender (so called because he married a Lohmann), Jacob Deines (cousin of Peter and Frederick), Jacob Deines, son, Frederick Schwiene, (now deceased, his widow married John George Bender), Jacob Michaelis, (now of Graham Company; he is brother of J. J. Michaelis of Sellens Creek and for a while was partner of Krug in the Mercantile business), and Jacob Blem (also a son-in-law of Jacob Krug). Accompanying these Kratzke people was Philip Ochs, who however was from Pobotschna [Saratov Province]. His ancestors came from Saxony.

"About 50 miles from Kratzke is the village of Eckheim, and encouraged by the Kratzke migration, a party started also from Eckheim and settled about 2 weeks later near the Kratzke people south of the Smoky Hill River. The Eckheim colony included Frederick Strecker, Frederick Nusz (son of George), David Wittman, Conrad Zweizig, Conrad Karst and brother Frederick (the latter now deceased) and the men and families of Keil, Dumler, Steinert, Elsassor, Becker, Borgert and Lohmann...

"After these colonists were permanently located, many others came from the same provinces and settled among them, while from Bessarabia... came the families of Morgenstern, Radke and Roesner.

"One of the largest migrations... was that of the 'Mexicans' of 1898... lured from Saratov to Mexico... money was sent [by kin] to pay their transportation hither."

The relationship between the settlements and the Kansas Pacific is further brought out by an item in the railroad's "Homestead" folder of April, 1878.

Jacob Krug, 10 miles south of Russell, had reported that his wheat had made 32 bushels to the acre. A note of commentary accompanies this statement. "The German-Russian above named bought, in 1876, 1758 acres in Township 15 Range 14 west, at \$3.50 per acre." The same year, 1878, the Bessarabians paid \$6 an acre, but they were, at least in some cases, later on good terms with the Kansas Pacific, for Emanuel Morgenstern, born in Plotsk, Bessarabia, in 1866 became a colonization agent for the KP's successor, the Union Pacific. Like members of other foreign settlements along the railroad, the people of Russell County eked out a living in bad years by hiring out as labor on labor gangs farther west along the line.

The Volgans were not on their arrival a well-to-do lot as a whole, but the Bessarabians were. Day-labor for wages was repulsive to them: "Their sons went to Colorado, and there worked for low wages... They were accustomed to hard work in Bessarabia, but there they had servants(male and female) and here they must go out to work for day's wages" /kc 15:589.

The colony became a way station for further settlements contributing to the development of the country to the west along the railroads' lines; see Trego Center (in Kansas Pacific territory) and Bazine (on the Missouri Pacific which in 1886 was built through the country along the south edge of the settlement). Because the Milberger settlement was a customary temporary residence, newcomers from Russia were common at Russell and Milberger until the time of the Russian-Japanese War, thus contributing to the stability of German usage.

In witness of this fact the data in the 1925 census concerning the year of arrival in the United States of the Russians in the townships primarily affected are pertinent. For this area arrival in the United States is tantamount to arrival in Kansas.

	Fairfield	Grant	Lincoln	Russell	Winterset	Totals for these Russell Co. Townships
1876-9	1	13	12	1	15	42
1880-9	0	10	4	6	2	22
1890-3	8	12	14	8	6	48
1894-8	0	0	0	0	2	2
1899-1908	9	25	30	21	10	95
1909-13	1	1	0	4	2	8
1914-25	0	1	3	1	0	5

In 1960 the Milberger Russian Germans were being served by six rural churches, 5 Lutheran and one Evangelical and Reformed. Formerly there were other rural Lutheran churches. Besides these, St. John's Lutheran Church

in Russell and also churches in Hoisington should be counted as serving the same group. The emphasis on Lutheranism is a contrast with the situation among Protestant Volgans in other settlements. The emphasis exists probably because of the rural character of these congregations. Other denominations establish themselves in towns.

The numerous congregations did not develop in the first years of settlement. From 1877 for many years there was but one church. It had no settled pastor; in 1884 it appears to have been one of the 16 preaching places served by A. Ehlers, a Reiseprediger of the Missouri Synod. Trinity Lutheran Church claims to be a descendant of this early institution. It was long an independent church, but since its formal organization in 1900 it has been served by ministers of the German Nebraska Synod, later to become the Midwest Synod, then LCA /w 364. In 1948 it had 187 souls, in 1959 - 171. Shortly after organization a church was built five miles from Milberger on 36-15-14 as much east of the settlement center as Milberger is west of it. The year 1885 is probably the date of the earliest formal church organization in the settlement. The two churches at Milberger, both Immanuel branching from the same original congregation, claim that year as the date of their establishment. The first pastor was the Reverend A. F. Augustin (born in Germany) of the Iowa Synod. He served from 1885 till 1892. He has left memoirs published first in Germany under the title Ernste und Heitere Bilder aus einem deutsch-amerikanischen Pastorenleben in 1912 at Breklum, and in 1923 in translation as In the Master's Vineyard at Chicago. Life at

539

Milberger was then completely German. The original Trinity church, labeled Lincoln Township (Trinity and Milberger are both in that township), was served until about 1900 largely by Missouri Synod pastors, though no church joined that synod. In 1895 and 1900 the Missouri Pastor Kleinhans reported 350 souls in his congregation. His 1900 report probably represents those whom he regarded as rightfully of his congregation, for the church had already divided. Both sides claimed their church to be the continuation of the old organization and rightful owners of its property. A law suit before the new century was born took the matter to the Supreme Court of Kansas. This schism resulted in general fission. By 1906 not only had the two Milberger churches and Trinity established themselves, but also two churches that were actually enrolled in the Nebraska Synod, the Stickney Immanuel Church by 1900 (dissolved before 1919; in Barton County, exact location uncertain) and in 1904 the Frieden's Church, generally known as the Michaelis Church, on 27-15-14, near the center of the settlement (building torn down, ca. 1938). Outlying churches soon appeared, Susank, Missouri Lutheran, 1906 (110 souls in 1910, 148 in 1948), Galatia, American, 1910 (116 souls in 1948). At Milberger the souls reported to the Missouri Synod by its congregation increased from 130 in 1906 to 228 in 1910, to 254 in 1916.

There were 187 souls there in 1948 as against 313 in 1950 in the American Lutheran Church, originally Iowa Synod. The latter served 225 souls in 1961. In 1906 the Iowa Synod recorded 230 for its two Russell churches, doubtless this Milberger Church and its church in Russell which no longer exists. Until 1949 the Missouri Synod too was unable to main-

tain a viable church in Russell. The only long-established German church to flourish there has been St. John's founded 1900-- a member of the German Nebraska and Midwest Synods, 212 communicants in 1906, 1352 baptized in 1958.

The extraordinary fragmentation of the Lutherans in the rural area during the first decade of this century, not completely set forth above is to be explained, not by violent doctrinal differences, but by the advent of economic prosperity, which made it possible to afford many churches, by the importance attached to personal disagreements and by the thirst for domination besetting various heads of families.

The shattering of the rural Lutherans into these many fragments did leave them Lutherans, however, and not open to the linguistic influences that result from successful proselytizing by other denominations, such as has occurred among the Rush, Ness, Marion, and Dickinson County Protestant Volgans. Only one dissident denomination existed among them in the country,*

*Other denominations made efforts. With Hoisington as a post office the German Congregationalist Pastor Strobecker organized in 1912 two congregations one of which was presumably in the country, one was served by a pastor till 1914, likely the rural unit; the other lasted till 1920.

and it was an example of the persistence of old tradition rather than of conversions. The Germans who went to Russia were in part members of the Reformed Church, and these people persisted in their Calvinistic beliefs from generation to generation. In Pobotschnaja the Ochs family were of this belief; they were among the first settlers and, joined by others, established the Schoenfeld congregation organized in 1884 (first burial 1888). Generally

known as the Ochs church, it is on 15-16-14 south of the center of the settlement in the Barton County area where the Jagodnaja and Pobotschnaja people settled. It was never large, 51 members in 1950.

German persisted in all the churches still extant at least till about 1960, except the Ochs church where it succumbed in 1950. Church accounts there were kept in German in 1931 and marked in English "approved by Committee, January 1, 1932." Confirmations in German went on till the late 1930's. English was first used in the Sunday School about 1938; subsequent shift was rapid.

During the First World War, in the Missouri Lutheran Church at Milberger two services a month were introduced in English and almost immediately suppressed. There was a visit from the sheriff and an attorney, who found the Volgans had no mischievous intent, and German went on without interruption until about 1946. During the Second World War English had gained admittance to the homes, and many children became imperfect in German. The last confirmation in German took place in 1952, but in that year three services a month were German, one English. In 1960 the proportion of English to German was still half and half. Difficulty in procuring a pastor capable of preaching German caused some concessions. The old order was yielding gradually; standard collection plates replaced Klingenbeutel in January 1960; similarly in the field of language. At quarterly meetings business discussions even in 1960 were largely in German and the records were in German (of a sort, "painten" is used for "to paint,") but the meetings of that year on calling a new minister were in English. The retreat of German has been so slow primarily because there persists the

habit of obedience to a leader who arises always from among the older men in the congregation.

On the American Lutheran Church the data available are somewhat less complete. The situation, though slightly less conservative, is essentially similar. There was no English in the services in 1923 nor presumably much later; confirmations in German ceased in 1946; in 1951 sermons in both languages on the same day were the thing, even for visiting pastors. Until 1961 or 1962 services in German took place on alternate Sundays. In Trinity Lutheran (LCA), Sunday school was in German until 1956. When English was introduced into it, English sermons on alternate Sundays were also accepted. The report in 1967 was, "No German services in rural churches," *only Christmas carols.*

Ott's account of St. John's church in Russell begins by saying that the settlers "true to their fatherland instincts were not satisfied until they had church privileges in their own tongue." In 1967 the church declared that it had held services in German every Sunday continuously from its organization in 1900. All through the fifties and probably most of the forties an English service followed the German service. An informant born in 1930 stated that when English services began--within his memory--the order was one Sunday German, the next, English. Business meetings in German were the order in 1950. In 1961 the eight o'clock German service was attended by an average of 90-100 persons; the 10:45 English service by over 300. In 1967, while the average attendance at the 10:30 English service was 450 out of 1367 souls, the German service at 9:00 was attended by 75 to 100 persons; over half of these were over fifty years old. The subsidence in six years had been slow in part because of additional retirements from the farms.

There was no immediate prospect of a change; the German attenders held the purse strings, but pastors capable of preaching in German were becoming few.

At Galatia all services were in German at least through 1923. At Susank the services were half and half in 1949. Confirmations in German ceased at about 1942.

The evidence of the cemeteries shows somewhat less conservative use of German. The recrudescence of German inscriptions in the 1930's marks the disappearance of many immigrants.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Milberger Russian German Cemeteries

	Milberger			Michaelis			Schneider			Schoenfeld			Susank		
	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger
1878-1880	0	2	100%												
1880- 9	0	11	100%							1	1	50%			
1890 - 9	4	20	83%							1	9	90%			
1900 - 9	13	23	64%	0	3	100%	2	2	50%	1	6	86%	0	2	100%
1910 - 9	30	22	42%	7	4	36%	3	5	63%	3	5	63%	3	1	25%
1920 - 9	27	4	13%	6	4	40%	2	3	60%	9	0	0%	5	2	28%
1930 - 9	24	4	14%	7	0	0%	0	3	100%	10	1	9%	0	3	100%
1940 - 9	30	2	6%	5	0	0%	1	1	50%	7	0	0%	5	1	17%

The state of the German language among the less well instructed in the 1920's is illustrated by this inscription in the Susank cemetery.

"Maria Katharina Lohning - Gabo. Oktobar 5, 1833 - Diet Novem. 11, 1922"

Until the time that confirmations in German ceased, the late 1930's and the 1940's, however, children learned to read and--less well--to write German.

The instruction decreased in quality with the passage of time because the term of the "summer" parochial school became more and more abridged. In the early days when state laws permitted district school terms three months in length, they lasted no longer and another three months was devoted to parochial schools. With the lengthening of the terms of the district schools, the "summer" schools were abridged, for they had to end by harvest time in late June. Since religious instruction was not to be shrunk, children ultimately ceased to become proficient in Standard German. By 1950 children still able to speak dialect could not understand the pastor's sermons.

As regards the use of German in the area, a statement from Russell by a professional man of Volgan descent in 1953 made to a relative who had left the area represents a conservative point of view, that of the professional world: "In Russell County all of our business, as well as most of the gossip, is now being handled in the English language, and in less than fifteen more years our German will be the rare exception." Even restricting this statement as is done below, it represents a situation much different from that which reigned till the First World War when any outsider who knew German used it in dealing with the Milberger Germans, and such children from Eng-ling households as attended district schools with largely Volgan pupils promptly learned to understand the German of their schoolmates. The statement quoted above was true of those in business life and those dealing largely with business men. It was also generally true of those born after 1925 when dealing with their own generation, but the grandparents of growing children--except those in business--used German almost exclusively and required it of others. Those born after 1915 but before 1930 shifted unconsciously back and forth from English to German as often younger people did in talking to this group. In 1939 six children not able to speak English entered the Russell schools. At that time the normal habit in homes with growing children was

to use German. Some 1951 high school graduates from the rural district were fluent in German. Among those born since 1940 few habitual speakers of German are to be found. In 1950 the younger children of older parents were likely to answer their parents in English if addressed in German. In Galatia in that year three-fourths of the conversation in a beer parlor was in English. Near Susank a regular Eng-ling customer of another beer parlor was surprised to learn that the proprietor and the other customers could speak German and teen-age children were unwilling German speakers. But a girl from the Susank area just out of her teens on being hired as a clerk in a Russell store was instructed to address her customers in German. Women were clinging to German somewhat more than men. While girls in Russell during the Second World War and even some born as late as 1951 seldom used German together, for many, perhaps half of their time in 1961 was spent in speaking German because of their close relationship with older people. On the whole, however, although in some homes in the center of the settlement little children learned German before they did English, and there were old people who knew no English, any one born after 1942 understands German, but speaks it imperfectly. Standard German is difficult for all the young. English is the only cultural language.

The English of most people in the rural area was in 1950 imperfect in accent, vocabulary, and syntax. (Unacceptable morphology had the usual forms of sub-standard English.)

Examples: Several speakers in 1950: "I am raced and born here." From a teen-ager's letter of 1941: "I did not have noting to do...I was in by your Dad." Still town-bred high school students of 1955 found the

English of country students acceptable. There was indeed as large a proportion of speakers of German among the young Volgans in town as in the country, for there was more of a will to satisfy grandparents than in many places, and the town contained three generations of a number of families. In some of them there were still in 1967 grandmothers hardly able to understand English. German continued to exist for their benefit. But those born after 1950 had little proficiency.

NEUCHATEL FRENCH SWISS (Mid-M, Nemaha E)

47.54 Neuchatel, though a small settlement, is of interest because it is the only one in Kansas where French Swiss predominate. Crevecoeur reports that in 1857 "Ami and Charles Bonjour were the first French speaking persons to come to Neuchatel, and it was through their influence that others were induced to come to this community" /ch 02:141; /ag 78:332 agrees. Two more Bonjours, Frederic and Gustave, and Auguste Zurcher arrived a little later in the year. "In the spring of 1858, our pioneers...hitched up and went to Leavenworth after more recruits for the colony." These were more Bonjours, more Zurchers, two Simons, and a Mouton. By 1860 the census shows Vautravers as an additional name. The tombstone of Alfred Bonjour (1832-1911) and Zélie Simon Bonjour (1828-1890) records the birthplace of both as Lignièrès, Switzerland. Crevecoeur says that all came from the canton of Neuchatel /ch 02:155, except Frederic Vautravers who was from the canton of Vaud. In the United States there had been stays at Utica and Buffalo, New York, and at Noblesville, Indiana /ch 16:807. Some of them had come almost directly from Switzerland by the way of New Orleans.

Alfred Bonjour was the most important public figure among the Swiss. Crevecoeur says: "He was commissioned as notary public at an early day [notaries in Switzerland have high status] ... He was elected to the office of county commissioner in 1864 and held the office of [township] trustee for quite a number of years. He was also elected justice of the peace in the early sixties." He was also postmaster and storekeeper.

No new families joined the group until after the Civil War. To be sure, in the late '50's there was Aimé Chavanne, a Frenchman, who settled to the south and eventually married an Irish girl born in Illinois (Mary, 1841-1894); also Dr. Peter Dockler, born in France in 1817 and his wife Catherine, born in Pennsylvania in 1818; they arrived in 1862, and had no children. Dockler "went first," says Crevecoeur, "to Africa, and came from there to New Orleans in the year '40. He then went to Cleveland, Ohio, next to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from where he came to Neuchatel in 1862. The old gentleman has had a very checkered career, and was the most popular physician who came to this community for many years" /ch 02:137. Finally there was in 1862 the Rev. Eugene Laporte, a French missionary, sent from Wisconsin in 1862. "He went back late in '65 or early in '66. It was through him that Henry Labbe, August Seigneur, the Gilson Brothers, Casimir Stiennon and Desire Wery were induced to come here. Mr. Laporte came back here a year or two later, and returned to Green Bay, Wisconsin, about 1869" /ch 02:151.

This influx was of a different character from the original group, and settled mainly to the east of the others. Labbe (b. 1821) came from France, the others were from Belgium; presumably they had been living in the Belgian settlement in Southern Door County on the peninsula above Green Bay. A Belgian who came in 1869 from Illinois was attracted by news of others here. This was Charles Crevecoeur, born 1827, who drove first to Waterville and retraced his steps on hearing of the French speaking settlement /ch 02:84. In the late sixties and the seventies other Belgians and Frenchmen and a few Canadians arrived, but so did other Swiss

and the settlement remained predominantly Swiss. It has been marked by Presbyterianism. The Catholic church at Onaga, St. Vincent de Paul, has never become large enough to have a resident priest. Three out of four persons mentioned as prominent in its parish history have names indicating their language was French (Gaume, Duloes, Pecher). One of them Peter Gaume (b. 1858) was the son of Julien (1810-1880) and Victoria (b. 1817) born in France. They came in 1841 to Louisville, Ohio, near Canton in Stark County (62, 248), and moved out to Neuchatel in 1867 /ch 02:134. The Ohio contingent in the community was small. An example of a late arriving Swiss is Louis Auguste Cosandier (1846-1922) born at Lignièrès in Neuchatel Canton. He was related by marriage to the Bonjours. His wife was Elisa Sophie Bonjour (1843-1916) also born at Lignièrès. They came to Kansas in 1888. On December of that year they lost a son, Louis R., b. 1883. The inscription commemorating him is in French. Their son Philip H. (b. 1885)/ik 263, in 1912 married Leah Rossier (b. 1886) whose mother was a Gilson. She thus represented the two principal stocks at Neuchatel--Swiss and Belgian. The Rossiers had arrived in 1879 /ch 87. Leah spoke only French on going to school, but by 1925 her and Philip's French was rusty and in 1942 was used only for secrecy in crowds.

The Rev. Eugene Laporte was followed as Protestant pastor by the Rev. Henry Morel (1815-1898), a Swiss with a Canadian wife, his second, Adelaide, b. 1829; the minister and a daughter, Tamar (1856-1878) are buried at Neuchatel. Morel was in his fifties on his arrival, but his dynamism and the zeal of the community were sufficient to bring about the construction of a church where services were held in French until about the beginning of this century--only a neighborhood Sunday school continued later.

Neuchatel received a post office in 1864 (Alfred Bonjour, postmaster), and ~~held it until 1906~~. In 1863 it acquired a school and there was a store there too, A. Bonjour and Company, beginning in 1867 /ag 78. A little upstream on French Creek, Louis Kirsch, a Frenchman despite his surname, persuaded the community to provide funds to build a steam and water flour mill in 1873. It endured less than two years. Everybody lost money. The wrath of the community was upon Kirsch, and he increased it by attempting to make off with some of the machinery /ch 02:57.

Neuchatel never advanced farther. In 1883 the Andreas-Cutler history recorded its post office and concluded, "There is no village of that name" /a 965. The store continued to operate, however, till after the end of the century.

The primary reason for the town's failure to develop was that the railroads passed it by. After Onaga was founded a few miles to the south in 1877 when the Kansas Central was built through from Leavenworth, Neuchatel was but a neighborhood. One notable element in the citizenry of the community has yet to be mentioned. Frederic Vautravers in 1866 met Alfred Frézières on a trip to Topeka, and induced him to make Neuchatel his home. Frézières (1827-1897) belonged to the group of French liberals who fled from France, eventually to the Isle of Jersey, when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (Napoleon III) seized the power in 1851. His wife was Ernestine Leroux (1836-1910), the daughter of Pierre Leroux, of historical importance as a leader of the socialist group in the Second French Republic. Leroux also fled with his family to the Isle of Jersey, and Ernestine in exile knew

Victor Hugo, and George Sand earlier. She and Frézières did not, like her father, take advantage of Napoleon III's amnesty of 1860, but, like Victor Hugo, remained in exile. In 1863 or 1864 they left Jersey for Canada and after a brief stay there, spent two years in Ohio. Then Frézières made the visit to Topeka that led to his bringing his family to Neuchatel. Ernestine's uncle, Jules Leroux (b. 1804), was another of those who refused the amnesty. He too came to Neuchatel and lived there, according to Crevecoeur, from 1866 to 1878.* He had three sons and four daughters all of whom also

*Andreas-Cutler says 1870-1876. He appears in the 1870 census, where his profession is stated as typographer. His sons who lived with him were farm laborers. His son-in-law, Frézières, is called a printer.

established themselves in the community. In 1878 Jules and most of his descendants joined the communistic Icaria colony in Iowa. During part of his sojourn at Neuchatel Jules Leroux published L'Etoile de Kansas. It shows that he was still thoroughly absorbed by the problems of France, and, if it appealed to any public, certainly not to the one in Kansas. It contained no local news, very little news of any sort; largely it editorialized.

The departure of the Leroux clan occurred at practically the same time as the founding of Onaga, and from a center of ideas and more or less of affairs, Neuchatel became completely rural, and resumed its Swiss predominance. Immigration into the settlement practically ceased by 1885. The only French inscriptions in the Neuchatel cemetery besides that of little Louis Cosandier are those for a year-old child who died in 1874 and for Adolph Bühler 1866-1901, presumably the son of Joseph and Theresa, born in Switzerland in 1835 and 1843.

The Engl-izing trend was early apparent. The Bonjours, on their arrival, had already been in the United States half a decade, and it seems, were already bilingual. At least on the Fourth of July, 1859, two hundred people gathered for a celebration on a "high hill northwest of Henry Hoover's house." The Swiss were with them. At a "general dinner on the ground" a mess of early green beans was the delicacy. "O. J. Grover and Alfred Bonjour appropriated the dish to themselves, as they were among the most prominent people present" /ch 02:83. Families with one spouse of American birth appear in the census of 1870:

Henry Ballou, b. Switzerland 1823, wife Matilda, b. Pa. 1836, three children born in Pa., oldest in 1857, here 1868.

Dr. Peter Dockler, French, wife Catherine, b. Pa.

Baptiste Dulac, French but born in Greece in 1833, wife Anna b. in Ky. 1841.

Gaume, Joseph, son of Peter discussed above, born in Ohio in 1845, wife Mary, b. Ky. in 1848.

Frederic Simon, brother-in-law to the Bonjours, born in Switzerland in 1817, wife Sarah, b. in N.Y. in 1821--five children born in Ohio between 1851 and 1860, one born in Indiana 1861.

Auguste Zurcher, b. in Switzerland in 1827, wife Mary born in Ky. in 1841, 2 children born in Indiana in 1859 and 1861.

Total seven; out of 28 families containing persons born in French-speaking areas in Neuchatel Township. With such an admixture a community could not long remain primarily given to French especially with no schooling in the language. The immigrants did not abandon the language that they first learned, but their sons and daughters even when married to each other ceased using French, though many of them had known no English till they went to school. An example of a family in which French was long continued was that of Frank Pinet. Frank I was born in France of a family from Périgueux, but was brought up near Paris.

He came directly from France in 1876 and married the sister of Noel and Joseph Lefèbvre. (Noel had arrived from Chicago in 1867 and Joseph, born in Indiana in 1857, followed him in 1876 from Iowa.) Frank I never really learned to speak English; his wife, more proficient in it, could talk to her grandchildren in it, but preferred French. Their children were born between 1880 (Frank II) and 1899 or 1900 (Eli) and all of them used French with their parents during their upbringing, that is, until the First World War. In 1942, however, no families were still using French. It was then used only by a few to talk privately in crowds.

OSAGE CITY MINING DISTRICT and
WEST OSAGE SWEDES

(Mid-k and Hi***, Osage C and G)

Special Bibliog.: G - Gamba, E. - Autobiography. Unpublished typescript.

H - Harry Hughes, Hist. of the Fr. Settlement of
Osage City, Kansas. Unpublished master's thesis
1947.

S - Schoewe, W.H., Coal Resources of the Wabaunsee
Group in Eastern Kansas, in Bulletin 63 of State
Geological Survey of Kansas; U. of K., December,
1946.

EI- Emigration and Immigration, United States 49th
Congress, House of Representatives Reports of
the Consular Officials of the United States,
Washington, 1887.

47.55 Osage City, Introductory. The southern three-fifths of Osage County including what became Osage City and the townships nearest the city, Superior and Grant, were part of the reservation of the Sac and Fox Indians of the Mississippi until it was extinguished by the treaty proclaimed July 25, 1868. Therefore until the lands were disposed of a few months later, there were no legal white settlers in the Osage City Mining District nor in the closely connected West Osage Swedish settlement. But the first Swedish settlers appeared immediately in 1869, finding lands to the west of the Osage City site. The Santa Fe Railroad was already being built into the northern part of the county, and "Osage City was surveyed and plotted late in the year 1869 after the route of the railroad had been fixed." Early in 1870 the Santa Fe arrived. Mining had begun in tentative fashion in 1869 and with the coming of the railroad developed rapidly. The Osage field furnished fuel for the Santa Fe until 1886. The railroad's superintendent, T. J. Peter, made a coal company his

private investment, and passed it on to the railroad in 1880; it operated under the name of the Osage Carbon Company. After the railroad withdrew from direct production, its subsidiary, the Mount Carmel Coal Mining Company, was the largest operator. There were other companies, however, some with Swedish management. T. J. Peter also speculated in town lots along with others; Peterston, adjacent to Osage City bore his name. The miners there were almost all Welshmen.

Coal mining continued to be prosperous until 1890. The data on production and the labor force as published by the U.S. Geological Survey and as given by Professor

Schoewe from records maintained by the State of Kansas are not altogether in harmony. Both are here presented. Records before 1884 seem not to exist.

Osage Coal Field - 1884-1915

Year	Labor Force		Production in thousands of tons	
	US Coal. Survey	Schoewe	US Coal. Survey	Schoewe
1884		1000*		209
5		1938	423	426
66			415	
7		2044	304	413
8			415	
9	2082	2077	416	337
1890	804		179	453
1	1581	2917	335	448
2	1512		372	373
3	1100	1840	373	230
4		1000	32	296
5		1200	32	263
6		1544	101	166
7		1433	139	182
8	657	1281	179	179
9		1336	234	202
1900	809	1339	197	194
1	893	1015	222	172
2	781	984	133	160
3	893	961	165	173
4	392	786	173	61
5	766	1000	157	143
66	956	993	133	136
7	736	782	133	134
8	371	745	123	120
9		530	100	65
1910	689	581	117	60
1	610		104	
2	660	520	136	171
3	622	523	116	131
4	588		83	115
5	612		101	102

fn

Andreas Cutler, 1883, says "upward of 1200 men" for the busiest season /a1543.

The confusion between these two sources is greatest for the early 1890's but they agree that in 1889 there was a labor force of over 2000 men producing about 400,000 tons of coal, a production that had been maintained for five years. They agree further that in 1901 there were at most 1000 men producing perhaps 200,000 tons of coal, and that

by 1915 the labor force had dwindled to about 600 and that production was about 10,000 tons. In 1934, 1935, and 1936, the labor force stood at about 500; the production was 90,000 tons according to the Geological Survey. In 1943 the labor force was 87, the production 4,000 tons. Shortly after 1950 all mines were closed.

In the 1940's the tradition in Osage City was that 1897 and 1898 held the dreariest hours with more families moving elsewhere than at any other time. The Osage field included mines to the north at Burlingame, Scranton, and Carbondale, and early production fell off more in its most northern part* than at Osage City, but the foundation of this tradition is rather

* This conclusion, which is not based on statistics analyzing the Osage field, is borne out by the population figures of the state census as quoted below. To understand the bulge of population in 1890 the Federal Census is of no great help; it records only 3469 for Osage City, but the census takers for the state are consistently more generous than those directed from Washington. Rather the shifts in size of the labor force as recorded by Schoewe should be considered -- 50% increase in 1891 over 1885; fewer in 1895 than in 1885.

	Population of Units in the Osage Coal Fields						
	Osage City	Superior Twp (Grant+Peterton)	Burlingame City	Twp	Scranton City	Twp	Carbondale
1885	3633	2533	1574	1542	1613	928	1230
1895	4273	2325	1513	1509	1442	937	683
1905	2937	1837	1581	1540	1027	1048	551

There was also a mining camp, Fostoria, between Burlingame and Scranton. It never had a post office.

that the floating population went early and that by the late 90's many families who had put down their roots in Osage City were obliged to leave.

Departure after that period was gradual until 1917-18 when the great war demand on the railroads opened up much employment at the Santa Fe shops in Topeka. Then many long established families departed from Osage City. Unfavorable freight rate changes in 1923 made shipment by rail unprofitable. After about 1950 no mines operated at Osage City.

Mining conditions at Osage City were never good. The coal is of poor quality, producing great quantities of ash so that its price could never be high. The vein is in general only 20 inches thick, and thus its extraction requires more effort per ton than in many fields. The total quantity was not great so that when mining ceased, it was as much for lack of coal as for lack of consumers.

Coal production did not last throughout the year. After the Santa Fe Railroad ceased to use Osage coal it was not used in industry, but almost exclusively for heating. Consequently coal production almost stopped in the summertime; winters were the productive period. The mining population was idle in the summer, on railroad gangs, or busied itself with gardening and hunting unless like many Swedes it became truly agricultural or found its way into business. In this latter case business eventually absorbed the minority who managed to find its way in to it. The small number of transfers to farming outside the Swedish community came about because the other nationalities had had no previous experience with agriculture. The French in general took more readily to gardening than the Italians. They were not therefore so easily driven to other settlements by bad times in coal mining as were the Italians, but their settlement could not have the stability of that of the Swedish farmers.

The production of coal at Osage City did not drop at once after the Santa Fe Railroad began to use other sources for fuel in 1888 because in 1865 the Missouri Pacific line was built through, thus opening up a consumers territory until then unavailable.

When coal could no longer be shipped, however, Osage City had little advantage over neighboring towns. While it remained in 1880 twice as large as any town in the county (1919 pop.), much larger than any place for twenty-five miles around, it has become only a shopping center without even the advantages of being a county seat.

The mining population, therefore, if it did not move away, has been obliged to transform itself into farmers or into followers of commercial pursuits. To accomplish this revolution the town has had to break down social barriers that were very strong. For a generation, any one who was not a miner belonged to an upper class.

The miners were almost all foreign-born or later the sons of foreign-born, and at Osage City,--and this distinguished that town from the other mining towns of the Osage field--comparatively few of them were from fundamentally English speaking areas.

Osage City Mining District
1885 Foreign-Born

	Total foreign born	born in Scotland and Ireland	% of For-bings among foreign born
Osage City	1244	207	63%
Peterton	139	34	73%
Grant Twp	247	33	37%
Superior Twp	136	54	69%
	1850	348	82%

The tables published in the state census showing the distribution of foreign born in cities do not separate the Welsh from the English, but the approximate general significance of the situation in 1885 is verified by the data for 1885, 1895 and

1903

Osage City
Foreign-born

	Total fb	fb From British Isles	% of Forbings among fb	Total pop	% of Forbings born to total pop.
1885	1202	414	66%	3683	22%
1895	1534	290	51%	4273	29%
1905	677	143	79%	2937	23%

This table also emphasizes the fact that the proportion of forbings increased from 1885 to 1895. The decrease of the proportion in the next decade is deceptive because it makes no allowance for children. Tables that show the number of children in 1895 appear in Volume I (p. 224). The census of 1870 for Superior township, which then included Osage City and what was to be Grant Township,--that is, all the area interesting us, contained no French and no Italians. The Welsh (16fb), and Swedes (45fb) are already there. The census of 1875 shows the beginning of the French immigration, 2 men with wives and six bachelors. The Italians have not yet appeared, but by 1885 they are numerous.

Distribution of linguistic stocks in Osage City as shown by number of
those born in Continental countries

	Total Pop.	Sweden	France	South of Europe - Italy
1885	3683	450	110	154
1895	4273	515	238	376
1905	2937	301	116	88

The table showing the distribution of nationalities in Osage City brings out (1) the preponderance of Swedes over other groups, (2) the instability of the Italian population. The Swedish majority was in fact much greater because of the larger number in the rural population. The Italian fluctuation is to be explained by the attraction of the Pittsburg mining district where Italians were numerous. The other nationalities more rarely went there, rather if they continued mining they migrated to the fields at Lexington, Missouri, and Henrietta, Oklahoma.

During the period of important mining the various linguistic stocks did not mingle easily; there was a hierarchy of social acceptance: non-miners, Swedes, French, Italians, and the ease with which for-lings were able to pass out of the mining class followed the order of this hierarchy. What an event the abrogation of social distinctions was can be judged by this account of the celebration of Armistice Day in 1918 written by Emilio Gamba.

"The band was playing and the people singing 'Over There' and all those familiar war songs, right in the center of the four square. A platform was built and nearly all nations were represented. They went up on the platform and sang their native song. The French were first called upon and a very fine mixed chorus sang 'The Marseillaise.' Next came the Italians who were also represented by a nice group of mixed voices. They sang 'Con Spirito,' 'Noi Siamo Cons critti, Siam Uomini Fatti,' and also gave us a good program.

"The English were also called and sang the very appropriate song, 'God Save the King.' All the crowd sang, 'America' led by Paul Padden. On the same platform the band played dance music and everybody danced, old and young.

All the ministers were there and they also suspended rules and enjoyed the celebration. People remember that my wife danced and danced with the Methodist preacher and everybody had a good time. Of course, after the parade was busy time with the home guards. I played with the band. We came home in the small hours of the morning, calling it one more perfect day."

This celebration was not the end of discrimination. The Ku Klux Klan was active in Osage City, and there was even a small riot, though nothing more bloody than many Saturday night brawls between the various nationalities when mining was at its best.

The residential separation of national groups was somewhat more marked in Osage City than elsewhere. In the early days of any mining community it is usually well marked, but the barriers seem to have persisted here longer because there was little company housing and deterioration set in early so that the need for spreading out did not exist. The west part of Osage City was Swedish, the northeast Romance, the south and southeast Welsh and "American." During the 1920's the residential barriers to the mixing of the population broke down to a considerable degree. The Romance section was also split between the French and Italians: French to the west "French town," Italians east in "Dog Town" to the north of east. The appropriate foreign language was heard in each of these quarters until after the First World War. Intermarriage did not begin until after 1910 but by 1920 was common.

The general linguistic effect of working in the mines has been analyzed in the section on mining. The usual forces were at work here, mixture of linguistic groups among those not actually digging, isolation of those

✓332
-500

working in the mining rooms, use of children from the age of 10 or 11, and consequent reduction of schooling. Irregularity of employment led to much shifting of population.

Though none of the for-ling groups worked in large numbers into commercial life while the mines prospered, certain individuals sure of the trade from their group did. Emil Gamba (Italian) began his meat business in 1891, Marie Grandmougin (French) a restaurant about 1900; Swedes were in business by 1884.

Church history will be treated with the discussion of each of the various linguistic groups, even in the case of the Catholic Church which exerted but slight influence among the French and will therefore be discussed with the Italians.

47.56 The Swedes The Swedes arrived in the Osage City neighborhood as soon as settlement was possible in 1868. C. J. Rapp (1831-1912), John A. Moberg (b. 1833) and Gust. Johnson (b. 1845) arrived in that year /ch 79; others followed before the year was over, Andrew Rapp and John G. Swedberg (1826-1905) for instance, Carl J. Colstrom (1831-1913) January 9, 1870. Johnson had apparently come to the U.S. only recently /a 1545; Moberg was from Paxton, Ford Co., Illinois (61, 185) and the others from Princeton, Bureau Co., Illinois (61, 132). These people settled on Salt Creek in what came to be called the Rapp neighborhood, 4 miles west of nascent Osage City. A little over two miles upstream Claus Peterson (1841-1915) and soon A.P. Wolstrom (b. 1841) settled near what was to be the Stotler post office. They were from Michigan /kq 4:157. As matters developed the Rapp neighborhood was largely Lutheran and Stotler was Mission Covenant, and therefore each had

a bit of originality. (Carl Rapp himself was a charter member of the Lutherans, became a Baptist in 1883, and is buried with the Mission people). As was usual in Swedish pioneer communities, the men worked elsewhere while they were paying for their land--Peterson and Walstrom at woodcutting to the south of them. Apparently the Rapp people turned to the railroad, the mines, and stone quarries. During 1870 more families arrived from Princeton, Illinois. They took up their abode in town but in 1874 part of them led by Swan Fager [1835-1915] acquired farms near Peterson and Walstrom /kq 4:158. Two Galesburg families, those of Magnus Lungren (b. 1839) and John Sutherland (1837-1909) and also John Blex (b. 1838, W. Mary, 1838-1907) had come to the same neighborhood the year before. Two rural neighborhoods were thus securely founded and the Swedes took over all the country between Stotler and Osage City. At one time only one "American" family lived along the road.

In Osage City the Swedish population grew fast enough so that in 1870 more than one religious group was meeting. And not all Swedes were religiously inclined; some adopted freedom of mores usual to mine workers. Eventually some even lived in Dog Town instead of on the west side. The Swedes were not content to be merely employees. Very early they appeared in the operating class. In 1875 or thereabouts the Scandinavian Coal and Mining Company was formed. In 1879 its president was John Ogren and its secretary Gust. Johnson named above/ch 79. The latter was also its first superintendent. In that same year 1879, Johnson withdrew to become president and superintendent of the Western Mining Co. /a 1545. According to the Andreas-Cutler history in 1883 the two companies employed respectively 150 and 200 men, the one working four shafts, the other six. At that time the Osage

Carbon Company, which was to remain dominant had a labor force of 600 and worked twelve shafts.

As employees the Swedes began to enter the commercial life of the Community as early as they did the operation of mines. In 1875 A.R. Palmer and John Colstrom (born in Sweden in 1842 and 1856) were butchers, though presumably not entrepreneurs. The Scandinavians had their shares as owners however by 1884. In the Free Press of February 5 appeared advertisements by Silver and Lundeen, tailors, Rosenquist and Engstrom, shawl straps, Buck and Lindgren, clothing and dry goods.

Politically the Swedes could not dominate, but in the area where they lived they elected council members from their own group as soon as Osage City was incorporated as a second class city in 1879. Then the council members from Ward II included John Ogren; in 1883 Ward I had A. Bolander, Ward II Bengt Olson /a 1542. The Romance elements then had no representation at all.

Swedish immigration was at its peak in 1880 and continued with fair strength until 1895 and ended a decade later as is shown by the following table.

Dates of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Sweden
Resident in the Osage City Mining Area in 1925

	Osage City	Grant Twp.	Superior Twp.	Waterloo Twp.
Before 1865	1	1	0	0
1865-1869	18	3	0	5
1870-1874	13	3	2	0
1875-1879	21	6	2	0
1880-1884	46	15	12	5
1885-1889	20	7	11	6
1890-1894	21	6	9	2
1895-1899	4	0	4	0
1900-1906	6	4	8	0
After 1906	<u>0</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	150	45	49	19 <u>263</u>

In spite of the presence of some scoffers and some indifferent persons among the Swedes, their religious life was intense. The Lutheran church was organized in 1870, and in 1874 was strong enough to build in town. Andreas-Cutler said that it had "quite a large membership" /a1542. Ott records its membership as 226 in 1906 /ot265. There were 237 members according to the year book of 1951, but local sources the next year fixed the number at ca. 165. The early long pastorates covered two periods of stress, "C. V. Vestling until 1883," J. A. Holmen (1891-1899), G. A. Ekman 1899 until after 1906 /ot265. Swedish was used exclusively in preaching until Pastor Bomgren came in 1923 and English superseded it for all except special occasions in 1927 during the following pastorate of Ruben Spong. The last New Years service in Swedish was in 1949. In 1952 a prayer group which used Swedish was still meeting. It was made up of widows.

The pietistic element "gamla läsaretypen" (the old reader-types), began meeting in homes in 1870 and in 1873 were organized into a "Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Congregation." The pastor chosen was one of their own number, Carl P. Mellgren (1836-1921). "The congregation had a church in the town of Osage City, where general meetings were held, although no inconsiderable part of the congregation's members lived in the country. Pastor C. P. Mellgren lived about four miles west of town during the first years, but after a few years he moved out to Stotler. And since a great many of the members lived there, they began to hold meetings in the Stotler schoolhouse and in homes. However, it was still just one congregation, which had its central location in Osage City" /sd70. The congregation was prospering nonetheless when about 1880 the debates on the doctrine of atonement began to divide it. Among those who had moved out to Stotler were "some who held fast to the old point of view about atonement, and these with some others began to worship in the country 8 miles from town. The rest who lived in town went on steadily with meetings, not in the church for it was yet not settled who should own the church" /sd159. In 1885 a new "Swedish Christian Mission Congregation" was organized. The breach between country and town was sufficiently healed so that from 1887 to 1889 one minister

served them both. The numbers of the faithful increased. Then came a more amicable separation. In 1892 the church building was sold to the congregation in town and was enlarged. Another was built in the country. Principally because of the number of children who were then growing up the congregations prospered during the hard times of the nineties and on till 1907. Most of the time till 1901 Brother Mellgren continued to serve at Stotler, and from 1889 till 1903 Victor Anderson, another from the congregation's ranks, served in Osage City. In 1907 the debate on atonement began again. The country people split apart and a Luthern church was founded there. The congregation in town "seemed to go down" /sd163. Pastor August Polsen served both groups briefly in 1909, and saved the situation. And calm was restored until the First World War. In 1916 both congregations recorded that they carried on Sunday School in Swedish--Swedish in the pulpit was a matter of course /sd238. But then each church had 30 pupils in Sunday school, whereas in town there had once been 130 pupils /sd163, and in the country in the late nineties activity among the young was lively, and Sunday School attendance very large /sd80.

In the early days at Stotler schooling in Swedish had gone on. Strödda Drag records that in 1874, "The congregation began to operate the Sunday School; school work in the Swedish language was enthusiastic and unremitting among the children and young people of the Swedes." This statement of 1916 evidently speaks of dear days gone by /sd75.

Church services in the country were shifting from Swedish to English in the 1930's. When Marie Agnes Olson published the first of her articles on Stotler in the Emporia Gazette December 25, 1933, she said: "Two services each month are conducted in Swedish and the Sunday School classes for the older folks use this language regularly." When she revised her articles for publication in the Kansas Historical Quarterly in May 1935, she changed this sentence to read: "The Swedish language is still spoken in the churches [Luthern and Mission], but the Swedish services have dwindled in number

so that only one regular service each month is conducted in this language. Swedish is used almost exclusively in the Sunday School classes for the older people" /kq 4:155. Her account of Christmas at church in 1933 says: "These services have thus far been conducted in the Swedish language." In 1935 she mentioned only a Swedish hymn on this occasion. The shift to all English except for hymns was completed by 1937. Occasional singing in Swedish went on for another decade. The Mission church in Osage City followed nearly the same time schedule as that at Stotler in dropping Swedish. There was no English until the late twenties, and before 1942 Swedish had completely disappeared from the services.

Swedish Baptist activity in Osage City stretched from 1879 till 1928. B.A. Rosenquist, born in 1859 in Torsebro in southern Sweden, was the first to arrive. He became active in various capacities in the town, sold shawl-straps in 1884, steamship tickets in 1890, coal in 1891, was postmaster from 1900-1914 and moved away to Enterprise in 1916. He was the first chairman of the Baptist Congregation organized in 1880. C. J. Rapp and his "able, influential, large, gifted family"/lv 40, joined in 1883. There was a rapid succession of pastors with Olaf Nelson preaching between pastorates. Lovene reported that in 1927 the congregation had been dwindling "lately"/lv 40. When the next year it combined with the "Christian" Church, more of the members who did not accept this union transferred to the Mission Church than elsewhere. Throughout the history of the congregation services seem to have been in Swedish.

Concerning the Stotler district school which burned down by 1923 and was not replaced, Miss Olson says: "The Stotler school during those years [the

last one referred to was 1898] was made up almost entirely of Swedish pupils. Much to the displeasure of the teacher the pupils talked Swedish continually on the play ground" /kq 4:162. In other words at the turn of the century Swedish was the primary language in the country community. The situation in Osage City was somewhat different because of the variety of groups attending schools, but even there the schools were so located that children saw few persons at school but those who were of the same linguistic stock.

Though the Osage Stotler Swedes may be regarded as rather a conservative group linguistically, Swedish did not figure prominently in their tombstone inscriptions. At the cemetery near Stotler English inscriptions appear as early as 1880 and Swedish ends with John G. Swedberg's inscription of 1907. His nephew, Claus A. Colstrom (1870-1896) is commemorated on the same stone in English. In the Osage City cemetery, Swedish disappears in 1896.

Although bilingualism came rapidly into being, Swedish was spoken generally in the homes and in social gatherings that included adults until the First World War or a little later; until this time clerks who spoke Swedish were valuable in business. Many children born in 1917 still learned some Swedish.

The family of Nels Youngberg (1880-1964) is typical. He was one of the comparatively late arrivals; he came from Sweden in 1900 and married Esther Hedberg (1884-), born in Kansas, daughter of John Hedberg. The family lived in town until about 1924, and then moved into the Rapp neighborhood. The children were frequently with their grandparents who spoke Swedish exclusively when possible. The oldest, Irvin (born 1912), as a pre-school child usually spoke Swedish, but acquired English at the same time. In the

years following the First World War he spoke only English with other children and about the time that the family moved to the country English became the generally used language of the Swedish group.

In 1942 six college students' answers to a questionnaire showed that the use of Swedish was still continuing. Only one was answered by a Swede, and he reported that Swedish was used only in talking to old people. He probably included everybody above forty as old. The five non-Swedes approximately agreed with him except that one reported Swedish in buying and selling. An interview of the same period agreed except that it emphasized that many originally able to speak were forgetting their Swedish. Childless families of older people even when active in the general population then used Swedish frequently but not exclusively. In 1952 half a dozen families were still using Swedish in the home. In 1962 only one couple born ca. 1885 was still using Swedish habitually there. The congregation of the Mission Covenant Church in Osage City, made up mostly of older people, knew Swedish if born before 1905 but used it usually only for secrecy before those who were not adept. The situation in the Stotler area was very similar.

There were both in town and country Scandinavian families scattered through non-Swedish areas. The immigrants among them were as faithful to their native tongue as other immigrants, but their children early insisted upon using only English to them.

After 1917, especially among these, but in the whole Swedish community too, intermarriage with non-Swedes became so common as to make persistence in Swedish difficult.

47.57 The Welsh. Though as old a stock in Osage City as the Swedes, the Welsh never became as numerous. Nor were they as sharply differentiated from the general population, except when they were miners. The Welsh mining population concentrated at Peterton; there was a Calvinistic Methodist church there in 1882 /wms 235; in 1895 there were 83 born in Wales in the city as against 114 at Peterton. The number of children was nearly equal in each place. In Osage City there was no area of great concentration while at Peterton the Welsh furnished 36% of the total population and in one third of the town they were a majority. The Peterton mines gave out early and the miners moved mostly to Arma in the Pittsburg field.

Besides the Welsh miners, the census of 1870 showed one Welsh farmer, David Evans, born 1829. In 1875 none of the Welsh miners of 1870 resided in town. Besides various newcomers among the miners, the town census of 1875 records the presence of Robert Morris, merchant, born in Wales in 1832 with wife Maria born there the same year with children born in Wisconsin in 1858. There was a daughter born in 1861 in Kansas, elsewhere of course, presumably in Emporia or Lawrence. The Welsh continued to enter into the business life of Osage City, and in 1872 among the officers of the town as a "third class city" appear the names of Williams, Matthews, and Jenkins. To be sure, though the time did come when E. J. Morgan was mayor for more than one term, Welsh names do not figure in the list of city officials in 1883 /a 1542, where indubitable English names are in a majority such as to indicate that "Yankees" had seized the reins. At that time, however, the Andreas Cutler history records the presence of two churches, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist (25 members) and the Welsh Congregational (18 members). The Calvinists

were organized in 1877 /wms 242.

The influx of Welsh who remained permanently at Osage City, was of short duration ending in the early 1880's as the following table shows:

Dates of Arrival in the United States of persons born in Wales
resident in the Osage City Mining area in 1925

	Osage City	Grant Twp	Superior Twp
before 1868	1		
1868-1871	7	4	8
1872-1879	0	0	0
1880-1885	8	4	11
1886-1888	2	1	3

The Welsh in Osage City were from both North and South Wales, but there were more from the south because at Osage City miners could continue with their old occupation. For that reason too, many came directly from Wales to Kansas without sojourns in other states.

Besides the Welsh churches mentioned above including the one at Peter-ton there was also a rural church, the Panteg congregation, eight miles southeast of Osage City (church until ca. 1895). The most enduring of these churches was the Calvinistic Methodist in the city. It endured until about 1902, and there was Welsh preaching and a Sunday school class in Welsh until the end. The rather long pastorates of the Rev. J.P. Thomas and the Rev. Mr. Mason helped preserve it. Another Welsh institution that flourished briefly was the Eisteddfod, poetic, musical, and oratorical contests. They were held in the 1880's and the early 1890's. Similar occasions gave rise to Welsh visits to settlements of the same nationality in Arvonnia and Emporia.

Among those Welshmen who stood firmly by their background and loyally

remained in Osage City may be cited John Wynn, Thos. R. Jones, John Prosser, Enoch James, and T. B. Edwards. John Prosser (1854-1943) and his family may be considered as a typical case. He and his wife Elenor (1855-1929) were natives of Cwmmystwyth near Aberystwyth in Cardiganshire on the west coast of Wales. After their marriage, John came directly from there to Osage City in 1880 and his wife followed in 1881. Immediately they began to rear a family. John did not become a miner; he was a livestock dealer, then a butcher and dealer in livestock; his son J. T. helped him carry on the business. All the children of John and Elenor but the youngest daughter, born in 1894, learned to speak and understand Welsh. One son, Francis H., born in 1889, was the best known Welshman in Osage City in the middle decades of the twentieth century. He served the community as a dentist. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he learned Welsh as a child, but he also knew English before going to school. He married Grace Edna Prosser, a member of a Welsh family that migrated early from Ohio to Colorado. John and Francis Prosser were participants in and continuators of the tradition of the Eisteddfod. John directed a choir that met alternately in Peterton and Osage City. Half the choir walked three miles for each rehearsal. Francis spent at least fifty years in the same choir, singing and directing.

As already indicated, many Welsh did not remain as long at Osage City as these families, but the connections of those who moved away with Osage City were not always severed, since many of them had brought their families up there and their children had established ties there. Not infrequently a marriage with some one of different stock, Scandinavian, Irish, etc. occurred. (There was almost an Irish settlement in north Osage City and beyond.) The mining Welsh immigrants had much the same attitude toward the English language

in America as in Wales; it was an intruder on their culture to be fiercely resisted except in communicating with those unblessed with Welsh. There were even a few who could not speak English. They continued to use their language where possible, then, until death. Such cases continued to exist until the time of the Second World War. The children of these miners on the other hand tended to be less faithful to Welsh than most second generations. They were thrown too early into general American life. The non-mining Welsh element, mixed from the beginning into the general population, resisted English less, but produced among the children of immigrants certain enthusiasts who did their best to preserve the Welsh heritage, including its language. In 1955 several of these persistent speakers were generally known, and the greatest enthusiast, Dr. Prosser, the dentist, in 1962 still found six to ten persons with whom he could converse, but only one was fluent.

- 47.58 The French and Italians. J. Turpaut or Turpinat, born in France in 1841, is reported to be the first Frenchman in Osage City. He arrived about 1875, and was then a miner and the master of a house in which lived with him S., an 18 year-old girl bearing his name, and six miners, she and they all born in France.*

*The name appears as Turco in the census of 1875, but inasmuch as this would be a strange French name and various Turpauts appear later in various censuses the identity seems sure. The same people were called Turpaut and Turpinat according to informants in Osage City.

Turpinat wrote of the opportunities at Osage City to families from France unhappily working at mines near Pictou and Stellarton on the north coast of Nova Scotia. The Turpauts who were there did not come on to Osage City for several years, but in 1877 a French family who had been in Nova Scotia for about a year left there for Kansas. These were the Papons; Pierre Papon (b. 1813) and Guillaume Papon (b. 1844) appear in the census of 1880. Other Papons are named in later censuses. Pierre had a daughter Marie (b. 1849) who married Irénée Grandmoujin (b. 1844) and a daughter Françoise (b. 1856) who married Ernest Malapert (b. 1850). Their names with those of their children are also recorded in the census of 1880. They came on from Nova Scotia a little later than their Papon relatives. These families became permanent at Osage City and the Malaperts and Grandmoujins emerged from the mining class so that the loss of prosperity in the coal fields did not carry them away from the towns. They became landowners and, near the beginning of the twentieth century, part of the business world of Osage City. None of the three Malapert girls married Frenchmen. None of the seven children of Irénée Grandmoujin reproduced; three never married, three had non-French spouses, and these six "drifted down to El Paso since the time of the First World War" /H 16. The oldest Aline, born 1871, was much more determinedly French. She had two French husbands, Christian Bieri, b. 1862, a baker, and after his death ca. 1917, a Mr. Raynaud, a farmer (perhaps Séraphim, b. 1866, who was a miner unmarried in 1905). About 1905 she became the successor to the

Lehman Brothers in their Department Store; she had begun to work there as a French-speaking clerk about 1895. She sold the story about 1910 and was visiting in France when the war broke out in 1914.

The families so far discussed were in the main from an area in France that contributed little more population to Osage City. The Department of the Creuse, home of the Malaperts and the Department of the Dordogne, whence came the Papons, are on the western edge of France's Massif Central, hill country at the beginning of France's south, back from the Atlantic coast. Most of the population came from much farther east but nearly always from hill country. The Grandmoujins originated in the Jura against the Swiss border, the Bourgères another early family were from Lorraine.

The mining prosperity of the 1880's brought in a much larger number of French. The number of French in the Osage City Mining Area as recorded by Harry Hughes is as follows:

Persons Born in French Speaking Areas Resident in Osage City and
Superior Township

1870 -	11
1875 -	13
1880 -	83
1885 -	242
1895 -	290
1905 -	196
1915 -	190
1925 -	117

Among the families arriving in the 1880's two which continued to have members at Osage City deep into the twentieth century are those of Pierre Martin (1849-after 1925) who arrived in the U. S. in 1884, and was in Osage City for the census taking of 1885 and Francois Parre, b. 1854, who came in 1885. Didier and Parre operated the last mine at Osage City. The Didiers were later comers. Pierre Martin's son James (1877 - ca. 1949) was a miner in his youth and later a peace officer. Like the Didiers another Martin, Désiré, b. 1874, "no relation," arrived in the early years of the 20th century; his widow, Marie Borel, born 1881, was in 1962 the only surviving person who used French exclusively at Osage City.

During the period of decline in Osage City coal production Armand Vigneron, b. 1870 near Belfort in the east of France, was recognized as the man who could deliver the French vote and as a beneficent force among the French people. He was through his mother a nephew of Irénée Grandmoujin, but he came first in 1888 from France to Concordia, where another uncle, Joseph Grandmoujin, had established himself in the French colony there. Discouraged presumably by depressed conditions there, he moved rather soon to Osage City,* and in 1893 married Marie Combe, b. 1874. Marie with her

*Connelley says he came to Osage City in 1882, but other sources disagree /co 3, 1614.

parents Victor and Mary represented a group that was numerous at Osage City, people that had come from the departments of the Ardèche and the Gard along the Rhone River, where there are coal fields generally known by the name of the town of Alès. Strikes and economic depression marked this area about 1890.* The Combes like several other families from that region came from

*Commercial Agent Coleman, reporting as a consul in 1886 from St. Etienne in a neighboring coal area said: "The main cause of emigration is that the manufactures of silk, iron, and firearms, and the mining of coal do not afford employment to the population...[These men] would gladly emigrate to the United States if they had the means" /EI 73.

the village of Bessèges on the frontier of the two departments. The number of people from this area is such that the type of French spoken at Osage City resembles closely that of this méridional community. Armand is listed as a miner in 1895 but in 1903 he took over a restaurant from his Grandmoujin

relatives. Frenchmen had begun to appear in the business world rather early. The Ledoux Brothers had a bakery in 1882, the Grandmoujins a dressmaking establishment in 1886, and A. Larock was a blacksmith. When the economy began to tighten up as coal production diminished, the French took advantage of the opportunities offered for acquiring businesses by the departure of the Jews and Yankees who fled to greener pastures. We saw the movement in the case of Aline Grandmoujin Bieri. We see it again in the case of Armand Vigneron. In the census of 1915 he is set down as a hotel keeper. The hotel which his son Marcel, b. 1895, was still running in 1962 is called Armand's. From the beginning it was a family affair. Marie Combe Vigneron developed with the years. She learned to speak English when she was fifty, and was the hotel's manager to the end. The hospitality that her husband could offer in the restaurant advanced his political influence. He served his fellow Frenchmen by finding jobs and residences for them, by helping them out of financial and legal scrapes, and by acting as their interpreter and agent in dealing with the authorities. Most of the French immigrants before the First World War acquired only a limited vocabulary and little experience in affairs. Armand's services were invaluable, but they did not promote the use of English, since others did not need to speak. Not Armand, but his brother Eugène, eventually contributed much to the reduction in size of the French colony at Osage City by finding jobs for its members in the Santa Fe shops at Topeka during the First World War.

For the French who were left in Osage City after the crisis of 1897 and 1898 the period of economic stress from 1906 to 1908 seems to have been at least as great as that at the end of the century. April 5, 1906, the

Osage City Free Press recorded that 500 miners were on strike; May 3 it reported 150 still idle, 75 back at work, and the rest gone to find work elsewhere. The panic of 1907 seems to have aggravated the situation. Certain late arriving immigrants have been mentioned already. The losses in 1906-8 were in part compensated by the arrival of others. The following table shows they were not exceptional.

Dates of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in France
(or Belgium) resident in the Osage City Mining Area in 1925

	Osage City	Superior Twp.
Before 1881	4	4
1881-1889	13	6
1890-1893	11	8
1894-1902	2	0
1903-1911	10	1

Engl-izing among the French, in spite of the number of late arrivals, proceeded quite rapidly. This phenomenon is partly to be explained by the fact that the French had no cultural institutions except the celebration of Bastille day, July 14. The tempestuous character of these celebrations kept timid and temperate people away, and they lapsed about the time of the First World War. Religion furnished no rallying point. The number of the French hostile or indifferent to Catholicism was great, and several pastors were unhappily chosen as regards ability to work with them. Still, some effort was made. In 1906 there was a sermon or two in French. But in any case there could not be much emphasis on French because of the varied national character of the parish.

The developments of the World War and of the late 1890's which reduced the French community very greatly in size hastened its linguistic development. To the 19th century situation in which French Town was an entity in itself, where French was a language consistently heard except from school children, succeeded a period in which French Town was accessible to everyone. In the early years of this new period visitors still heard French in this area, but the boys and girls who were growing up used English to each other, though they knew French. Very, very few of the French boys and girls married into other French families. Few of their spouses bore names indicating they had come of Colonial American stock, but Swedish, Irish, Scotch and German names abounded (Larson, Johnson, Thompson, Curley, O'Meha, Hatch, Graham, Lawless, Sutherland, Snyder, Schibuhr, Haber). In this environment French perished quickly so that none of the third generation was even exposed to it unless a grandparent or a great grandparent was living in the house. Such cases existed. Leona Vigneron Larson, Armand's daughter, had married "Ben" the son of John Larson (1847-1903) who came to Osage City from Sweden in 1883 /ik 678. She took care of her grandmother Combe into the 1940's, so that her children heard French and acquired a few words.

Though the younger generation gave up its French with almost no transitional stage, the immigrants, and there were many late comers, unless thrown into business, were quite conservative. The type of person who abandons his native tongue easily also abandoned Osage City early, and in 1942 it was not difficult to find speakers of French. In 1948 Harry Hughes wrote: "There are no more than half a dozen families there who use the language regularly among themselves, and probably not more than two or three who use

it exclusively in the home"/H 38. In 1962 we noted above that Mrs. Désiré Martin was the last to know practically no English. Her daughter, Mrs. Curley, naturally kept French up so as to talk to her mother, but otherwise the second generation has well nigh forgotten it. There were then a few immigrants, who had arrived as children, still able to speak French, but their ordinary tongue was English.

The Italians (except for a few Mexicans) were the latest of the for-ling groups to arrive and the ones who left in the greatest numbers when times grew bad in mining.

No Italians appear there in the censuses of 1870 and 1875. In 1880 there were 17. We have seen that from 154 in 1885 and 376 in 1895 the number of foreign-born Italians in town sank to 88 in 1905. It stood at 45 in 1925; there were then 8 more in Superior township and three in Grant.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Italy
Resident in the Osage City Mining Area in 1925

1880-1884	14
1885-1895	34
1896-1917	4

(four did not record the year of their arrival)

Among the Italians appearing in the 1880 census are:

Emilio Balocca b. 1860
Pietro Marchetti b. 1862
Secondo Scribante b. 1852
Vincenzo Tonetti b. 1862
all single men and, as we shall see, Piedmontese;
there were also two married Rosetta couples
Battista b. 1841, and Giovanna, b. 1841
Francesco b. 1844, and Teresa, b. 1846
and a number of Rosetta children

These pioneers, the only ones who appear also in the census of 1885, were the first members of families that became part of Osage City's permanent population. They were miners at the time, and most of the members of their families remained so, as long as mining was prosperous. All Italians in 1885 were miners except Secondo Scribante. He, however, gave his profession then as painter. In 1890 he advertised as the proprietor of the Miners' Grocery Store and Steamship Agency, and he continued to be a merchant. He was already married in 1880, it seems, for in 1885, his wife Virginia, b. 1857, was with him and a six-year-old daughter born in France. He, himself, had come from Switzerland to the United States, and his wife went back to Piedmont where a child, Seconda, was born to her. This child she left with her mother-in-law when she came on to join her husband. The Rosettas, originally from Brusnengo, also appear to have resided in France; at least the census of 1895 records that Joe Rosetta, 32 years old, was born in France.*

*This Joe may be identical with Joe the son of Battista and Giovanna recorded in 1880 as 15 years old, 20 in 1885. Age inaccuracies are not uncommon in the census.

French informants in Osage City reported that they had on arrival in the U.S. a low opinion of Italian immigrants because they had known them as railroad track workers in France. It seems likely, despite this opinion, that the Piedmontese reached Osage City through French acquaintances already there.*

*Consul Frank Mason, consul at Marseilles in 1886, reported: "The most

notable reaction has been against the foreign laborers -- notably Italians -- whose presence overcrowds the diminished labor market. There are in this city 54,000 Italians... In several parts of this district there have been sharp protests, attended in some instances by violence, against the Piedmontese, who swarm across the frontier and seek employment in mines and tanneries and upon public works... The Italian laborer is quite as industrious and even more economical than the Frenchman" /EI 72.

One of the early Italians in Osage City was Emilio Gamba (1866-1947), who wrote his autobiography after he had spent 55 years in the town. He was born in Lombardy about 30 miles northeast of Milan at Villa d'Alma, not far from Bergamo. He belonged to a family connected with the silk industry which fell upon hard times when the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 temporarily destroyed the Paris market, and which was therefore in 1881 ripe for emigration propaganda. "In 1881 there were large advertisements all through northern Italy, calling for all classes of people to go to the United States of America. I remember reading a pamphlet in the Italian Language. It spoke of a healthful climate and of higher wages... articles four times cheaper than... in Italy. Later an agent came... trying to get people of all classes to go to Texas to build a railroad, for Count Telfener. From our community over 500 went" /G8. Among them were Emilio, or as he came to spell it Emile, and his father John (1841-1918). An epidemic drove them and a carpenter friend from Texas to Kansas and to Osage City where there were Piedmontese, though no others from Lombardy, it seems. (The carpenter presumably came from Piedmont.) John Gamba and his son became coal miners. In 1886 John sent his son back to Italy to try to persuade his wife, Angela

(1844-1918), and the rest of the family to return with Emile. But Angela loved Lombardy too much, and waited till 1893 to come with two more sons and a daughter. Instead of bringing her, at the request of Secondo Scribante, Emile stopped in Piedmont at Brusnengo to become the squire of Scribante's mother and of five-year-old Seconda Scribante on the trip back to Kansas. There he found Pietro Marchetti whom we have seen in Osage City in 1880 and 1885. (Emile's daughter was to marry a Marchetti in Osage City.) John Balloca who had Emilio and other sons in Osage City also looked him up and invited him to dinner. While at Brusnengo Emile "went to Masserano where they had a market day and we visited many more houses of friends of American boys"/G 17. It was at the dinner at Balocca's that Emile met Malvina Balocca, who in 1887 came to Osage City and wedded Emile. Her brother, Secondo, brought her back with him when, because "there were few women and girls in a mining town, he decided to go to Italy and find himself a wife" /G 19. John Gamba had acquired a small house soon after his arrival. "In the spring of 1889, we built an extension to our house consisting of dining room and kitchen, and large sleeping room for boarders. As soon as it was finished, four young men came to live with us, and so we were progressing with a happy home" /G 23. Census records show that this "happy home" with boarders was parallel to many others in Osage City; compare the Turpaud house in 1875 cited above for the French. In this way linguistic groups remained intact.

Among Italian miners Emile Gamba and his father were remarkable by their readiness to take to gardening. Emile also worked on farms in the summer during the early years and then he was a successful hunter. Therefore, when in 1890 he recovered from an attack of sciatica and was forbidden

the mines, he shifted to new employment without too much difficulty. He worked in Scribante's store a short time, but he soon acquired a meat wagon.*

*About this time Eusebio Balocca too, became a merchant (census 1895).

"My only competitor was an Englishman, he spoke only the one language and most of the miners were Italian, French or Swede. While working in the grocery store I had learned the English fairly well [a decade after reaching Texas] and since I knew the Italian and a little French I had the advantage of my competitor" /G 25. The business grew; Emile's brothers Jerome and John joined the firm, and it prospered to the point of having a wholesale business. Jerome's sons in 1962 were still operating Gamba Brothers Market. Emile's integration with the general community began early. His father was something of a musician and played in the opera house when shows came to town. "In the spring of 1884 a Belgian musician started a band and I began to study music under Mr. Vialle. He bought me a cornet and in the fall we played pretty well. It was a political year and we made many appearances" /G 14. The Osage City Free Press of 1886 referred to the "Italian-Belgian" brassband. In May, 1887, it played for a picnic on the Marais des Cygnes River. "After the concert the older ladies went off to prepare the lunch and the men to take care of the keg beer. Some of the girls came over and asked me and some of the band boys to go for a boat ride. We went up the river singing... The girls got excited watching a beautiful red bird and the boat turned over... The two girls remained under the water. I found the long tresses of one of them and dragged her to the bank and one of the other boys grabbed the other girl... This girl whose life I saved is Aline Grandmoujin

now Aline Reynaud... a friend of a life time" /G 21. Aline was then 16, Emile 21. The French girl and the Italian boy were both to become prominent in the community. Emile was for instance president of the Chamber of Commerce for three years.

The social status achieved by these two was exceptional for Romance immigrants. Italians particularly were kept at a distance. But in the early days it caused them no great suffering. They lived a happy life. And Emile Gamba, though early well received in Osage City, remained loyally Italian.

"Each Sunday after dinner the families had a reunion. We met in one of the neighbors' yards and the ladies brought cake and the men furnished beer. We used to have a jolly time playing ball, singing and occasionally we had the band out and had a dance. In those days things were simpler, people formed more friendships and lived in a more neighborly way than they do now. These gatherings kept everyone united and in time of sickness or misfortune all were ready to lend a helping hand.

"At one of our Sunday meetings we decided to start an Italian fraternal Society which would protect the members in time of sickness and pay funeral expenses. In time of sickness each member was to be paid six dollars a week, for an injured limb or eye fifty dollars and best of all if a member took sick the brother members were to take turns taking care of him. The dues were fifty cents a month. In a short time we saved enough money to build a hall. This society lasted for thirty-five years and paid out thousands of dollars to its members. Every year we had a grand picnic, we celebrated a feast in May and the twentieth of September was celebrated with a banquet and dance." The hall was the scene of Saturday night meetings until one Saturday night it burned down.

The diminishment of the Italian population as the prosperity of the

mines decreased largely took the form of departures for the coal fields at Lexington, Missouri, and especially to Arma in the Pittsburg area. The Santa Fe Shops also took a number in 1918.

To a greater extent than for the French the life of the Italians at Osage City was bound up with the Catholic church. St. Patrick's parish came into being almost as soon as the town was founded. By 1873 there was a church building, according to the Rev. Aloysius Portelance's parish history /lp, and he says the first resident priest came soon, but he departed in 1883. For a number of years pastors changed rapidly (four with Irish names), and then from 1887 to 1895 Father Matthew D. Cavanaugh served; at the end of his stay St. Patrick's had 75 families. Father Cavanaugh loved his people, but he served all the Osage coal fields and is buried at Scranton. After his departure the church did not prosper for a year. And then the Rev. Eugene Bononcini was appointed and "revived the life of the church especially among his fellow Italians." Father Bononcini (1835-1907) had been in the diocese since 1866 and had worked with miners in the Pittsburg field. But he stayed at Osage City only until the next year when diocese boundaries were remade. Then for five years Osage City had a priest with a German name, the Rev. Aem. Scherrer, who was still serving the whole coal field.

In 1906 the Rev. F. C. Elast undertook mission services when he was appointed. A French sermon was supposed to attract Italians as well as French. His church and rectory burned in 1908 and he disagreed with his parishioners as to whether the new church or the new rectory should be built next to the street intersection. He left in 1909 and was succeeded by Owen E. Degan who remained until 1918. This

Irishman got along well with his polyglot parishioners, at least with Emile Gamba, and so did his successor Joseph Jacobs, who preached an Italian sermon at the funeral of Emile's mother in the early days of his pastorate. Father O'Connor was serving in 1925. Father Portelance (1898-1947) served twelve years from about 1931 until about 1943. He was of French Canadian extraction, and was too violent of tongue and anxious for money to be popular. He began by pitting himself against Emile Gamba over a matter of selling part of the cemetery for a highway. He lost, but by 1937 he had no difficulty in persuading Emile that the expense of a solemn high mass should not stand in the way of a golden wedding celebration. Many other parishioners were less amenable to his persuasion. But his long pastorate indicates more success than the town will give him credit for. His parish history states emphatically that Saint Patrick's is the most cosmopolitan parish in the diocese. Besides Americans, he says, there were French, Irish, and Italians, and Germans, Belgians, and Mexicans. By his time, however, the language question was of minor consequence. We need follow the parish's history no longer except to say that in latter years it has tended to prosper. Anti-clericalism among the French and Italians was still existent in 1948, but the young were little touched by it, and by 1961 the parish was of rather a normal character (pastor in 1948 C.M. Brink, in 1961 R. A. Burger). Perhaps the force most effective in bringing the Church and the Italians together was the Klu Klux Klan. The same individual was attacked for his religion and his Italian origins both, and he came to feel an identity between the two things. The Ku Kluxers were violent at Osage City. There was a small riot, and some young Italians were sentenced. In early days anti-clericalism did exist among the Italians particularly among the Piedmontese majority. (South Italians never settled at Osage City.) The church, therefore, could not then have any important linguistic influence, but such as it was, in spite of the efforts noted for 1896, 1906 and 1918, it was an anglicizing force. English was the necessary lingua franca of the conglomerate parish. As the language of record Italian was never important in Osage City. The last Italian inscription is of the year 1909; it illustrates one of

the reasons foreign languages disappear from tombstones. The engraver could not read the words set down for him to cut into the stone; he replaced "moglie" (wife) by "inuglia." Others are of 1907 and 1893 and that is all.

Italians, we have already seen, were as a group regarded in the late nineteenth century as lowest in the Osage City caste system. Linguistically such a situation may have either conservative or an Engl-izing influence, conservative among those sealed into their group, Engl-izing among those who escape or wish to escape. A case of the latter sort existed in the Mussatto family. Martin Mussatto, born in Italy in 1855, and his wife Mary appear childless in the 1885 census. In 1895 they had four children, John, Edda, Joseph, and Mary, aged 7, 5, 3, and 1 years respectively. Edda learned Italian, but was so well accepted that she married a Swede, John Fellman, and lived on at Osage City. The boys ultimately conducted a wholesale beer business there but Victor (after 1895-1944) did not live where his business was. Insensed by the town's attitude toward Italians, he lived in Burlingame. Because he felt a stigma attached to it he also refused to learn Italian. His was not the usual situation for a person born of Italian parents in the 1890's. Even children born about 1915 usually knew Italian.

This condition obtained especially in the families of late comers. Of these the family of Peter Saviano is an example. "Pete" was born in 1881 in Pizzoni in the area of Campobasso, in the southern Abruzzi about a hundred miles southeast of Rome. He emigrated to Ohio in 1901 and came on to Osage City in 1902. Mining did not attract him and he went to work on the tracks for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Soon he became foreman of a section gang. He retired in 1953 and died in 1958. Shortly after his arrival, he married Emma Rosetta, born in Osage City, daughter of Emil, b. 1860 and

Emelia Balocca Rosetta from Brusnengo. Emil was a son of Battista who appeared in the 1880 census. To the marriage of Pete and Emma were born Emil (b. 1906), Lucille (b. 1911) and Eugene (b. 1913). In 1914 two months after Eugene's birth, Emma Savaiano died. Pete remained a widower until, late in 1917, Geroma di Beneditto (b. 1891) came from Pizzoni to wed him. She bore Edward (1918) and Pauline (1922). Eugene* became a professor of languages

*B.S., M.S., Emporia State College, 1936, 1937; Ph. D., University of Chicago, 1948. Chairman, Department of Spanish, University of Wichita, 1946-1967; Chairman, Department of Romance Languages, 1967--.

and, thus, an admirable witness to linguistic habits in Osage City. He lived with the Rosettas until he was six years old, then with his father and Geroma. He said in 1962: "We all learned Italian, mostly because of the stepmother. We children spoke Italian, such as it was, in the home until we left home. My stepmother never learned to speak English well." He indicated that conditions were similar in other families, and said further: "I lived in 'Dog Town' as a child, and we were a mixture of French and Italians out there, so much so that our language got mixed... We used feu for 'fire' in Italian, and I never heard fuoco till I studied the language out of a book... Our parents were slow to learn English, and I can remember all our family gatherings being conducted in Italian. Most of us married non-Italians, and consequently the second generation speaks English in the family. My aunts and uncles, like my brothers and sister, can all make themselves understood in Italian even today." In the Savaiano family then, growing children were using Italian until after 1930.

Not infrequently children of the next generation who were growing up in the 1920's learned to understand. Indeed two non-Italian informants of 1942 maintained that the Italians used their language habitually in the family and in small social groups. Their testimony could not then apply to homes where there were growing children; to be sure there were then few such homes among those of Italian blood because the Italian population was so reduced. By 1962 no one under fifty was able to speak Italian and no one used it in the home except, in part, one of the Baloccas.

For Osage City in general the use of foreign language was restricted to certain homes by 1942, and by 1962 it had practically disappeared.

LINN-PALMER GERMANS (Hi-a, Washington H)

Special Bibliog.: P - Keller, J.G.B. Goldenes Jubiläum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen S. Johannes-Gemeinde zu Palmer, Kansas. Linn, 1928

L - Karstensen, K. Golden Jubilee History of the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church of Linn, Kansas. Linn, 1937

S - Stolp, P. Goldenes Jubiläum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Emanuels-Gemeinde (Strawberry Township) bei Linn, Kansas. Linn, 1932

47.59 General History. The Linn-Palmer Germans finally occupied, except for the corners farthest from Palmer, four townships, Sheridan, Strawberry, Linn, Sherman. They have spread from two foci, still of importance, that were established in 1872. One is in Strawberry Township just below its middle. The area around this focus is hereafter called Strawberry. The other focus is in Sherman Township near the site of the present St. John's Lutheran Church; the area about it is here called Southeast Palmer. By 1887 the vicinity of the town of Linn contained many Germans of this group, and while most of them lived to the south and to the west, Linn, itself, may be regarded as the focus.

In this area in 1895, paring the data presented in Vol. I for peripheral groups, there were 800 foreign-born Germans and children residing with them. Most of the foreign born had arrived by 1885. In 1895 the Strawberry focus was the point most thickly settled by Germans. The fourth of the township's total population surrounding it were nearly all speakers of German. In the most heavily German areas of Linn and Sherman Townships where, respectively, a fourth and a third of the population lived, the speakers of German were a majority, but not a heavy majority, of the population.

As most of these Germans have been Lutherans, predominantly of the Missouri Synod, the data on the membership of the three Missouri and one American Lutheran churches in the district closely corresponds to the census data for the speakers of German.

Number of Souls in Lutheran Congregations

1950 Congregation	1884	1890	1895	1900	1906	1910	1916
343 Immanuel--Mo.(Strawb.)	140	278	198	219	232	300	300
379 St. John--Mo.(Palmer)	230	220	280	280	240	302	367
386 Zion--Mo. (Linn)	---	143	201	212	172	226	241
1108 Total Mo. (Linn org. '87)	370	641	679	711	644	828	908
Palmer American Luth. (org. '92)	---	---	<u>160</u>				
			839				

During the period 1900 to 1906, when the churches showed a decrease in the number of souls, the voting membership (adult males) increased very slightly 108 to 120. The decrease in the number of souls was probably caused by newly established households going elsewhere at that time to seek their fortunes.

In 1870 H. C. Meyer filed on a claim near Palmer. He was the first of those settlers from the Luneburg Heath region of Hanover Province, Germany, who were later to dominate the district. In 1872 the two foci, Southeast Palmer and Strawberry, each received a further small contingent. In a few years all the land had been homesteaded, but the Central Branch Railroad (later Missouri Pacific) was not to put its line through until 1877-8. There were five or six other Germans either already in the district or destined to arrive in the next decade before the Luneburgers had become numerous. They had no unity, however, and have left little imprint upon the community.

William (1838-1909) and Chris (1848-1921) Hornbostel, brothers, came from Mühden in the Luneburg district to Concordia, Mo., in 1871. The next spring they set out without benefit of railroad to spy out Kansas as a country for settlement. They chose Washington County rather than Sedgwick County because the long bluestem grass that they found there seemed better than the short grass around Wichita; it was nearer to what they were used to regarding as ideal. William traded a span of oxen and a wagon to a homesteader for eighty acres three miles east of the Southeast Palmer focus, and the settlement was initiated. At nearly the same time, D. C. Meyer (1848-1927), H. C. Meier (1841-1929), and Peter Meier, arrived by way of Kankakee, Illinois, from the same identical region in Germany and settled near the southeast focus. That spring, too, three Luneburgers, friends of the Meyers and the Hornbostels, each christened Henry--Herrs (1842-1924), Kohlmeyer (1835-1902), Schroeder (1824-1885)-- came out from Crete, Ill. (61-135) and settled at the Strawberry focus. The homesteader who gave way to Herrs sold his rights for twenty dollars. Such expenditures completely exhausted the property resources of the Luneburgers; they were very poor. Wm Hornbostel traded shaves and haircuts to the storekeeper for salt, cornmeal, and coffee; Herrs traded two days of his own labor for one day's use of oxen to break his land. For seven or eight years their numbers hardly increased, though Henry Gabbert (1849-1914) came soon.

47.60 Religious History. But they laid the foundations for their religious life. At Christmas time 1873 the three Strawberry Henrys and William Hornbostel scraped together enough money to rent a team from a Yankee, and journeyed

nearly thirty air miles to Marysville in search of a German Lutheran pastor. There they found only a "uniierter" (Evangelical) celebrating the services of Christmas Eve, but the preacher whom they scorned reluctantly directed them to the church at Bremen (Immanuel, "Hermannsberg"). They set out at once for another ten or twelve miles of winter driving, and thus that Christmas Eve discovered not only the pastor and manner of worship which they sought, but also another community from their part of Hanover. Pastor Matthias journeyed down the next May to Peach Creek, shrived the colonists, and baptized their children, and Pastor Pfeifer, his successor, repeated the visit from time to time for a stipend of thirty-five cents per trip.

Then in 1878 Pastor F.J. Theo. Jungck bought land just south of the southeast focus, and St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized. Pastor Jungck (1821-1895) played so great and so typical a part in organizing congregations for the Missouri Synod that he deserves special notice. In 1878 he had withdrawn from the ministry on account of his health, and was living in Cape Girardeau, Mo., when correspondence in the church paper apprised him that Germans at Palmer, too poor to pay a minister's keep, were in crying need of a pastor. He made inquiries, and finding that good land could be bought cheaply, he purchased a quarter on section 29 and established his family there to till the soil. His health improved and he became St. John's preacher, then when Immanuel set up its church, he served it until it could afford a pastor. After 1884 when both his parishes were otherwise provided for, though his health was again beginning to fail, he turned his attention to the needs of Germans to the east and organized congregations at Chepstow and Winkler (officially organized 1883 and 1884).

166

He was becoming so afflicted with the weakness of age that he had to be lifted off and on his horse, and in snowstorms it was the animal's sagacity, not any direction he could give it, that brought them from Palmer to Chepstow. Thus he served till 1888. Then he had to give up and go live with his children at Linn, where he is buried in Zion's cemetery with Franziska his wife, 1833-1916.

The first signers of St. John's constitution were the men already mentioned as settling at both foci (less Chris Hornbostel). In 1884 Pastor J.G.B. Keller arrived; he was to serve the congregation for fifty years. For the people from Strawberry the ten-mile walk, though in fine weather an outing in itself, was not long satisfactory. A new influx of settlers increased their numbers, and in 1881 Pastor Jungck began coming to them once every three weeks; then in 1882 Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized.

Toward 1880 settlement began in earnest. In that year seven ox-drawn wagons full of goods and followed by settlers arrived from Concordia, Mo. A little later others came, some from the same place, some from Concordia's mother settlement around Cole Camp, Mo., others from Chicago and Worden, Ill., and that neighborhood (60-100), and Germany began contributing directly. In the spring of 1882 a whole carload of settlers from overseas, they too mostly Luneburgers, was discharged from an immigrant train that stopped at Palmer--some 42 persons. The main immigration from the old country, though not all of it, took place in the 1880's. Arrivals of Germans who had lived a while in other states-- and departures to those states-- went on at rather a lively pace at least until 1910, at a much slower pace afterward. Indiana (by way of the Block settlement near Paola, Kans.), Wisconsin and Nebraska

did their share as way stations for the Hanoverian immigrants; Iowa seems, on the other hand, to have had little part in Palmer colonization. In Kansas, especially the counties at the eastern end of the northern tier, Brown and Nemaha, also made contributions of personnel.

The early newcomers had no money with which to buy farms, and they distributed themselves over the territory, working for others until they had acquired a little capital that would allow them to take advantage of opportunities for purchase brought by the bad years or the desire to try out newly opened Oklahoma. Eventually real estate titles were acquired. Departures of "Yankees" for the opening of the Cherokee Strip and of the French emigrating to Alberta gave particularly marked opportunities. As time went on, families tended to take over the farms in the neighborhood of the original "home places", and fill in the interstices in German possession. A few families gave off more distant shoots, but in general growth along the edges of German holdings was carried on by families near the border. Thus the members of the Linn section of the group are derived mostly from families that settled originally in that neighborhood, the oldest ones located so that they could not too inconveniently attend the Strawberry or Southeast Palmer churches. Consequently, there are in the Linn neighborhood more families that first came in after the turn of the century, though there are late arriving families in the other sections (Rogge, Schaaf, for example, each arriving 1907; to be sure, they settled near the southwestern frontier).

Of course, this process of growth of the German community meant the displacement of the other landholders. The "Yankees" gave way with the greatest ease. The French did not yield ground easily, but they finally vacated almost everything. The Danes yielded less, but their landholdings shrank, and dis-

appeared completely at their original focus, which was very near the Strawberry German focus.

Returning to the churches, at Strawberry, Immanuel's membership reports for 1884 and 1890 show that it was prospering. In 1884 it received its first regular pastor, A. Alexander; in 1888 came E. A. Frese, who was to remain for twenty-one years. His successor, P. Stolp, who came in 1910, remained till 1944. The stability that these long pastorates indicate did not exist in the first years; the origins of the congregation in the United States were too diverse. Pastor Frese was scandalized by Sunday afternoon dancing among the younger members of the congregation. He reproved them vigorously from the pulpit, and provoked open rebellion. A part of his membership, by no means made up entirely of young people, for the leader was the President of the Congregation /S, separated from him in 1892 to set up a congregation in the Ohio Synod (now American Lutheran) inside the village of Palmer. Pastor Keller says, less specifically than Stolp, that the cause of the Spaltung was a doctrinal dispute, "Lehrstreit." Dancing was evidently rather a kindling, than a fundamental cause of disruption. Keller at St. John's, though a comparatively minor sufferer from the schism, lost more members than in the first hours he had expected to lose. The new church, though never so strong as its neighbors of the Missouri Synod, continued; its membership in 1895 was 160 (St. John's 280). Its membership was never very stable. The original families frequently had relatives left in the Missouri Synod churches, and some of them were attracted back. Others died out, moved away, or fluctuated in allegiance. The desertions were most numerous at the turn of the century. The congregation was increased somewhat

by immigrants who arrived after its foundation, but few of them gained a permanent foothold in a community already thoroughly organized economically and not destined to urban growth. Internal dispute was perhaps more marked within this congregation than in the other churches. Change was more frequently proposed here than elsewhere, and as vigorously opposed. The total result was a somewhat less conservative history. For instance, after tumult, the chronological arrangement in the cemetery was finally abandoned somewhat earlier than at Strawberry. The arrangement persisted at St. John's (Southeast), and was never adopted at Linn.

The villages of Palmer and Linn (population, 1895, respectively, 222 and 212; 1940, 182 and 395) were creations of the Central Branch Railroad. Palmer or Peach (Pete's, Peat's) Creek had come into existence as a post office and site of a store when the railroad went through. The railway station was set up a mile and a half north of this original location (no bonds forthcoming), and the town was moved to the station. At Linn the post office was established in 1878. C. F. Schwerdtfager laid the town out in 1881. As their urban ambitions developed (each had a bank in 1885), the inhabitants desired churches among them. For Palmer, the Lutheran ambition was finally satisfied, rather sourly, by the establishment of the Ohio Synod church in 1892. At Linn the Evangelical Synod of North America entered the field with a German church in 1885. The town Lutherans, particularly Fred Weeke, lamented that they, too, were not represented; the country Lutherans near Linn wished a church closer at hand. So Pastor Keller, to satisfy this combination of the spirit of rivalry, urban pride, and reasonable sloth, began preaching at Linn, and Zion Evangelical Luth-

eran Church, Missouri Synod, was organized in 1887. In 1889 it received its first pastor, E. Wendt. Though Zion Church did not have the same continuity of pastorate as its Missouri Synod neighbors, it was well served. Pastor Wendt died at Linn in 1900; Christopher Germeroth served 1900-1904, H. von Gemmingen 1904-1909, C. F. Lehenbauer 1909-1923, K. Karstensen, 1923-1939, W. G. Biel 1939-after 1952.

Linn was a frontier post for the Linn-Palmer Germans, not a frontier for the German language, but as a point where the Missouri Synod bordered with other German churches. Though at Linn there was some blood that was not Hanoverian in its origin, the spiritual and traditional interests of Zion Church's members were with their brothers to the south and west. While the Zion community was acted upon more effectively by outside influences than its neighbors, it was not because it was originally more responsive, but because it was subject to greater pressures. At Palmer itself, the pressures were for many years more toward Germanizing than Americanizing. The steady movement toward geographic displacement of others, not only meant that a greater proportion of the population constantly became German; it meant that a spirit of rivalry necessarily existed, and that the Germans were, therefore, almost necessarily, conservatively nationalistic. Of course, even early, the surrounding American matrix affected at least certain of the settlers in the ways which, when local economic conditions changed, were to mean adoption of the general standards to a large degree.

As an example of the small group where German and American influences dwelt and sometimes struggled together let us consider Margaret Wildstacke Fajen. Born in 1870 near Hamburg in Germany, handicapped by a displaced

hip at the beginning of her second year, she early had ambitions to become a teacher, but her parents were too poor. In 1884 the family crossed the sea to Palmer, and still were too poor for her to think of schooling; her father was a shoemaker. Instead she worked out, had many employers, and acquired from them an English superior to that which most of them used. Going to church was her great social opportunity, and she walked the five miles to the Strawberry church gladly despite her lameness. She was married in 1889 to twenty-eight year old John H. Fajen, a German born in North Carolina who came to Palmer in 1886 from Cole Camp, Missouri, where he had been a storekeeper. At Palmer he became a farmer. When the Ohio Synod exodus from the Strawberry church took place in 1892, the Fajens joined the separatists. Mr. Fajen had helped arrange the dances, and the location of the new church which they helped to build was convenient. Nine sons and daughters all learned both English and German -- at home; the last of them was confirmed in German in 1917. Shortly before this event, as the result of a dispute over her parents' burial, the Fajens had transferred their membership to St. John's church southeast of Palmer. Ultimately a certain affection for the church which they had helped to build and the relative convenience of its situation gained the upper hand again, and they came back to it. The children grew up and scattered; none remained in Palmer, though a widowed son came home frequently. Mr. Fajen died in 1947, and the widow remained by her choice alone in the village to look after a large house and two farms. After preaching in German ceased in 1947, she did not find it worth while to conquer her lameness in order to attend church; English was not to her the language of piety.

But she and other restless spirits were marginal folk, and the German core remained yet more German. When the First World War arrived, there was, before war hysteria raised it to fever heat, already an atmosphere easily beclouded into one of rivalry and tension.

47.61 1917 and Afterward. During the First World War the whole German community in the Palmer area was of course subject to general suspicion. The hostility was concentrated, however, upon the Missouri Synod schools and their use of German as the basis of instruction. These parochial schools had been organized almost simultaneously with the parishes, and had been taught by their pastors until the task became too great for him and the community sufficiently well-to-do to afford a teacher (Palmer 1906, Strawberry 1909, Linn 1913). They were a thoroughly accepted institution. The situation was less strained at Linn than in Palmer and Strawberry because the Zion Church had in the Rev. C. F. Lehenbauer "a highly gifted pastor... not only a man of great learning but also one of special Christian wisdom... a blessing... in those turbulent times." War-time co-workers who were not Lutherans say, "There was a man with real common sense." At Palmer, Pastor Keller, after over thirty years of almost unquestioned direction of his flock, was less diplomatic than he had been in the days when the Ohio Synod church was founded. Knowing that there was nothing sinful in the use of German and that it was legal, he scorned to yield even temporarily, although decades before he had prophesied that the day of German among his people must end.

It was in his parish that the most acute crisis arose. The anti-German element was strong among the people in Palmer and on the eastern and

southern township fringes; it was also well represented on the Sherman Township War Board. The overt acts were limited to a shot fired through the Lutheran school house door from a car passing in the night and a band of yellow nocturnally painted around it above the foundation. The yellow paint was discovered by the teacher while still wet and wiped off at once, a tactical victory that of course infuriated the opposition. Under threat the St. John's congregation kept a sleepy deputy sheriff helping them guard their church and school at night. There was real danger. One day the local vigilantes sent out word that their cohorts were to march in a body and demand that German be abolished from St. John's curriculum. The proclaimed plan of procedure was to make a request without threat of violence, but it was widely rumored that the more vulgar hundred per cent Americans were equipping themselves with tar and feathers. Fortunately the moderates sensed the situation, and had enough influence to dissolve the gathering mob. There seems little doubt that Fred Rogge was influential at this moment. A German born over seas, resident elsewhere in the United States (in Nebraska) long enough to have some sense of perspective, "sound" enough to be a War Board member, rather thoroughly posted through partnership in many merry-makings on the character of the friends of direct action, he was in time of crisis able to deal effectively with many elements which might ordinarily have taken him lightly, and he played his cards in the interest of peace and settlement by negotiation. Momentarily, excitement subsided when certain St. John's parishioners said that the church would give up teaching German, but they were without authority, and the teaching continued. Then the War Board met jointly with the officers of St. John's. Pastor

Lehenbauer was present, and he persuaded his neighbors that they must bend before the storm. That night the War Board bore back to Palmer the German textbooks. Thereupon the furor died down, and Palmer remained law abiding.

The alarum at the Strawberry church was less dramatic. The school was daubed with yellow, and was for some time thereafter guarded by zealous parishioners, but the peace was not further disturbed, for the opposition quarreled among themselves.

After the war, when sanity regarding Germanophiles returned to the American public, the Palmer Germans went back more nearly to their former ways than happened in many German communities. Schooling in German was resumed; the old process of the absorption of land went on again, and was as nearly completed as it is likely ever to be. The geographic frontiers of the Palmer Germans have not been greatly extended. Still, about 1950 the Friends meeting house at Enosdale to the north of Strawberry was acquired and a new church was to be organized, probably, though, as much for the mission activity in which the Missouri Synod has been so successful as to take care of those who have moved into that neighborhood from the area of the established churches.

The agricultural economy and population trends of the original townships are healthy. Enough of the rising generation descended from the German settlers remains true to farm life to occupy the land with young blood. The Lutheran farmers who retire tend to move to Linn because of its church. Thus the German character of that community receives re-enforcement. In the country decrease in population can be explained wholly in terms of the increase in number of acres cultivated per farmer.

Relations with surrounding German communities have never been so close as greatly to influence the development of the Linn-Palmer Germans. At Linn, where they border the Greenleaf-Linn Germans, there was a great deal of commerce, some intermarriage and exchange of individuals between the two groups; yet they remained essentially separate, Hanoverians though they all were. The contacts with the small Chepstow group to the east were minor; those with the Parsons Creek Germans to the west and with the scattered Germans on the north were sometimes close but not amiable enough to exert influence. The Clay Center group, comparatively small and engulfed in the town's general population, quite distant before the days of cars and good roads, long had rather tenuous relations with the strong rural group; they grew more intimate later, but their linguistic significance is slight. Relations with the very strong Lutheran group of Hanoverian origins at Bremen twenty-five miles to the northeast have been much less important than might be supposed. In the earliest days spiritual support came from there, and two children were sent there to school (Mrs. Elise Schroeder Ohlde was one). Rather early there was some intermarriage (Riekenberg-Hornbostel ca. '96, Dierking-Hornbostel '98, Pralle-Hornbostel ca. 1900). But in general the connections have amounted only to polite interchange.

47.62 Linguistic History. The Palmer Germans acquired English slowly. In 1910 there were many men and women who had grown up in the district who could not speak it. Still, by 1917 the younger half of the community was bilingual. The section of the adult population acquainted only with English did not become important until 1935. In the 1950's a few teenagers were still fairly well versed in German, but the end of a bilingual community

was clearly in sight. This summarizing statement has not separated Platt-deutsch from High German. It is generally accorded that a great many more people preserved the dialect than the standard language, but at least in Southeast Palmer schooling in German was continued until such a late date (1942) that there is not so great a lag between the decline of the two forms of the language as in many other settlements.

Perhaps the best evidence as to the critical moment in the matter of abandoning German is that offered by the fiftieth anniversary histories of the three Lutheran congregations, Missouri Synod. The booklets of St. John's (Southeast, 1928) and Immanuel (Strawberry, 1932) are written solely in German; the Strawberry pamphlet says that it was printed in Linn. On the other hand, the Linn Zion Golden Jubilee History (1937) has both a German and an English version between its covers. Extra copies of it are not easily to be had, while at St. John's and Immanuel the younger generation leave the spare copies of their parishes' histories in church storage as something that they are incapable of utilizing.

At this point we may cite the evidence of the cemeteries.

NUMBER OF TOMBSTONES BY LANGUAGES AND DECADES FOR FOUR CONGREGATIONS

Decade	St. Johns			Immanuel				Zion			Ohio Synod			
	Southeast		Palmer	Strawberry		Eng	Linn		Eng	Amer. Luth.		Palmer		
	Ger	%	Ger	Eng	Ger		%	Ger		Eng	Ger	%	Ger	Eng
Before 1890	15	100%	0	10	91%	1	4	80%	1					
1890-1899	24	92%	2	19	90%	2	14	74%	5	5	63%	3		
1900-1909	17	89%	2	20	91%	2	7	58%	5	16	94%	1		
1910-1919	17	81%	4	27	87%	4	13	65%	7	11	73%	4		
1920-1929	17	68%	8	12	57%	9	13	57%	10	3	38%	5		
1930-1939	9	45%	11	4	31%	9	6	35%	11	1	20%	4		
1940-1952	<u>2</u>	7%	<u>27</u>	<u>2</u>	17%	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	19%	<u>25</u>	<u>0</u>	0%	<u>18</u>		
	101		54	94		39	63		64	36		35		

For Strawberry the statistics contain an element of estimate, but they are exact for the total, and for English before 1918, and German since 1918. For the three Missouri Lutheran cemeteries the decade in which English stones gained preponderance over the German is the same-- 1930-1939--whereas the Ohio synod became preponderantly English a decade earlier. The year of the latest German stone reveals the same relative situation. In each cemetery it is:

St. John's 1941 Linn 1948
Immanuel 1946 Ohio Synod 1935

The tombstones of children, which reflect the language preferences of young parents, usually become English in a foreign settlement before the tombstones of adults. The progress at St. John's, which is typical, has been for the unconfirmed:

Tombstones of the Unconfirmed			
	German % of German English		
Before 1890	11	100%	0
1890-99	7	78%	2
1900-09	13	87%	2
1910-19	8	67%	4
1920-29	2	22%	7
	no later German		

	Earliest English yr.	Latest German yr.
Unconfirmed	1898	1927
Adults	1929	1940

The attitude of the first Linn-Palmer German settlers toward language is well illustrated by the provision on the matter in the constitutions that were adopted when the churches were organized. In the constitution of Immanuel Church (Strawberry), the first fifteen paragraphs were declared to be "unalterable, unveränderlich." Article 13 concerns "Preaching in the German Language." Its translation is: "Religious services in our congregation shall forever be held in the German language. We are Germans, and the gem of pure truth has heretofore been extended to us only in the German language. Therefore we will preserve that language so long as it may please God to leave it to us. On the other hand, it is not forbidden to have as an addition on special occasions a talk or sermon in English." This constitution remained in force until 1946; the new English version of that year replaced this inalterable paragraph by: "The word of God shall be preached and taught in our church and school in whatever language may be necessary

according to the changing circumstances." Similar provisions regarding language appeared in many early German constitutions. Their replacement or cancellation has occurred at an extraordinarily late date in the Linn-Palmer area.

The Linn Zion Church "Golden Jubilee History" was written at a crucial moment in linguistic history, and it details with uncommon care the history of language usage there. Even at the beginning --this is true for all the churches-- an English sermon was indicated as a proper curiosity for solemn occasions. At the dedication of the church built in Linn in 1888 Pastor Grupe of Hanover preached in German, Pastor Keller in English. But until 1917, church was German and school primarily so. The first full-time teacher, Ed. Stuewe, came in 1913, when Pastor Lehenbauer's duties were made heavier by his election to the presidency of the Kansas District.

The Golden Jubilee History says: "Times were changing in these years. When Mr. Stuewe began teaching, the congregation was German and most of his work in school was German too. In the forenoon all subjects were taught through the medium of German. Then the War time came. Local and state officials demanded that the German language be discontinued in all schools. It caused some hardships to get the German back into the schools after the War." This last sentence presumably refers to exterior obstacles interposed by the state law of 1919 on the subject and by the prosecutions threatened by the American Legion and state attorney general. After the United States Supreme Court decision of 1923 on the subject the situation was eased, and then, just as Pastor Lehenbauer was leaving for Alma, German was re-introduced. Before the end of the school year Stuewe resigned; the load was too much-- presumably because the children were now used to English. But Ger-

man was not driven out; instead it was gradually displaced. "People used to think," said the Golden Jubilee History in 1937, "as soon as a congregation would quit teaching the school through the medium of the German language, the school would soon be a thing of the past. Our school fourteen years ago was bilingual in the fullest sense of the word. We had German in the forenoon and English in the afternoon. Now the use of German is reduced to some reading exercises." By 1942 it disappeared completely.

In 1937 the question of religious instruction in German, which was taking place, not in the school but at the close of Sunday services, was still troublesome, though the moment of abandonment of German was arriving at that very time. The German version of the Golden Jubilee History is more explicit than the English at this point. "During the transition from one language to the other it is difficult to continue this religiously valuable instruction, because so few children are equipped with German. Gradually this situation will be bettered by the use of the English language." The language question was then plaguing the women's organizations too. The Frauenverein, "Ladies Aid," began its career in 1900, and insisted on remaining a deutscher Frauenverein. In 1937, "another Ladies society was organized, Dorcas. This new society conducts its business in the language of our country" (*italics ours*).

The Golden Jubilee History is also specific on the subject of preaching at Linn Zion Church. "At the time when Rev. Lehenbauer was here [1909-1923], occasional evening services were held in English. The present pastor kept that up until in April, 1931, when the motion was carried to have one morning service every month... In our October meeting, 1936, the motion was made to have English services in the forenoon also on the third Sunday."

The motion was carried in January, 35 to 8, after the pastor arranged for an eleven o'clock German service to follow the new English one. From 1945 through 1956 there were English services every Sunday, but once a month a German service preceded the English. This German service was in 1945 attended by 60 or 70 persons out of 380. June 1, 1952, attendance at the German service was 21, at the English service 349. German preaching ceased completely in 1956. In 1961 even after church few spoke German to each other.

In 1952 in the Linn section of the Palmer Germans few under fifty practiced their German sufficiently to carry on a conversation. It must be said that because of the presence of retired couples residing in town, the proportion of those who were over fifty was higher than in the other congregations.

The reader has doubtless observed that the quotations from the Linn Golden Jubilee History reveal a more natural colloquial style than is usually to be found in parish histories. Peculiarities of English vocabulary are almost non-existent if we except two or three cases of strange preposition usage. A few idiosyncrasies in syntax exist, particularly in tense usage. They are of a type occasionally heard in conversation in the region among educated people of the third generation. In one or two of the cases cited below (notably in the first for which the German is given), the English writer was doubtless influenced by his German model, but usually his version, which in this composite work may have been the original and in any case is frequently a paraphrase rather than a translation of the German, makes an effort to escape Germanic influence, and is written in what the

author consciously considers to be non-German English. Examples:

(Written in 1937 of an event that ended in 1924.) Ten years has Mr. Stuewe faithfully and successfully under Rev. Lehenbauer taught this school. (Zehn Jahre hat er unter Pastor Lehenbauer in grosser Traue seinem Amt in der Schule vorstehen dürfen.)

What did these last fourteen years bring us?

This is the seventh year that Mr. Juergensen is taking care of our school.

Since then the Linn pastor... is doing this.

There was a Ladies Aid here since 1900.

At Palmer, as indicated by the tombstone count, the members of the American Lutheran (Ohio Synod) church are the German church-goers least adept in German. But they were truly German in the beginning. Their constitution adopted in 1892 was in German. It was in 1922 that Pastor Brede, who had until then continued the former practice of keeping records in German, shifted to the use of English. Besides the pressure of the young, the need for conveying meaning to "Americans" who attended American Lutheran funerals brought on the use of English in preaching. Preponderant English services began in the 1930's, and late in 1947 all German ended. Twenty-seven nostalgic persons attended the last German communion. This congregation, which contains a comparatively large number of individualists, has always been a mixture of speakers of German and speakers of English. The family of H. W. Hornbostel II may furnish an example of conservative American Lutheran usage. Mr. Hornbostel came to Palmer from Germany in 1882 when he was six months old. He and his wife still spoke German at home in 1952. Of their grandchildren the youngest, b. 1935, understands a little

628

but speaks no German. His cousins Delbert H. (b. 1928) and Norman (b. 1930) speak German well, though they both prefer English. When they served in the occupation army overseas they found their skill very valuable.

Conditions in 1952 among the families of St. John's church (South-east Palmer) were not greatly different from those presented by this stable family, but they were much more wide spread.

At the outset St. John's school was entirely German. A little English was introduced toward 1886 under Pastor Keller. Although by 1917 it occupied the afternoons, we have seen how reluctantly instruction in German was given up during the First World War. It was reinstituted afterward as soon as possible and it did not disappear from the school curriculum until 1942, though during the last few years the study of it was optional.

Pastor Keller, who resigned in 1934 after fifty years service, preached in English only on a few special occasions early in his career. There was German also at such times. He said in those days, "Let the old people have their German; it will die out soon enough." But ultimately he did not feel that the end of his own life time was soon enough. The struggle of 1917-18 made him obdurate for the rest of his days. "It kinda upset him all right," commented parishioners. But even he in his last years of duty retreated a trifle. When the first death, birth, and baptismal register was full, and he began a new book in 1932, he made the entries in it in English.

The Reverend Miessler, pastor from 1934 to 1938, began preaching English at evening services, and then was able to introduce it as a second service in the morning after worship in German. His successor, the Reverend G. Lehenbauer (brother of C. F.) now had "double-headers" twice a month, other-

wise English. Until 1950 German came first, and the attendance was about equally divided between the two services on the double days, 150 each. Until 1953, with German last, sixty or seventy came to it. Most of this contingent swelled the English services on other Sundays; they were religiously bilingual. German in services was finally discontinued in 1953. St. John's constitution was translated from German to English in 1947; the German version was printed with the English.

Until the First World War the Palmer Germans used English only as a means of communicating with "outsiders." That necessity occurred frequently enough, especially in business life, so that most of the men learned English casually. Very early, newly arrived immigrants had to "work out" to acquire capital, and thus were thrown into American families. Later, and formally, the parochial schools offered instruction in English in the afternoons. In the villages all the younger generation were by 1917 truly bilingual. The Ohio Synod church at Palmer never maintained a full-time parochial school, though it carried on instruction in German in summer school. Consequently the children were educated in the public schools, and there the number of non-Germans was sufficient to make English something more than a classroom exercise. At Linn, as a frontier post, contacts with general Americans and particularly with the more anglicized "Unierten" (Evangelicals) were rather frequent. But in general even in the towns English remained only a very useful foreign language.

In 1952 among older people there were none who could not speak English, but some who preferred not to, and a few alte Frauen really found it a little difficult. A family of displaced Germans, Springers (originally from Bessarabia), gave opportunity for practice in German. From 150 to 200 persons were able to deal with them without discomfort. Henry E. Ohlde, b.

1898, proprietor of the store in Palmer, said that the Springers were the only customers that traded in German, and sometimes they had him stumped. However, the effort in this case was to deal in standard German; Palmer's own dialect is handled more glibly, and there were some business establishments in Palmer where it was not infrequently heard in the 1950's. And there were homes still primarily German. A warbride from Germany found that she was using her native tongue as much as at home.

Among young people, those under age twenty-five in 1952, some felt sufficiently expert to classify themselves as speakers of German. The few who studied German in school before it was taken out in 1942 could pretend to a knowledge of the standard language; many more had some knowledge of Platt-deutsch. Still only one teen-ager (Luella Riekenberg, b. ca. 35) regularly attended German service at St. John's, and a boy or girl under twelve was likely to disclaim vigorously a knowledge of German. But in 1961 some young people, at least 19 or 20 of them, were still able to speak German. In 1964 one woman, nearly 90 years old, still required German.

The linguistic development of Strawberry Township was, until the First World War as conservative as that at Southeast Palmer. But when instruction in German was broken off then, it did not regain its place except in the inculcation of religion. Even that stopped in 1936. Skill in High German was thus not found in 1952 among those under thirty, but Low German continued to be used in the homes at least as much as in Southeast Palmer. As recently as 1948 or 1949 many children entering school hardly knew English. But the second World War, without exerting compulsion, rendered English much more fashionable among young couples. In the late 1940's pre-school children seldom learned German.

Preaching in German ceased in 1949. The attendance at German services, which were placed last instead of first at "double-headers," decreased so as to be unprofitable. Pastor Hobratschk adds: "All the church organizations are conducted in English. The only German demanded of the pastor is that used in visiting aged sick. Our constitution is also written in the English." (29 July, '52). Strawberry has by this means rather suddenly converted itself into officially the least "German" of the Greater Palmer communities, and, though proud of its past, rather seems to enjoy the sensation. In 1964 there were still old people using German habitually, but the young never displayed even among the Lutherans any knowledge that they might have.

Comparing the three Missouri Lutheran communities, we see that Linn in 1952 had a kernel of those advanced in age who were faithful to the old ways, but that in general the town was quite "American"; Southeast Palmer had a large contingent of members in the prime of life and middle-aged who stood quietly by their German (evidence of the enduring influence of Pastor Keller, and the tactful management of his successor, the Rev. G. Lehenbauer); Strawberry was dominated by a youthful spirit that blithely ignored a past that outcrops in a great many places. The differences between town and country parishes common everywhere are well illustrated here. In the 1960's German was practically extinct, though those no longer young "threw a few phrases about."

The Linn-Palmer district as a whole, because, through a combination of ethnic rivalries and cultural loyalties, its Germans so long remained faithful to their heritage, was not kept by the recent and apparently decisive developments toward the abandonment of their original language from being one of a very few areas in Kansas where a language other than English was frequently heard until after 1950.

PRAIRIE VIEW DUTCH (Hi-d, Phillips A)

Special Bibliog.: L -- Luctor Christion Reformed Anniversary Booklet *

47.63 Of the two Dutch groups in Kansas large enough to be called settlements Prairie View is the larger but younger. The other--Dispatch (otherwise called Rotterdam) helped start Prairie View religiously. The first permanent Dutch settlers came to this area in 1877 /ln, bo, L, and received reinforcements from four families the next year. Local tradition has it that there were Dutch in the area about 1874. The census of 1875 shows no Hollander in the immediate neighborhood, though temporary settlers may have been those reported as returning to Iowa in 1874 (p. 000). Farther south in the county however, near the North Fork of the Solomon, there were two Dutch families from Wisconsin in 1875, and one of them, that of Jacob Post, reported a son one year old born in Kansas. Jacob's wife Libbie was a widow ten years later and then reported her son as being ten years old. The Posts or the other Hollander of 1875, John Brower, may well have furnished information to the Dutch at Firth, Nebraska, especially as at least the Kipps who arrived among the first had lived in Wisconsin before going to Nebraska. Boeve lists as of 1877 B. Kappers, A. Kip, G. Kolste and B. Roland. The men came out to locate land in 1877; the trek with their families was in 1878 /ln. L. says H. Kroeze was the leader. Kroeze apparently arrived in 1879. He was the religious leader for some years/bo, and was a first elder of the Reformed Church in 1884. The next year he left it and helped organize the Christian Reformed Church /L. He was apparently a conservative force. Most of these families came from Holland and Firth, Nebraska, 25 miles southeast of Lincoln. They had been there a maximum of five years and some

*The Luctor booklet is analyzed also in Conrad Vandervelde's "Hollanders in Kansas," Heritage of Kansas, Vol. VII, No.3, pp.1-21, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia.

of them had spent a very few years in Wisconsin and Minnesota before the Nebraska sojourn. A little later other settlers came to Luctor - so their settlement east of Prairie View was named - from the northern Great Lakes States without a stop in Nebraska. "While settlers still kept coming from Holland, Nebraska, a growing proportion of the newcomers arrived from other places, such as Greenleaf in Minnesota, also a settlement of Gelderlanders and an offshoot of Oostburg and Cedar Grove in Wisconsin, from Drenthe, Graafschap, and Fillmore Center in Michigan, and particularly during 1892 and 1893 directly from Groningen in the Netherlands" /ln, citing De Grondwet Feb. 3, 10, 24 and March 17, 1887; Bonner, May 31, 1917. Not many came directly from Holland without a short stay elsewhere /bo. Very few of them had lived in Iowa and yet they considered the Pella, Iowa colony as their primary point of reference. In the Netherlands most of them had been born east of Zuider Zee in Gelderland or Friesland. The earliest settlers were obliged by poverty to go to Colorado for seasonal work, presumably on the railroads./bo. In 1884 and 1885 when the settlement numbered something over 100 persons they were strong enough to form two churches, the Reformed (70 families in 1897) and the Christian Reformed (45 families in 1897 - total number of families in community, 140 /bo.). In Dutch settlements in general the Christian Reformed people were the more conservative element, objecting for instance to membership in secret societies. This too has been the case at Luctor, the more especially as the arrivals from Groningen in the early 1890's joined this church/ln. In 1890 there were 25 members in the Reformed church by the census, 55 in the Christian Reformed. As time passed, both denominations were able to install congre-

gations in Prairie View as well as at Luctor, Reformed in 1907, Christian Reformed in 1915. Ultimately the four churches were reduced to two. In Prairie View the Christian Reformed Church expired in 1927, and in 1934 the Reformed Church at Luctor disbanded. During the four-church period the Luctor or rural churches were the conservative congregations, and after the reduction to two the rural Christian Reformed was distinctly less ready for change than the urban Reformed. Some English was introduced into the Luctor Reformed in 1900 before the Prairie View congregation separated, but after the exodus to town, those who remained were true enough to Dutch so that in 1920 no "regular" services were in English. At the time of the congregation's demise in 1934 only a quarterly communion service was in Dutch. In town the Reformed Church began its existence in 1907 with half its services in Dutch and in 1932 English won the field completely. The Christian Reformed Luctor Church was linguistically completely Dutch until "on the 6th of April, 1921, it was decided to have one sermon in the American language every other Sunday evening. Moreover, it was decided that the Sunday School classes should be instructed in the American language. Thus the initial step was taken, and gradually the Americanization process was accelerated, keeping pace with the American education and environments of the younger generation" /L. The church had been attempting to keep its young in the old habit. Early there had been a summer school, and from 1907 to 1921 an eleven-months school was maintained, 40 pupils in 1909. This linguistic change was accompanied by others. A little later, "an organ was added for use in the Sunday School (they still had a 'voorzinger' in the church services)"/L.

These were the years in which the church was largest. The country was more popular than the town, and the young were trying to get along with the old. In January 1927 "it was decided to have an American service in the afternoon every other Sunday... In the year 1931 the American language was increased to a fifty-fifty proposition, including the special church days. About this time the consistory also changed from its conspicuous position in the side benches, and took its place among the audience" /L. About a year later "the American-speaking Ladies Aid" was organized ('the Holland Ladies Aid' lasted till 1936.) "English replaced the Holland in recording the Consistory's Minutes in January, 1936. The next year the services were changed from 50-50 to only one Holland service on alternate Sundays" /L supplement. In 1947 the use of Dutch in services ceased entirely.

The writer of a mimeographed supplement to the Fiftieth Anniversary booklet carried the account on until November 1945. He concludes, "Summarizing we may say that the past decade was one which began in a great depression and ends in unparalleled prosperity; witnessed the passing away of all but a handful of the old pioneers; marked the transition from a bilingual to an English language congregation; and was marked by a thirty per cent decrease in the size of our membership, due to a variety of causes" (479 members in 1935, 284 members in 1945). Ten years later in 1955 the official membership was 273, but the community regarded the church as very small. In 1954 the Prairie View church had 222 members and was well attended.

Luctor as a town originated with a store in 1884, and possessed a post office from 1885 to 1903. It never had more than five businesses

and disappeared completely in the 1940's. It could not grow because in 1885 and 1887 the railroads passed it by. About 1948 a few of those in their fifties and older sometimes used Dutch to each other, probably late arrivals. Immigration into the community continued into the first decade of the twentieth century.

Families who came before 1890 produced children who by 1910 were not using Dutch with each other. Families coming later used Dutch habitually until the First World War, and then tapered off. Children born later than 1923 did not in general learn Dutch. A report of 1942 said that the older inhabitants sometimes used Dutch. As a whole the Prairie View community made a distinct effort to "Americanize." The inhabitants of the town who are of colonial American stock, the people in the neighboring towns and the second generation citizens of Prairie View are unanimous in saying that nobody thinks of the community as foreign, contrasting it in this regard with Stuttgart near by.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born
in the Netherlands and Resident in Beaver, Dayton, and
Prairie View Townships and in the City of Prairie View
in 1925

1857-68	8	1880-84	42	1895-98	10	1910	3
1870-79	9	1885-89	13	1900-04	6	1920-23	6
		1891-94	33	1906	1		

Of those in Prairie View Township (63) only five, who came in 1892 and 1893, and three others came directly from Holland. Those in this township arriving before 1890 came to Kansas from Nebraska 10, Minnesota 8, Michigan 9, Iowa 5, New Jersey 3, Dakota 1 (1889), Europe 1 (1887). Later Colorado and Texas are also represented. The last were two from Canada in 1923.

Case Histories from 1955:

Harry Kipp, born 25 miles southeast of Lincoln, Nebraska, that is, at Firth in 1872. To Prairie View 1878, with parents both born in Holland in 1841; they had spent 5 years in Wisconsin just before Harry was born and had learned English. The family spoke both English and Dutch at home. Throughout his life Harry spoke more English than Dutch. Married ____ Zwiers in 1903. She was born in Iowa in 1882 where her parents had come from Holland. To Prairie View in 1885. They had learned English in Iowa, but used Dutch at home. Daughter's English improved at school. Harry and wife did not speak Dutch at home. Their oldest child, born 1904, learned Dutch from his grandparents. Their other two did not.

Henry H. Spoelstra, born at the Hague, Holland, in 1874. To Luctor direct in 1893. He learned English, partly by going to school for 4 months, but needed it little. In 1901 married Hattie Guicheloor born in Niewheuzen, Province of Drenthe, Holland. To Kalamazoo, Michigan, with her family in 1891. After 9 months to Luctor. Learned English from neighbors; no schooling in America. Henry and Hattie used Dutch at home after marriage. Their three oldest children born 1902, 1904, and 1907 spoke no English on entering school--had attended Bible classes in Dutch. The next two children born 1910 and 1913 learned both Dutch and English before attending school. Until 1920 they always used the Dutch Bible for devotions. In that year a school teacher boarded in their home and for her sake they began to use the English version and did not return to Dutch. Their youngest child, born 1923, did not learn Dutch. In later years they spoke little Dutch at home - usually, merely inserting Dutch phrases. All children but oldest have college educations; the parents read much.

SCANDIA SWEDES and NORWEGIANS (U.-Hi ****, Republic B)

Special Bibliog.: A -- Seventy-fifth Anniversary, 1873-1948, Ada Lutheran Church, Kackley, Kansas. Concordia, 1948.

G -- Granstedt, Andrew A. The Scandinavian People and the Americanization of a Scandinavian Community. Unpublished Master's thesis of the University of Kansas, 1916.

47.64 The Andreas-Cutler History of 1883 is more specific about Scandia and its Swedes than about most foreign settlements.

"In 1868, the Scandinavian Agricultural Society of Chicago selected this point [the site of Scandia] on which to locate a colony. A small immigration (about fifteen Swedes) followed that year, and was largely augmented in 1869, 1870, and 1871, and by scattering arrivals ever since from Chicago and direct from the Scandinavian peninsula, until they now number about 1000 of the population of the county [1075 in 1885] and one-fourth of the town... For some years previous to the coming of the railroad to Scandia in December, 1878, the growth of the town was very slow... [To] a committee consisting of L. C. Hanson, C. W. Gulick, A. D. Wilson and L. H. Tibbetts... is mostly due the credit of obtaining for this region railroad communication" /a 1038. "Fifteen Swedes" in 1868 (Savage lists 12) appear as 44 in December of that year when they signed a letter asking the governor to send troops to protect them from the Indians. They signed as "actual settlers" /kc 11:34n7.

The life of Charles H. Herrman as it appears in Connelley's History provides an account of the Indian troubles /co 3:1577. Herrman, born 1841 in Sweden, trained as a blacksmith, came to the United States in 1867.

"In the year following his arrival Mr. Herrman became a member of the Scan-

dinavian Agricultural Society, comprised of fifty members who left Chicago in 1868 to settle on and subdue the western prairies of Kansas... The colony covered several thousand acres,... In November of the year of their arrival several Indians were killed, one white boy was scalped and two oxen were killed. In another clash [May, 1869] Mr. Herrman's brother-in-law was shot while defending the horses from theft....After 1871 Indian depredations ceased."*

*See /a 1032 and /ch 01:27. The brother-in-law, 14 years old, Malcom, son of F. E. Granstedt, was herding the horses. Herrman was not among the signers of the appeal to the governor nor in the census of 1870, but he was in Kansas (Norway Twp.) by 1875, probably a permanent settler by 1871.

Only six of the signers of the appeal to the governor appear in the census of 1870. At that time there were 42 Scandinavians in the county--- 26 single men, 4 couples and 8 children. Only seven of the 42 were still in the district in 1880, that is, four of the six signers (one of them, a bachelor in 1870 had married and died; his widow was there), two non-signers, and also some of those who had signed but were not in the census of 1870. These included L. C. Hanson. Hanson, a hotel keeper, was a Norwegian with a Swedish wife. Andreas-Cutler, besides the committee membership cited above, has this further information concerning him: "The Hanson and Valley houses are excellent hotels. The former has the most of the traveling patronage" /a 1039. He was also one of the first councilmen of Scandia and had served two terms as County commissioner. The Scandinavians do not, like him, however, appear to have had a preponderant share in the

business life of Scandia. Savage lists several businesses established by 1871 by "Americans" as against two by Scandinavians. Cutler-Andreas names some 75 men in connection with the town; only half a dozen are Scandinavians. One of them was the Swedish owner of the mill, C. F. Ericsson, which at its outset was an enterprise of the Scandinavian Agricultural Society. Another was a Norwegian, T. A. Nelson, who had moved into town from his farm on Beaver Creek, and was one of Scandia's first councilmen. A third was a Swedish farmer, Thure Wohlfart, who like Hanson served as a County Commissioner. John R. Sandell, not mentioned by Andreas, came in 1869; he was a merchant opening a store by 1870 and real estate dealer /co4:1909. Scandia's population in 1883 was 607; among the 146 foreign-born, there were 74 Swedes, 13 Norwegians, and one Dane. This is not one fourth of the population of Scandia, but probably Cutler-Andreas thought there were enough children born of Scandinavian parents to make up the rest. The proportion of one Scandinavian out of four inhabitants existed also in 1915 /G 72. The town of Scandia was and continued to be largely non-Scandinavian. The immigration was heaviest in the early years, but continued until about 1910. Granstedt reports concerning the immigrant survivors residing in Scandia in 1915 (large proportion of retired people) as follows:

arrived 1868-1872 -- 35	1883-1892 -- 15
1873-1882 -- 21	1893-1909 -- <u>7</u>

78 total

The Scandinavians were largely farmers -- without previous experience as the quotation from Herrman's account has already shown. Herrman says

✓

further: "Of the original fifty settlers comparatively few made good their claims, lack of funds and Indian troubles being the main contributing reason for their leaving" /co 3:1577.

The settlers of 1868 took land immediately around Scandia and only late the next year began to spread into the surrounding townships.* Their

*Savage, p. 61, records Scandinavians of 1869 as first settlers of the other three southwest townships. Only one of them, C.A. Holmstrom, one of the signers of the appeal to the governor, appears in the 1870 census. Either the census taker failed in his duty or the others, presumably, after selecting their claims went to spend the winter elsewhere and had not returned at census time. This was a common practice. Two settlers of 1869 recorded by A. presumably have a similar history.

acquisition of land was rather gradual. John Hugos of Norway Township says that his parents homesteaded as late as 1874 /ik 568. The Atlas of 1884 shows that the Scandinavians held only about half of the land that they owned in 1940.

This rather slow advance in the country and the preponderance of non-Scandinavians in town in part explains the delay in the founding of the churches. In Lindsborg churches were organized the year after the settlement societies sent colonists. In Republic County there was no Lutheran organization until 1873. Then both the Amana Church at Scandia and Ada Church at Kackley were organized.

Membership

	Amana Congregation Scandia	Ada Congregation Kackley
1882	130	
1906	108	350
1910	105	
1915	163	
1950	158	307

The same pastor, Nels Ohslund served both churches from 1877 to 1886, but he lived near the Ada Church, and put his efforts to building up the population of that district. Its population did not increase much for a few years after 1873 when twelve organized the church. But in 1877 the church delegates brought Ohslund back from a meeting at Salemsburg in the Lindsborg area. After a visit he returned to Bucklin, Missouri; whence the Ada congregation called him. Seventeen families from his Bucklin congregation followed him, so that by 1880 with other accretions direct from Sweden, the congregation had three times as many families. In 1882 the congregation built a church worthy of its prosperity, still in use in 1948. The town of Kackley came into being when about 1887 the Santa Fe Railroad built its branch from Strong City to Superior, Nebraska. The Ada Church was obviously the reason for the establishment of the railroad stop, and it continued to be the real focus of activity in that section of the area. The Kackley neighborhood was almost exclusively Swedish. In 1880 there were two Norwegian husbands* of Swedish wives and one Danish family in Bea-

*One Norwegian was Even Pederson credited by Savage with being a first resident in Beaver Twp (1869). L.J. Sandine, a Swede, settled in the town-

ship the next year, and, while not a charter member of the Lutherans, became, with his only son A.W., something of an institution in the community.

ver township; the rest were Swedes. And it was a rather well isolated community. To the north there was no sharp boundary, but to the west there were salt marshes and poor country; to the east the bluffs of the Republican valley separated it from the more mixed Scandinavian population. To the south just beyond the rather narrow outlet between the marshes and the river were the Danish Baptists of Cloud County, who definitely felt for many years that the Swedes of the Ada Lutheran church held themselves apart. To the north the community continued to spread for some time; in 1887 seven families from southwest Iowa between Red Oak and Shenandoah arrived to settle mostly in that area. Pastor Ohslund left in 1886 and for a decade and a half things went badly; hard times began earlier than elsewhere; in 1890 the new pastor, J. A. Holmen, had to remit \$100 of his salary and he left in 1892 after the death of his wife in childbirth. There was another pastor, F. W. Bergquist, through parts of 1893 and 1894 and then no pastor at all until 1897. Even then recovery was gradual and the church debts were not cleared up until 1899. After that there was prosperity. The depression of the 1930's was evidently not quite so bad as that of the 1890's. At least the same minister, C. G. Danielson, remained throughout that decade. The church remained exclusively Swedish until very late. The 1948 church history records:

"On October 12, 1927, Dr. E. P. Olsson [who had been pastor since 1911] asked to be relieved from his duties due to illness. Up to this time all

of the business meetings of the congregation and the board were held in the Swedish language. This was true also of most of the organizations. It was after this that the English language became the language of the congregation. The gradual transformation was so little noticed that there is no official record of the change." The last statement needs considerable qualification. Pastor Olsson had no successor till 1929 and the new pastor Carl G. Danielson confirmed the last class in Swedish in 1930. He introduced preaching in English in the same year. The period of transition in church services was brief, about three years.

But the transition had really been much longer. Children went to district schools from the beginning, and the two months summer school in Swedish ended about 1909. Religious instruction in Swedish then became difficult, and by the time of the First World War there were children incapable of understanding such teaching, and not merely because they found the written language an unknown; many were defective in spoken Swedish. While confirmation in Swedish went on until 1930 there were a great many children incapable of it before then. Only children much with their grandparents were really proficient. By 1940 even immigrants had in most cases dropped the habit of using Swedish with each other. The community was, however, sufficiently isolated so that English for many years continued to have a Swedish accent; fellow high school students of the Swedes at Courtland just to the north perceived their accent in 1950. Some parents, not recognizing that the accent was caused by the model which their own English rather than their Swedish provided, deliberately decided that their children should learn no Swedish so as to avoid the accent, and it was so feared that one

father drove down to Bethany College in the mid-1930's to see that his daughter was withdrawn from the class in Swedish. There were of course families which understood the facts better, in which the children learned both languages while their parents insisted on good quality in both, but these were the families whose sons and daughters were most likely to go out into other communities. More than one is worthy of mention, but Dr. L. C. Haggman, born in 1876, of parents who came to Beaver Township in 1873 may serve as an example. His father, Swan Haggman, born in Westergotland in Sweden in 1843, was a sailor in his youth for many years but about 1872 came to Leland, Ill. (61, 133) sixty miles west of Chicago where he found Emma, the 15-year-old girl who soon became his wife. She had arrived but recently from Smölan and was working in a Norwegian family, but she acquired good English rapidly. The couple remained in Illinois until after their first child was born then made their way to Kansas. Carl--L.C.--received his medical education in Kansas City and in 1902 returned to establish himself at Kackley. He kept his office there only a little while, moved it to Scandia in 1903 and fifty-eight years later was still practicing. He remained closely attached to his native neighborhood and maintained his membership in the church at Kackley. Similar examples can be cited for persons born at least a third of a century later.

The tombstone inscriptions at Kackley show English introduced in 1879 (first burial 1877). Swedish is however, in the majority up until 1915; then the break was sharp. Swedish appears on only five more stones. The last two are of 1926 and 1935. (Swedish inscriptions 1877-1889--9; 1890-1899--8; 1900-1910--10; 1910-1915--9). Stones bearing vital data in Eng-

of 1/2

lish and a scriptural verse in Swedish are particularly common in this cemetery.

The Amana Lutheran Church in Scandia introduced English much sooner than the Ada Church. In 1915 the morning sermon was in English, the evening service in Swedish, which disinclined the young from evening attendance /G. Teaching of Swedish was still going on in Sunday School, apparently halfheartedly since the children of "only seven families of the second generation" were studying it /G 66.

One other Swedish church has existed in Scandia, the Swedish Methodist Episcopal. It was organized in 1877 and amalgamated with the other Methodist Church during or after the First World War. Some of the first settlers were or soon became Methodists (Granstedt, Lysholm, P.E. Nolin), but the group, composed of dissidents from Lutheranism, was small. It had by 1915 grown to a membership of 104. Linguistically it followed the same trends as the Lutherans. Swedish preaching finally disappeared in 1943, but in the last years it was represented only by a lay preacher's efforts at the Christmas service.

The movement that led to the foundation of Swedish Mission churches was not very potent in the whole Scandia area. There were meetings in homes for some time, and even as early as 1873 there was debate as to whether the Ada church should belong to Missions-venner, but it was only in 1898 /sd 241, that an organization was accomplished; there were seven members who worshipped in Scandia. In 1901 they installed themselves in a building provided by general community contributions two miles east of Courtland and in 1909 they moved into that town. Their membership in 1916 was 30; in 1948 it was 32.

When they went into Courtland the Scandia members withdrew to join the Scandia Methodists. Courtland, incorporated in 1892, is on the western edge of the Swedish district. In 1916 the Mission Sunday School as well as the regular service was in Swedish /sd 288. The pushing of this linguistically conservative church into this corner of the Scandia area suggests that the countryside here was equally conservative. With such a small group, however, the accident of residence of its members may furnish the whole explanation.

At Norway the organization of Our Savior Evangelical Lutheran Church came into existence at nearly the same time as the Amana and Ada congregations, 1873. The same Swedish Minister, Chilleen from Clay Center, served all three in their very first days. But Our Savior Church was fundamentally Norwegian, and did not gravitate into the Augustana (Swedish) Synod like the other two. Eventually it became a member of the Norwegian Lutheran organization, in the 1940's officially called the Evangelical Lutheran Church, but Our Savior Church was still independent in 1907 /ot 212. It received its first regular minister in 1876 and constructed a parsonage for H. C. Roer-naes in 1881; he served the community till 1892. He was a member of the English Nebraska Synod and succeeded in eliciting funds from the English Kansas Synod when in 1888 a new church was destroyed by a storm. The multiplicity of the relationships of this congregation serves to point out its disparate character and with that the variety of the population in the district where it was organized. Norway township received its name in 1871, proposed by other settlers who recognized the Norwegians as its most characteristic element, but the Scandinavians occupied only a strip running down the middle of the township and not all of them were Norwegians. The census

1642

of 1875 shows in the township 12 Norwegian families, 9 Swedish, 5 Danish. Three of the very earliest Norwegian families, Stromgren, Rimol, Hugos, played roles of some importance in the history of the church. Rasmus Rimol was 1901-3 a county commissioner. After a period of residence in Illinois, he was the first to arrive; eight of the other families came directly from Norway; he was the leader who received them. The Norwegians who gathered around this nucleus never became numerous enough to be more than a slight majority over the other Scandinavians, and all of them did not make a majority in the township. Moreover, they were not exclusive socially. Whereas the Danes of Cloud County had almost nothing to do with their Kackley neighbors they sometimes crossed the Republican River to attend parties at Norway. The Norwegians, however, were cohesive enough to require at least part time Norwegian services in the church. These terminated about 1935. By then in the Norway region, the Scandinavian languages had been almost entirely abandoned by all except the old immigrants. Children born in 1913 knew none, and young immigrants who worked as hired men about the time of the First World War and conversed then with their employers in their native language, refused to speak it.

Another smaller Norwegian center exists north of Scandia in Union Township. It never developed a church, nor did its members join the Swedish churches. They preferred to remain unchurched, "too clannish to join with the Swedes" /G 78.

The Swedes to the north and northwest of Scandia did not develop churches either, but their needs were sufficiently served by the churches in town.

However, in Scandia itself the number of unchurched was in 1915 surprising for a Swedish community /G 76.

Religions of Immigrants and Sons and Daughters
of Immigrants at Scandia in 1915

	Lutheran	Methodist	Other Protestants	No Church
Immigrants	20	34	4	15
Next generation	12	8	2	21

The Swedes, whether they lived in town or country, early recognized English as their formal language. Dr. Haggman found from the very beginning that, while his patients admired his Swedish, they preferred to communicate with him in English. They had become bilingual and were proud that they could make all their wants understood in the language of the land.

Granstedt's study of linguistic conditions in Scandia /G 64 ff. in 1915-6 may be regarded as true for a large majority of the Scandinavian population in the whole district because there were many retired people in the town, it was a church center, and the high school was attended by students from the surrounding country.

Among 78 immigrants the number having the noted proficiencies in English were as follows:

write, read, speak Eng. 30 persons
read, speak Eng. 27 persons
only speak Eng. 13 persons
unable to use Eng. 8 persons

Among 51 immigrant families the children developed the noted proficiencies in Swedish.

write, read, speak Swedish	32 families
read, speak Swedish	7 families
speak a little and understand	8 families
no understanding of	4 families

51

In the last four families only one of the parents in each family was Swedish. "Quite generally it was the older of the 2d generation that could read, write, and speak the Scandinavian. In some families there was a great difference between the older and younger children in their ability to use the foreign tongue. One father said that his daughters could read, write, and speak the Scandinavian language, but that his sons could not, but the two boys were the two youngest of the family. In many families the parents speak their mother tongue to each other and to the children while the children speak English to each other and to their parents. Often the small children and sometimes the parents mix the two languages and the result is quite comical" /G64.

The grandchildren of immigrants were ignorant of Swedish except in the seven families whose children were learning it in Sunday School. "Of the Scandinavians of the second generation who had married Americans not one was teaching his children the foreign language. The reason is that they do not use the Swedish or Norwegian enough themselves to bother about it" /G 67.

The condition here described is typical of many immigrant communities at a similar Engl-izing stage; Granstedt's passage on the character of Eng-

26

lish among the Scandinavian population is also typical. "The first generation can always be recognized by the foreign intonation they give to the English, and sometimes the second generation is betrayed by their pronunciation of 'wh' like 'w', 'th' like 't', and a short snappy 's'. Especially those who learned the foreign tongue while young have these faults. As a rule parents and children try to be careful and speak as correct English as possible, and often pride themselves on speaking better English than the Yankees as they call the Americans" /G 65.

The English of grade school children from all families in Scandia was so homogeneous that the teachers could not tell without asking them what their national background was. Teachers should, of course, have been able to identify nationality by the names. Their inability in this respect says much for lack of national distinctions in the community.

Granstedt's analysis of the rôle of children in Engl-izing at Scandia is so generally true of immigrant groups in direct contact with "Americans" that it is worth quoting in full:

Immigrants "wanted their children to be Americans. When this crisis had to be met English books had to be brought into the home and maybe some effort was made to help the children. This called for an effort to understand our language and the spirit of our education. The children would in turn tell the things they learned, ask questions, and help their parents solve the math problems of everyday life. The children also would visit the homes of the Americans and sometimes stay over night. When they returned, true to the way of children, they would tell 'how the other half

lives,' and again the American children would visit the Scandinavian homes and tell how they did things at home. The children generally learned the Scandinavian language first and some of them could not understand English when they started to school. They learned quickly and soon talked English to each other in the home. The parents could not help hearing this and without effort learned a great deal. Within my observation it has been those immigrants who never married or had children that were the slowest to become Americanized. There were a few such in the community who never learned to speak English. It was not forced upon them" /G81.

Clearly in 1915 the proficiency in Swedish among those of Swedish origin in Scandia was already low. The general application of Granstedt's report needs, however, to be considered carefully as regards the second generation of rural families. Granstedt reported general ability to use Swedish in that generation among those who had moved to town. But none of their children were learning Swedish in the family, which meant that the people of the second generation living in town were not using it in the families. A report on rural conditions in 1941 indicates, however, that there were families still using Swedish and the immigrants had by then mostly died. In the late 1940's and early 1950's on Wednesday and Saturday nights Swedish could commonly be heard on the streets of Scandia among persons born in 1900 or before. Apparently, as at Lindsborg, after a period of shame as regards the use of Swedish, there followed a period when those proficient could proudly display their accomplishment. But by 1961 those proficient in Swedish could say that years had passed since they heard more than an occasional word in Swedish.

SCIPPIO-GREELEY GERMANS (Mid-1, Anderson A)

47.65 The first white settlers in Anderson County arrived in 1854. They were a young Saxon, Valentine Gerth (b. 1830), and a Mecklenburger, Franz Meier (b. 1821), who tramped from Kansas City to the townsite of Greeley where they spent a summer. Meier, a pro-slave man, left this John Brown neighborhood in 1857, but went out to Wabaunsee County in 1859 /ch 01. Gerth was permanent. He owned farms first a mile south and then a mile north of Greeley. Germans later settled solidly in these two areas.

The village of Greeley, thus founded in 1854, was laid out in 1857 by three German Jews; /ch 77:249 names them, Jacob Benjamin, August Bondi, Frederick Weimer; see also /ch 76:21, co 3:1464. The new settlement received a post office in 1866, and became a more important shopping center when the Missouri Pacific was built through in 1879. As it grew, it was largely Protestant non-German (the Protestant cemetery is larger than the Catholic). The Greeley branch of the German settlement became strong enough in 1881 to organize its church (Catholic)/re 11. The names of the first trustees bear witness to the importance of Germans in the parish. They are: John Oswald (1831-1884) born in Luxemburg, arrived in 1858; Christopher Sobba (b. 1828 in Westphalia); Anton Kratzberg (1828-1902), born at Hildesheim in southern Hanover, arrived 1867. The priests were German in background all during the period of linguistic evolution.

The tombstones of the original church trustees, Oswald, 1884, Kratzberg, 1902, are in German testifying to their fidelity to their mother tongue. But the Sobba family, while using German for an inscription in 1894, used English for a child's grave in 1888 and for an adult in 1904.

English was used on a German's tombstone as early as in 1885. The last Greeley tombstone in German is that of A. Rosner, 1851-1913. He was one of a group of Hungarian Germans in the community. He came from Ratzersdorf near Pressburg, (Pozsony) not far to the east of Vienna. (The Hungarian German settlers at Herndon were from the same general area, but a little farther south.) In 1885 there were also a few Flemings (Schro, Decen , see further below.)

Scipio, the name now usually applied to the Mount Carmel Catholic establishment and the closely surrounding farmsteads, received its name from Scipio, Indiana, whence came a group of settlers of colonial American stock in 1857; the name was originally applied to a post office in Franklin County somewhat to the north. The first German settlers in the neighborhood antedated the Hoosiers. They scouted in 1854 and settled in 1855. Among them were John H. Roeckers (or Rockers)(1828-1880) and John H. Wolken (1817-1895) who had been for some time near Jefferson City at Taos in Cole County (60, 35), Missouri, after leaving their native Germany. Around these men settled others, "their followers" according to the Ursuline sisters /ch 36:306. This was the time when the Pottawatomie valley, where Scipio and Greeley are situated, was the seat of John Brown's activities. The Germans were active among the Freestaters, particularly Sol Kaufman, later a captain in the Civil War. In 1856 of the eighteen who voted in the Pottawatomie district besides the John Brown family, one third were Germans.

Roeckers and Wolken were ardent Catholics (Wolken contributed twenty acres for a church site; Roeckers \$6,000 on his death /ch 345, re 3), and

in 1858, a German priest, Father Schacht, organized a church, St. Boniface's, among them and their followers. He took up his residence at Scipio while serving all Kansas south of the Kaw /re 3. When he left to concentrate his work in Lawrence, he was succeeded by another German, A. Mayer. He in turn was displaced in 1864 by an even more potent German influence. "In 1864," says the Rev. A. Redeker, "Scipio with its many missions was given over by the Right Reverend Bishop [J. B. Miede, S.J.] of Leavenworth to the Carmelite order" /re 3. The Carmelites, Father Cyril and Father Xavier, had come from Straubing, Bavaria, to found a new house for their order/ b 70 ff. They almost immediately received as novices two men with earlier Kansas experience, Theodore Heiman and Kilian Guenther (b. 1837 in Bamberg, Bavaria), who became known as Father Albert and Father Louis. Father Louis first served at Scipio; in 1870 he took Father Albert's place at Leavenworth, and Father Albert, who had owned land suitable for a monastery at Scipio, became superior of the Carmelites in Kansas. He again concerned himself with Scipio; in 1871 Mount Carmel College was opened there /ch 71. It and the newly established monastery made Scipio temporarily a place of importance. But the life of the college which was also a Carmelite Seminary was short, It seems to have lasted until about 1877. In 1874 it had 25 students /b 148, eleven in 1875 /census.

Meanwhile the population was increasing. The North Pottawatomie valley was settled mostly in 1856, but German immigrants, particularly from Bavaria and Prussia, arriving sometimes after stops in other states, continued to find a place in it until after 1885 (examples: Feuerborn, arrived 1856, Rebstock, ca. 60, Boman, ca. 68, stop in Illinois, Lickteig, ca 68,

Ia., Gratenow, ca. 72, Alguire, before 73, Denker, before 75, Stroble, 76, Hastart, 77, Heinrick, 79, Stepaneck, ca. 85, Storman, ca. 85).

The stays in other states were sometimes very long. Some early arrivals among the adults had been born in Missouri. Helen, 1843-1927, wife of Bernard Setter, 1838-1892, was born in Missouri; so was Elizabeth, b. 1844, the wife of J. H. Roeckers, and Mary, the wife of Gerhardt, was born there in 1847. The wife of William Rebstock was born in Ohio in 1830.

The origins in Germany were various. The Roeckers were from Hanover, the Setters from Rietberg in Eastern Westphalia, the Lichteigs from Donsieders near Speyer in the Palatinate. The variety of dialects was therefore an element making for abandonment of German.

There was among the Germans a small Belgian element, made up mostly of Flemings, which tended to hasten Engl-izing, though in the early days the Flemish learned German. The first to arrive of these was Dominicus Cammerbeck (1811-1867), whose son Peter was born in Kansas in 1858. He and his wife were part of the contingent that came from Missouri, presumably from Taos, since there was a Belgian settlement as well as a German there. The Cammerbecks were apparently not alone, for Father Paul Ponziglione, the Jesuit Missionary, said that in 1858 he said mass for "Belgian squatters" at Greeley /mo 54. Another early Belgian from Missouri was Charles de Broeck, b. 1821, who came about 1866. He appears in the 1870 census with a son six years old born in Missouri and a daughter three born in Kansas. His wife was from Hanover. His son Jacob, born ca. 1850 in Missouri, spoke both Flemish and German; his grandson Peter born about 1879 knew

no Flemish, and learned his German at school. Henry DeCanniere (1845-1920), Belgian born, arrived about 1875. The census of 1885 labeled him a peddler and he became a cattle dealer. He always did business in English, but could read French. Another early Belgian family or so did not become a permanent part of the community, but at Greeley for long residence Frank Schroo (1857-1907) came about 1881 and with him Peter Verhelst (b. 1859), a brother-in-law who lost his wife in 1883.

The fortunes of Peter Cammerbeck probably explain the shift of location of Belgian immigrants. When the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Gulf Railway was built through a mile west of Mount Carmel in 1869 the post office of Scipio was moved to that point, and in 1880 Peter Cammerbeck found the point worthy of a store which he maintained for a year and then finding Greeley had become prosperous after the arrival of the Missouri Pacific Railway, he transferred his business to that town.

Toward 1890 there were from 350 to 400 speakers of German in this part of the county. As the German settlement increased in numbers with an important rallying point in the Carmelite establishment, it tended to become more self-contained. In the 1870's and 1880's German names appear less and less frequently among the names of those engaged in general county enterprises. In the twentieth century, however, retirement established German families outside of the old settlement confines. When the Richmond parish to the northwest was organized in 1918, the founding families were all of Scipio stock, and they had been pleading for a church for some time /lp B:177.

The use of German increases until about 1908 as shown by tombstones.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Scipio-Greeley Area

Scipio				Greeley		
English	German	Percentage of German		English	German	Percentage of German
8	2	20%	1860-1869			
21	5	19%	1870-1879			
22	8	27%	1880-1889	3	3	50%
40	18	31%	1890-1899	12	4	25%
30	4	12%	1900-1909	20	6	23%
46	4	8%	1910-1919	18	6	25%

No later German

Examples of shifts in individual families:

Scipio: Wittman, Barbara (1839-1911) German
Wenzel (1846-1914) English

Greeley: Wuckowitsch, John (1833-1918) English
Rosalie (1839-1910) Ger.

Wolken, Johann (1817-1895) German
John B. (1856-1898) English
Herman H. (1852-1900)- English

Egidy, Franz (1840-1900) German
Theresia (1850-1904) German
Elizabeth (1832-1903) English

These cemeteries have a more than usual number of mixed inscriptions; here is one from Greeley:

Hier Ruht in Goot (sic)
Anton Kratzberg
Born
in Hildeshine (sic, for Hildesheim)
Germany
Apr. 4, 1828
Died
Jan. 14, 1902

Apparently the people in Garnett regarded the Scipio community as having become German in 1860, since in 1892, answering Carruth's question-

naire, the county superintendent of schools reported 1860 as the date of foundation of the colony. The county superintendent also reported that a school was maintained in German. This was the only school in the community. In 1885 when sisters established themselves in the parochial school at Scipio almost all the pupils of the regular district school began to attend the private school. Therefore, the next year, when the sisters had conformed to district school teacher standards set by the state, their school was accepted as that of the district /ch 36:306. They were the teachers of the district school at least through the 1930's. Instruction in German continued till 1918.

The Carmelites originally preached in German, but had completely abandoned the practice by 1918. When the present church was built in 1882 the paintings marking the stations of the Cross bore German labels which were not painted out till 1948.

After a period of prosperity the fortunes of Scipio declined. Mount Carmel College was discontinued at least by 1882 /re 3, and the status of the monastery was altered at that time, though in 1901 it was still headed by a prior. Later it became a seat of retirement and recuperation for the Carmelites. The decline in fortune seems to run parallel to the falling off of a need for a Catholic center that was in background peculiarly German.

In 1903, however, Father Jerome Reichwein still found German the natural language for his Geschichte der St. Bonifazius Gemeinde. Early in the twentieth century, however, many families with growing children began to use English, and the public pressures of the First World War which led to the abandonment of bilingualism came as a sort of relief.

In 1949 in the Scipio area no German was in use conversationally,

though there were still alive something more than a score of persons capable of speaking it. In at least one German family a German prayer was said daily. In the Greeley section there were still families in which the oldest members came from Germany, and while German was never used in public, it could be heard in a few homes. In 1954 those born after 1918 could rarely recognize even the standard jokes and clichés in German. In 1962 there were so few left who could even understand German that people born about 1925 had difficulty in naming them.

Case Histories

I (Immigrant). Friedrich Roeckers, born 1792 in Hanover, Germany, died here before 1865. Father of four sons, Harmon (1820-1907), Gerhardt (called George, 1826-1873), John (1828-1880), Henry (1829-to between 1875 and 1885), all residents of Cole County, Mo., by 1854. Harmon there by 1850 at least; he and Gerhart spied out land here in 1854. 1855 Harmon (or Herman) and Wolkens settle with party from Cole Co. Brothers all follow. Though all their tombstones are in English, they were a close German group. Henry the youngest married Elizabeth Hoelscher, born 1844 in Missouri; their son Henry J. (1867-1935) became husband of II. Roeckers family still numerous in the neighborhood and important; very important early.*

*The name Roeckers is said to have been changed after arrival in America by substituting for Kotz or Kotzer the German word for a coat-maker. The German name, while considered by the family as related to Kotze (dialectal word for a rough great-coat), probably was distasteful as giving rise to puns based on the vulgar word for vomit, kotzen. The name Röcker, pre-

✓ 152

served in German-speaking communities the desired sense and avoided the puns.

II. Lena Roeckers, née Steinbach, (1870-1952) born here; parents recently arrived from Mo., Henry (1833-1911) and Anna Maria (1844-1915); they have German tombstone inscriptions, saying Anna M. born at "Zemmer bei Trear," i.e., Trier near the Luxemburg border. Henry a lime burner at south edge of settlement (17-20-20). Lena's husband Henry J. Roeckers, grandson of I. Used German in their family. Henry acquired a store in Richmond owned 1954 by his son Arnold, born 1894; Arnold's wife from Chicago; German never used in their home. Their son, Robert F., born 1927, knew German only as a school subject; was aware that German was one of his grandmother Roeckers' accomplishments.

III. Peter A. Lichteig, born here 1874, son of Frank (1839-1918) and Catherine (1839-1921) born in Bonn on the Rhine. Frank, born at Donsieders, Rhenish Palatinate, to US 1853, to Leavenworth via New Orleans. Returned to Germany after four or five years, married, and back to US 1867. Brief stay at Leavenworth and at Wesley in center of northern Iowa, where brothers, later in Kansas, had settled. 1869, to Scipio on advice of Carmelite, Father Albert Heimann; bought a homestead with two years to complete on north center of settlement. Frank's father, Joseph (1813-1896) here ca. 1871, wife, Barbara Snyder. Peter A. educated bilingually; resented learning multiplication tables in two languages, but had to do so as to deal with elders. Children on playground learned each others' dialects; Peter spoke their Low German, understood Luxemburger. Became one of the prominent members in his numerous and well-considered family. Married Anna Poss, born

1881 in Kansas, daughter of Luxemburgers, Peter (1847-1917) and Anna (1854-1913) buried Greeley; homestead up south branch from Greeley (11-20-20). Long ride to Scipio school. Anna's linguistic training similar to Peter's. Their oldest sons, David, born 1900, and Carl, born 1903, spoke German in conformity with household custom till they went to school. Abrupt switch then at home to English. After 1918, with rest of community, ceased using German publicly; yielded willingly, finding bilingualism burdensome. At present, use German only for secrecy.

IV. (Immigrant) Catherine A. Landwehr, born Germany 1879, to US 1888, married John H. Landwehr (1875-ca. 1949), born in Indiana of German stock. In Kansas they lived mostly at Sharon, Barber County, till ca. 1925; then to neighborhood south of Greeley. Catherine Landwehr has continued to use German all her life; subscribes to a German paper. Son-in-law, Nick Thimesch, moved here 1928 from eastern Colorado; of Luxemburg stock.

ST. FRANCIS RUSSIAN GERMANS (Mid-k, Cheyenne A)

47.66. These are Lutherans mostly, Blackseamen with a small admixture of people from Germany. The Russians were mostly from along the Dniester River, not far from Odessa, more specifically from Sutton, Neudorf, Marienberg, Bergdorf and in the direction of the Bug River, Rohrbach /sa 18; also informants. See map 74, 1, 10, 11; a few were Bessarabians (Keller, Wagoner, from Sarata, map 74, 5). They began coming in 1885 (Sallet says mistakenly '90's; '85, Glenger, /ch 07, M Raile, Wagoner) and continued immigration from Russia till about 1914 (see #53.00). Many families were only a generation or two out of Germany. D.A. Brunswig, who came by 1889, was born in Germany, his wife in Russia. Early arrivals were helped by Jacob Buck, b. Germany 1828, settled 1880 not far north of St. Francis, and the Benkelmans, J.G., b. Germany, 1830, George, born in N.Y. 1852, his wife born in Germany. The Kansas Highway Commission's map of 1940 shows five rural churches in this area and the site of another. This multiplicity is a manifestation of the spirit of individualism that animates this settlement. By 1948, only one rural church continued to function, Salem American Lutheran, 230 baptized in 1950. In St. Francis, there are also the Zion American Lutheran Church, 384 baptized in 1950, and the Trinity Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, 105 baptized in 1948. The rural church giving rise to Trinity was the oldest of the group, organized 1887. Trinity was not using any German in its services by 1948. In 1946 Zion Lutheran church, organized in 1926, had German only at an occasional communion; however, a number of American Lutheran families living in town were attending church in the country in 1952 for the sake of the German services.

The language question was raging in Salem Lutheran Church. It was organized in 1901 after two years of preliminary services; joined the Iowa Synod on receiving the first resident pastor in 1908. At the end of 1916, O.H. Zeilinger, who had just finished his studies at the seminary, became pastor. From then until the end of 1936 all services were in German. The Congregation then voted to have some services in English. Those holding the purse strings at once reduced the pastor's salary. He left, but returned for six more years at the beginning of 1940. Only at the end of his second incumbency in 1945 did English succeed in penetrating official records. English and German competed till German succumbed in 1950. But the quality of German was degenerating. Until 1942 the word Opfer (here used for 'offering', the money contribution at services) was correctly spelled. During the next five years the spelling was "Opher". In 1948 "Offering" appeared. The Reverend H. Senft, minister from 1946 to 1949 furthered services in English as much as he could. His successor, J.B. Cronek, was requested to preach "double-headers" every Sunday. This regime existed in 1952. At that time 40 or 50 persons, mostly between 60 and 80 years old, attended the German services, 130 to 150 the English services. But the days of German services were then numbered. Most of those enjoying them were old people who had retired to town, and they would soon be unable to drive the eight miles to hear German. In December, 1957, German services ceased. The new pastor was unable to speak it.

We have dealt with Lutheran Salem and Zion churches, but there were Salem and Zion churches that eventually formed the First Evangelical

United Brethren Church of St. Francis. To identify them and not because the term was appropriate throughout their career they are here called EUB Salem and EUB Zion. EUB Zion came into existence about 1895 some eight miles northwest of the town; EUB Salem originated in 1915. The congregation of the latter at first held meetings eight miles west of St. Francis, but in 1920 built a church in town. EUB Zion merged with it in 1945 or 1946 to form First EUB Church (178 members in 1964). Services were in German very late. In 1942 and 1943 there was a ten-minute sermon in English for children; in 1945 the English had been lengthened to 15 minutes. Regular German services had disappeared by 1964.

The history of the demand for English is a better gauge of the recession of knowledge of Standard German than it is of German in general. Dialect (Schwabisch) was the usual thing as the household language in families with growing children until 1941, in rural households until about 1952. Even dialect was by then so restricted in vocabulary that such a sentence as "Aller Anfang ist schwer" was incomprehensible to children. Schwer was unknown to them, and so was Anfang, though they understood certain forms of the verb, anfangen. The children were rejecting German as soon as they started to school. In 1964 a pastor said that he used German with people in their 70's; an informant who had been brought as an infant from Russia in 1907 said that those born in 1939 could speak German if they so desired, those younger could not. Another informant with children born between 1948 and 1952 said that they understood dialect. Several sources said that soldiers serving in Germany in the Second World War communicated easily with the Germans as long as they

were in southern Germany.

The more advanced situation in the town of St. Francis as compared with rural conditions can be seen from this statement made by a young man of college age in 1949. His mother was "American"; his father is the son of one of the couples who rode out from town to attend services at the Salem Church. "There has been none [no influence of German upon his speech]. I wasn't ever present in the home of my grandparents when anything but very fluent English (no dialect) was spoke [sic]. The German spoken in the community is the farming factor and doesn't seem to affect those who have no contact with the language."

✓ 67a

TOPEKA GERMANS and SWEDES (Super *****, Shawnee B)

For Topeka Mexicans see #47.96

47.67 Reich Germans and Swedes. In 1925 the major groups of foreign born residents in Topeka were persons born in Germany, Russia, Sweden, and Mexico. The Mexicans, 874 in number, were most numerous; they are discussed in the section of this work devoted to Mexicans. The numbers of Swedes and Reich Germans nearly equaled each other, 424 and 444 respectively. The Russians numbered more than any other European group, and will occupy us primarily. We shall consider the Swedes and the Reich Germans only briefly. The history of these two groups is interesting, but in most respects it follows urban patterns observed elsewhere. (For Germans in larger towns see particularly Leavenworth, for Swedish, particularly Kansas City). The first German to reside in the Topeka area was Mary Knofflock, wife of the Pottawatomie chief, Abram Burnett /kc 13:371. She arrived with the tribe in 1848. Germans appeared in their own right in the area as soon as the territory was opened (William Greiffenstein in 1854 /d 532) and German names (Cruz, Zimmerman) appear among the inhabitants of Topeka in the first year of its existence. The German element of the population did not, however, become important until the 1860's. The first Swede did not appear there until about 1865. (S.S. Nelson in the census of that year) German settle-

ment rose to a peak and subsided more quickly as the following table shows:

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons born in Germany and Sweden
Resident in Dakota in 1925

<u>Date</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>Sweden</u>
Before 1870	38	27
1870-1879	38	46
1880-1885	122	87
1886-1895	59	95
1896-1905	24	44
1906-1915	21	39
1916-1920	17	4
<u>not reported</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>82</u>
Total	444	424

The Reich Germans were almost all Protestants. St. John's Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod "German" was organized in 1874. The First Lutheran Church, Kansas Synod "English" was organized in 1868, with certain members from among immigrant Swedes (Benson, Holmburg) and Germans. For a short time Swedish services were held in the Germania hall / Oct 1859. The Evangelical Association organized its church in 1860. The Trinity Lutheran Church Augustana Synod was organized in 1870, the Swedish Mission Church in 1873, the Swedish Baptists in 1877. The churches were quite conservative linguistically. English was first introduced into the services at St. John's in 1908, but despite the First World War, three services out of four were in German in 1926. The war did break off confirmations in German. German newspapers existed from 1879 till 1904. German in the

- Finally disappeared from services with the Second World War. German

home of Reich Germans was then still used to certain old people and in 1950

parents sometimes would resurrect it for keeping secrets from their children. The Swedish Lutherans seem to have introduced English rather early, but the Mission and Baptist Churches shifted suddenly in 1921 and 1922. The Baptists then decided to change their name to the West Side Baptist Church, and to hold all Sunday services in English; on Friday there was a Swedish Service /lv 51. The Mission church maintained a Swedish Sunday School Class until 1947. Swedish persisted in the home longer than German because there were more late Swedish immigrants. Conversations in Swedish were not unusual in small groups in 1942. In 1950 those born about 1930 knew a little Swedish.

47.68 The Russian Germans of Topeka are Catholics from the Volga area--Volgans. The first of these arrived late in 1875, more came in 1876. The Santa Fe Railroad was particularly active in selling lands to German Russians. In 1874 and early in 1875 it had housed Mennonites from the Black Sea regions in the King Bridge Shops while they were selecting land. The building represented a failure in industrial promotion, and the Santa Fe had taken it over. Shortly it was to be used for the first of the railroad's own shops where many Volgans were to be employed. The Shops are located near the Kansas River along the Santa Fe right of way just as it turns east. Those Volgans able to purchase farms preferred lands offered by the Kansas Pacific, but some "never left Topeka" /kc 11:496. None of them was well-to-do and they sought low cost housing to the east of the shops and in the portion of North Topeka nearest this area. A small section of North Topeka east of Union Pacific tracks in 1962 preserved a well scrubbed section of

the original very modest structures. Across the river a small area surrounding the Sacred Heart Church on Seward Avenue in Oakland was then also still almost exclusively Volgan, and Volgans were numerous in most of Oakland. The immigrants who formed the first nucleus of settlement, most of whom came from Kamenka, Pfeifer, Koehler, and Hindman, attracted others from the same villages, particularly from Kamenka and Pfeifer. These villages were on the Bergseite of the Volga settlements, separated by the river and many miles from the villages that furnished most of the immigrants to the main Catholic Volgan Center in Ellis County near Hays. Topeka Volgans do not often claim relatives in Ellis County. The nucleus of 1875 and 1876 continued to receive strong reinforcements until the First World War began in Europe. Indeed the five year period ending in 1914 brought a very heavy contingent, as the following tables show:

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Bearing German Names
born in Russia and Resident in Topeka in 1925

1874	-- 2
1875-1879	-- 30
1880-1884	-- 22
1885-1889	-- 31
1890-1894	-- 59
1895-1899	-- 27
1900-1904	-- 66
1905-1909	-- 56
1910-1914	-- 156
1915-1919	-- 5
1920-1924	-- 5
1925	-- 0
<u>undated</u>	<u>-- 51</u>
Total	510 *

Persons Born in Russia Resident in Topeka.

1885--133

1895--270

1905--460

1915--1105

1925--566 *

* The differences between 510 and 566 is to be ascribed to persons with Slavic names.

The immigrants were mostly men and women old enough to have well fixed language habits, young enough to have a long time in Topeka. In 1885 in Topeka's First Ward, 16 out of 30 adult males born in Russia were aged between twenty and thirty, 16 out of 28 adult females were aged between 18 and 30. There were 5 foreign-born boys, 9 foreign-born girls in addition. The average age of the first child born in Kansas in this group of 1885 was five years. Half of the group was then between 15 and 25 years old on arrival in the United States. There was a tendency within ten years after immigration for families to acquire farms particularly north of Topeka, but the number of those able to do so was limited, and these people, according to good testimony, had little to do socially with their new neighbors. Their ties were still with the group in town, especially since they sent their children to St. Joseph parochial school.

As was noted above, a great many of the Volgans were employed in the Santa Fe shops. They and Reich Germans were so numerous there that in early days the pressure to use English was less than it would have been in many other employments. The events of the First World War, which, -aside from the hysteria that developed, brought many other stocks into the shops and the great strike of 1922, which caused many shopworkers,

68d

including Volgans to leave Topeka, were Engl-izing forces /lp B:266 and 262. Eventually many also worked in the packing houses. Charles Henry Wolff (1849-1913), a Bavarian, came to the United States in 1862, to Leavenworth in 1867, and to Topeka as a butcher in 1876. In 1886 he organized the Charles Wolff Packing Company, principally to slaughter and pack hogs. During his lifetime the business grew progressively without important competition locally /co 3:1232. His son continued management until about 1919. In the next decade it passed through other companies' hands and in 1931 became the property of the Morrell Packing Company. The company was hard pressed during the Second World War, attributing its difficulties to black market competition, and succumbed when the flood of 1951 did much destructive damage. For the present purpose it is important to note that until the First World War the management was sympathetic toward German. In later years the Seymour Packing Company became an important company in packing poultry products and gave employment to Volgans. After the First World War conditions in both the Santa Fe shops and in the packing houses were less favorable to continued use of Germans than they were before. Besides the phenomena in the shops mentioned above, Mexicans became more and more used in both occupations. Volgans sought work elsewhere, and English became a more necessary lingua franca.

The religious life of the Volgans was for many years bound up with St. Joseph's Catholic Church. Catholic activity in Topeka began in the territorial period, but the Church of the Assumption achieved a building only in 1862. This church became prosperous, but the Germans were discontented, and in 1886 Father Francis Henry was sent to aid Father O'Reilly.

✓ 682

The curate found 87 German names on the list of contributors, and organized St. Joseph's parish in 1887. The membership was not exclusively Volgan in its beginning, and this had something to do with locating the church at Third and Van Buren. This area close to the river on the side of Kansas Avenue farthest from the Santa Fe shops could claim to be well located for the Volgans, only because it was as easily reached from North Topeka as from Oakland. It was, however, in the midst of the Reich German district. The first Protestant German churches were in the same neighborhood. Among the Volgans who contributed to the erection of the first Church of St. Joseph were many very recent arrivals. Several of the seven who were still alive in 1932 do not appear in the census of 1885.

Father Henry was a young man on arrival in Topeka and he remained pastor of St. Joseph's until 1932. He was ably seconded until her death in 1923 by his sister, his housekeeper, but more importantly a staunch parish worker. His successor, A.J. Blaufuss, born at Westphalia (q.v), Kansas, in 1885, remained until 1949. After him, still serving in 1964, came George Kuglmeier. These three men all achieved the title of Monsignor. The size of the parish and school as recorded by Father Henry is as follows. (Father Blaufuss adduces evidence to show that it was really larger. He says at one time the parish contained 3,000 souls.)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of families</u>	<u>Number of children in school</u>
1881	55	48
1893	120	112
1914	350	320
1919	450	425
1928	150	170

The reason for the drop in size between 1919 and 1928 was in part the removals that occurred because of the strike of 1922, but primarily because the parish

✓686

was split in 1920. The Oakland sector contained 200 families, and Sacred Heart Church was erected for them. Besides the natural conservative force of the long pastorates at St. Joseph's, Father Henry's ardent enthusiasm for German helped prolong its life among the parishioners. Father Blaufuss, who wrote his history of St. Joseph's in 1937 says that Father Henry "confined himself strictly to the use of German in the church. Not even a children's instruction given in the English tongue during his forty-six year pastorate " /lpB:263. "Father Henry personally taught the children their religion. After mass the servers led the rosary in German for the people and the children " /lpB:267. Father Henry was an important force not only in the spiritual and social life of his parishioners, but also in their economic life. He drew up their business documents and contracts; he examined their abstracts, found jobs for the young; he acted as a depository for legal papers and he baptized 3163 infants, married 543 couples, conducted 1026 funerals /lp B:271. Father Henry never consented to having a curate. Toward the end of his career he saw that a successor must be chosen, but the selection of the man was difficult. He had to have a command of the German tongue and young priests thus qualified were few in number. He was right. Many in the parish were so loyal to German that the Bishop felt it necessary to come himself to inform the parish that beginning in 1932, it was bi-lingual. Other sources indicate that Father Henry had had to make some concessions after the First World War and did preach at one Mass in English. Furthermore, while children had to learn their catechism in German, they were provided with bi-lingual texts, and First World War instruction at school, other than religious, appears to have been in English, but for some time children used German on the playground "for fun."

✓68g

St. Joseph's was then suffering from the endeavors of the Volgans to escape from segregation. Father Blaufuss remarks: "A national parish labors under a handicap which makes the parish short-lived. During periods of strong immigration these national parish enjoyed a boom. The 'comers' are eager to perpetuate their language and religion, often identifying one with the other. Their families are large, filling and overflowing parochial building capacities. When immigration stops it takes only one generation to doom the national parish. The children of these nationals often become American in an exaggerated degree, for they consider the language customs of their parents as something to be ashamed of, as something that makes them inferior. Wholesale abandoning of the national parish follows; more so if there is no general introduction of the American language in the Church. The stronger Catholics affiliate with the so called Irish or American parishes with the sensation that they have made a big stride upward on the social and religious ladder. The weaker ones stop the practice of their faith altogether. There is evidence of this condition in Topeka."

/lpB:264 Father Blaufuss's policy of gradual displacement of German led him to maintain German preaching at one mass out of four until he left in 1949--until 1942 this mass was at 10 o'clock. In 1950 half of the confessions were still in German. In 1962 confessions in German still went on at both St. Joseph's and Sacred Heart, much reduced in number. Occasional announcements in German continued after preaching stopped.

In 1935, writing the history of the Sacred Heart parish, the Reverend F. A. Stabb says nothing of the German language. He does say however, that the parish was created for "German-speaking people," i. e., Volgans. His introduction is: "After the close of the Russo-Japanese War there was a considerable influx into Topeka of the so-called German Russians from the Volga

district settling in great part east of the Santa Fe shops where most of them found employment. The distance from this locality to St. Joseph's church is over three miles. Father's Staab's inference that the latest comers, developed the area furthest from the shops was probably unintentional. Some of the more prosperous had secured garden space and erected better houses on the edge of the settlement; it was therefore Volgans already well established who demanded a new parish. Father Henry consented to its establishment, but the separation was not without its financial strains, and there was a slight rift in the Volgan community. Sacred Heart was a national parish like St. Anthony's. Preaching went on there in German as long as at St. Joseph's. In 1952 the Solemn Christmas Mass was in German. The social use of German did not persist quite so long as at St. Joseph's, but there were many immigrant parishioners who grew old within its borders and in 1962 conversations in German were still going on there. While the pastorates at Sacred Heart were not so long as at St. Joseph's, conditions were stable for the priests. The first two, George Eckert (1920-1929) and Theophilus Schwarz (1930-1933) were removed by death and Father Francis A. Staab (1931-1952) and Father Albert H. Wiethorn (1952-after 1962) served long.

Wedding customs among the Topeka Volgans were as elaborate as several sources describe them in Ellis County. "Three-day weddings," as in the west, gradually were curtailed and the marriage, sometimes unbridled--manifested less of a contrast to American mores. In the 1950's requests for musical numbers, usually identified the piece to be played in German.

Family usage of German was general where there were growing children until about 1942. There was more differentiation than in many communities because of the number of late immigrants, but in 1949 one third of those

born after 1935 could understand German when addressed. In 1942 many high school students among the Volgans spoke German. As high school attendance had become common among this group only within the preceding few years, these students represented socially advanced families. During the 1940's scarcely any children learned to speak German. Some learned to understand. Those born in 1949 understood less than those born three years earlier. Between 1949 and 1962 German fell almost entirely out of use among the active generation, except occasionally for secrecy either before children or, among strangers, to mask debates on business. Those born after 1910 came to use it only in addressing the old, i.e., those born before 1885, among whom there were a few who knew almost no English. These old people were numerous, however, so that persons born before 1925 still practiced their German sufficiently to command it. Younger persons in general used only a few formulas. In 1964 when Father Kuglmeier was commenting on the introduction of English instead of German into the Mass at St. Joseph's, he said of his people, "Most of them don't understand High German anyway" (Topeka Capital-Journal, 29 Nov., 1964). His statement implied, not that all German was beyond understanding, but that most of those able to use German understood completely only dialect. He could not say that no one understood Standard German; there were still active persons who had been schooled in German.

✓ 69a

WILSON and PALACKY CZECHS (Ultra-Hi*** and Mid-m, Ellsworth A and E)

47.69 F. J. Swehla says: "The first homestead entry of government land ever made in the Salina land office by a Bohemian-American was on May 16, 1874, and I made the entry" /kc 13:474. He adds, "I was the only head of a family that passed that winter [at Wilson] in the proposed colony" /kc 13:479. Apparently others who returned later were there until the cold set in.

Swehla, born in 1845, arrived with the definite intention of founding a colony, apparently from no other motive than that of realizing a social dream. His parents had brought him from Bohemia to Calmar, Iowa, in Winneshiek County (61, 10) in 1854. In 1868 he took a bride to a budding Bohemian settlement in Saline County, Nebraska (two counties north of Washington Co., Kans., Crete is a Czech center and Swehla was at Pleasant Hill west of Crete). He helped build up the settlement, and when the land was all taken, he found that as a Civil War veteran, he had a right to another claim of 80 acres. To satisfy his desire for more land and for building colonies he came to Kansas in May, 1874. Mistreated at the Concordia land office, he went on to the one at Salina. Courteously received there, he found that Saline County could not furnish homestead land for a whole colony and he crossed all the rough land of Eastern Ellsworth County without finding anything appropriate. He stopped at Wilson (or Bosland) and took his claim a short distance south of that station. In Nebraska he had been "reading in my newspapers of our people organizing companies in the large cities to move out and settle on land, to go to farming, because there was a financial panic in this country. Wages were low and many thousands were out of work in every city. One such com-

pany of Bohemians in New York City was organized and had secured reduced rates to go west to settle on land; another in Chicago, Ill.; and each club or colony voted to send a committee to explore some western state. Some went to Wisconsin; some to South Dakota and northern Nebraska; some came through Kansas on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad as far as Larned, I believe, but there was trouble in each and every direction. Discord and disagreements followed. It seemed very hard for the exploring parties to find, to their satisfaction, the 'Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey'; and still harder to please all the home-seekers.

"So after I decided to locate a Bohemian settlement in and around Wilson, Kan., then called 'Bosland' by the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company, I wrote up the location showing everthing I could in its favor. The main things were, temperate climate; good soil; free land from Uncle Sam, or cheap relinquishments of improvements by previous settlers; railroad land at from \$2.50 to \$5.00 per acre; good and plenty of water from never-failing springs and wells at from thirty to sixty feet; plenty of building stone of fine quality, and an accessible railroad station. A paradise for poultry, cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, etc. I kept my pen going, publishing my reports in Bohemian-American papers until I drew the attention of the farm clubs formed in the cities and of all that reading public. Soon letters came pouring in wanting answers, and I had lots of writing to do, but that was all it cost--my time, stationery and postage stamps."

Swehla went back for his family in Nebraska after breaking enough sod to

✓190

hold his claim. While he was gone the great grasshopper invasion of 1874 struck. He came back to desolation, but he was a hopeful propagandist.

"Notwithstanding the desolation caused by drought and grasshoppers and fire, I had a vision of the future greatness of this land of promise, and I never gave up putting into execution my plan to found a Bohemian colony there. I wrote about the possibilities of the country and of its being the best escape for the unemployed of the congested cities, as well as an escape from the cruel tyranny of the Austrian Empire. I wrote to all the different Bohemian papers published in the United States. This brought me many inquiries, letters coming from persons in different parts of the country wanting some special particulars. I had as high as a dozen letters at a time in the post office at Wilson, and answered them all, and nearly always had to use my own stamps. Be it here remembered, I had no pecuniary interest in the project as I was not agent of any land company or individual and got no commission or salary. By correspondence I found an organization in New York City that wanted to get into an agricultural country, but didn't know where; and still another just like it in Chicago. They had spent money on committees, sending them to discover locations for colonies, but all in vain. The committees traveled by railroad and other ways, but found nothing to suit. So my messages were very timely, and very welcome-- were in fact messages of great joy, of deliverance from low-wage slavery, and from worse-- enforced idleness."

In the two or three years that followed prospective settlers rode out to see available land in "my big farm wagon and my two seated spring wagon" /kc 13:482. Such activity made Swehla well known and probably more in-

fluent than others were willing to admit, but it did not make him rich or even well-to-do, nor a powerful leader after the settlement was well-started. There was evidently too much of the impractical and visionary in him, too little of the concentrated. Besides being a farmer and an unpaid promoter, he was a schoolteacher, a surveyor, a justice of the peace, and an enthusiast for cultural improvement.

The settlers came from widely distributed areas in the United States. Swehla was only one representative from Nebraska and from Iowa. The New York and Chicago "clubs" that he refers to account for a large proportion of the newcomers, but Michigan (Detroit and Saginaw) furnished a number; a wagon train came from Minnesota; and Wisconsin (Milwaukee) had its quota. The prevalence of city names among the sources of population confirms Swehla's statement that "Very few had ever farmed before. They were in most cases of some mechanical craft" /kc 13:494.

The first immigrants direct from Bohemia came in 1877 (Kroft, Hynes, Podlena, Soukup). Their village of origin was Loda near Kralovice, about 45 miles southeast of Prague, 25 miles from the Moravian border. Swehla himself was born in Southern Bohemia at Albrechtice near Vltava-Tyn (Modauthein). Another immigrant came from near Litomisl (Leitomeischl) in most eastern Bohemia quite close to Schildberg whence came the Moravians. Still another from near Pilsen in the west. The Czechs were from widely distributed districts in Bohemia, but with a goodly number from the east.

The settlers who came in 1875 and the first half of 1876 settled on the homestead land to the north and west of Wilson and to the south and southeast to a distance of four or five miles. They were soon to take the

territory to the east and northeast and less solidly to the west. To the south there was a band of rough country along the south edge of the Smoky Hill Valley and part of those who arrived in the later part of 1876-- the largest party of all arrived in September-- went beyond this barrier and founded Palacky. ^{post office 1877-1905} Removed from the railroad that village never prospered, nor indeed, did it become an important center of any kind. Holyrood to the south became the southern quasi-urban focus, but largely Germans hold the land immediately around Holyrood so that Palacky remains the best way of designating this southern section. It may be regarded as part of the same complex settlement as Wilson. Bohemians now hold the land solidly in this area; Palacky holds the only Czech national cemetery, and Wilson has the only Catholic cemetery so that bodies from either area are buried in the other.

Another secondary center within what has become the area of solid settlement developed at Black Wolf, southeast of Wilson, and was given more viability through the existence of a railroad station. It was originally a center for Moravians rather than Bohemians. They took land a little to the south and mainly to the west of Black Wolf in 1878 /kcl3:490. Six families came directly from near Schildberg in most northern Moravia, two more from near Brunn.

In spreading the Bohemians made no headway against the Penn-Germans and Volgans in Russell County, nor against the Germans to the south and east of them, but they took over land to the southeast so that the country around Ellsworth is theirs to a large extent. They also went north, were in Lincoln County by 1878, then on into the southeast corner of Osborne County

so that Lucas is largely a Bohemian center. All this had been accomplished by 1914 when Swehla wrote his article. As is usual most of the outlying areas, because less solidly settled, have been linguistically somewhat less conservative than the main centers. If they are not referred to further, such should be the reader's assumption.

One reason for Czech linguistic conservatism has been their fondness for societies and for dances given by those societies, quite exclusively Czech but attracting general attendance from the Czechs.

Swehla recognized a society as a necessary nucleus for his colony, and founded the first in 1875. It was local, called Blaholyt, and met at homes. Another local society partially succeeded it in 1880, when Jan Charvat's "Bohemian Hall" became available. Among the first comers to the Palacky district in 1876 were the Sekavec families by wagon from Minnesota originally from near Kaurim not far east of Prague /ik 1034. One of the Sekavecs was a bachelor born in 1853 who anglicized his name, probably Venceslas, to Winslow. At Palacky besides farming he "ran a store and kept the post office," but in 1887 at Wilson "he built a store building with his residence attached in the rear [he had married Pauline Soucek in 1879] and maintained a hall on the second floor" /kc 13:487. Sekavec drew into his building both the circulating library that was the most important feature of the society of 1880 and a chapter of the national Bohemian lodge that had been organized in 1885, the C.S.P.S. (see #43.25). A chapter of the Z.C.B.J. became its competitor in 1904. Bohemians also joined the American lodges flourishing at the time. These and their own lodges all had insurance features. The American organizations became an Engl-izing instrument; the Czech societies

were just the contrary. The gymnastic organization Sokol was also important. A chapter was organized in 1892 at the Bohemian hall in the country (on 22-15-10, 136, I, 3) built where it was, evidently as being central to Wilson, Palacky and Black Wolf all three. But Wilson was recognized as the main center and in 1896 a second chapter of Sokol built a stone building there for a hall, which was ultimately jointly owned by the two lodges and the gymnasts. Like other lodges Bohemian lodges were past their hey day before the second quarter of the twentieth century began. By 1950 the Bohemian "hall in the country" had disappeared, and young people could not identify the hall in Wilson. In 1961 the dances at Wilson had given way to community sponsored affairs; in the 1950's however, there were still dances which the non-Bohemians of Holyrood occasionally invaded at the risk of being thrown out in accordance with the old tradition.

One reason that the first society Blahobyť collapsed was that its membership included both faithful Catholics and the anti-clerics to be found in large numbers in any Czech community. About 1880 the missionary priests began to say mass in the settlement and construction of a church began in 1883, and the first resident priest, a Moravian, came in 1885. The Reverend A.J. Novacek succeeded him shortly; he preached in Czech until he left about 1910. Father Olesh was pastor for a very short time afterward. The two priests who have followed, Rev. Clement Weber till 1928, and John F. McManus (still incumbent 1960) have known no Czech. The early appearance of non-Czech pastors was possible because not all parishioners were Czech. Father Weber, however, needed the language. The church built in 1912 indicated prosperity, "a magnificent brick edifice" says Swehla /kc 13:496; the

parish is moderately prosperous, it has no parochial school, but in 1960 it gave "special religious instruction to 81 elementary school children." As a social center it too has had its "hall in the country " (5 E and 1 S of Wilson).

The town of Wilson got its start in 1871 before the arrival of the Bohemians, but it made little progress until they appeared. The area to the west and southwest was not occupied by the Czechs and the town did not therefore ever become exclusively Czech. Czechs were, however, among the very early merchants (Tobias /a 1877, Somer, Zavodnik 1878 /kc 13:494). The number increased as the years passed. Swehla explains: "Owing to the large number of settlers who preferred to speak their mother tongue, and many of them had no choice in the matter, all the merchants in town employed clerks of Bohemian nationality. Now many of those former clerks are storekeepers themselves," and he gives a long list, including "J.H. Cerny, music teacher and cigar maker, also local editor or agent of a paper, Kansasky Pokrok; Albert Miegler, agent and reporter for Kansaske Rozhledy. Both of these Bohemian weeklies are published in Omaha, Nebraska." So they were, but they bore Wilson on their masthead, and the matter that did not have the character of "patent insides" originated in considerable part in Wilson. It showed that Nebraskans regarded Wilson as the most important Czech settlement in Kansas. The Rozhledy ceased publication in 1914. The Pokrok was still being published in 1916. During four years of its career from 1906 to 1914, the Rozhledy was edited by W.F. Sekavec /ch 18. Sekavec was also a politician, at one time a representative to the state legislature.

Swehla did not think the Bohemians were clannish (many others said they were), but he had this to say on their politics:

"In matters of politics as well as religion the settlers were divided into different parties, but the Democratic party predominated. Ellsworth County under normal conditions is Republican, but a Bohemian candidate, whether Republican or Democrat, generally gets elected. This is because of national affiliation. When a countryman is on the ticket the Bohemians will do some scratching. This fact is evident from the repeated elections to county offices of W.F. Sekavec, when most of the offices were filled by Republicans."

The Czechs nowhere in the Wilson Palacky district maintained schools separate from the public school system, and never insisted on teaching their children to read and write Czech in school. It ceased to be a cultural language for the sons of the immigrants. The first Czech was graduated from Wilson High School in 1891; by 1913 the number of graduates was 34. The number of Bohemian teachers produced in the county by 1913 was 41 /kc 13:491-2. There were then thirty students in college. The library spoken of in connection with the society of 1880 was not entirely or even mainly in Czech. Its existence proves an early element interested in reading even among those whose schooling amounted to months rather than years; Swehla was an example. This element seems to have represented the yeast in the dough, rather than the dough itself. In part it furnished the teachers so that there was little hostility to bilingualism among school children. Bilingualism became common early but as we shall see Czech was not quickly abandoned.

One reason for its persistence was a late wave of immigration. The dates of arrival in the United States and the number of immigrant survivors in 1925 in Wilson and the two adjacent townships (Wilson Twp. and Noble Twp.) is as follows:

	City	Wilson Twp.	Noble Twp.	Total
1851-1859	1	1	0	2
1860-1869	9	4	3	16
1870-1879	27	11	14	52
1880-1889	30	14	19	63
1890-1899	4	0	10	14
1900-1905	1	1	3	5
1906-1914	24	2	8	34

The City of Ellsworth had 12 who arrived between 1885 and 1893; five who arrived in 1914. With the beginning of the First World War immigration ceased; all Ellsworth County in 1925 included only five Czechs who came after 1914.

The Bohemians began exporting excess population rather early. As usual with the nationality a high proportion of those who went elsewhere did not go far. In 1918, of Frank Cipra's 11 children /co 3:1606, six remained in the district or very close to it, four were more distant in Ellsworth county or adjacent counties. Only one had left the state. Another family of eight of this generation has four in the settlement, two close by, and the other two elsewhere in Kansas. On the other hand a family also of the same generation that had moved away from Wilson early and then back had seven sons all living in separate states outside of

Kansas, one daughter outside, two daughters in Wilson and one daughter and one son elsewhere in Kansas.

In the cemeteries Czech inscriptions began to go out of style in 1919 and became rare after 1929.

Language of Inscriptions in the Wilson Czech Area

	Cath. Cem. at Wilson Eng	Czech	Czech in 1/3 of Wilson City Cem.	Palacky Nat'l Cemetery Eng	Czech	% of Czech
1880-9		4	4	1	21	96%
1890-9	total					
	about	10	5	15	17	53%
1900-9	equal to					
	total of	14	8	15	19	59%
	Czechs					
1910-9		16	2	15	18	56%
1920-9		14	1	24	10	29%
1930-9		9	3	34	6	15%
1940-9		4	0	42	3	7%

On the northern borders of the Wilson district and in the stretches to the north, Czech disappeared from home usage with the First World War. Until 1930 all over the Wilson-Palacky district proper, Czech was the standard language in a Bohemian home. Of those born since that year the older understand Czech and in the country around Wilson those born before 1935 are able to speak it. Anyone born since 1941 at most in 1961 understood Czech and knew phrases. In the central rural district two-thirds of those born in the 40's understand; elsewhere the young have completely abandoned the language. In 1950 Czech was still of value in doing business with the old, and there were some older women not able to speak English. Czech newspapers from Chicago were rather numerous; in 1961 there were very few of them. In 1961

an adult newcomer to the town of Wilson had at the end of two months never heard Czech spoken there. However, in the same year a man born in 1899 who made rural deliveries had more than occasional use for Czech, said that among themselves those born before 1930 or 1935 were still using Czech with people their own age. In 1966 Wilson in search of a theme for its summer celebration made it into a Czech day (July 11). The role of the language was limited to the use of Czech names for typical dishes. A society was formed "for the purpose of perpetuating an interest in Old World customs in food, drink, fashion and culture." (Kansas City Star, 12 Feb. 1967).

WORDEN GERMANS (Mid-m, Douglas E)

47.70 Worden (sw 5-15-19), which had a post office from 1884 to 1904, and in the mid-twentieth century still had a store as well as one church, with another close by, is located in Willow Springs Township, and the German community about to be discussed here long bore the name of Willow Springs, but to avoid confusion with a Penn-German group centered at a point (ne 21-14-19) which had a post office from 1861 to 1900 but later became the location of a Brethren (Dunkard) Church, Worden will be used exclusively to designate the German group which is our present subject.

In 1895 there were in the settlement 307 speakers of German (128 fb, 179 children residing with them). In Willow Springs Township in an area containing 31 per cent of the population of the township, the population was nearly half made up of these speakers of German (40 per cent). Though the population has since decreased.

The flat uplands where the Worden settlement is remained uncultivated for a few years after the opening of the territory of Kansas in 1854. The Willow Springs District, however, was traversed by the Santa Fe Trail, and even several years before the opening of the territory there seems to have been some commercial activity at the springs. As early as 1854 at the northern edge of the Worden district where the plateau is broken by the valleys running from the Wakarusa, Penn-Germans (mostly Dunkards) began moving in. At about the same time, the Dutch Van Hoesens moved to the Santa Fe Trail stop at Willow Springs and soon a post office was put in their charge. At the eastern edge, the Tauhy Creek valley commenced to be occupied very soon. Near it some time between 1854 and 1858 there settled a Pennsylvanian named Daniel Haas, and he eventually became a Wordenite.

But the real foundation of the Worden community seems to have occurred in 1858 when other German-born Haases settled not far from the present Worden. The widow of Fred Haas, née Eva Maria Fischer (1803-1883), arrived in the Worden area in 1858 with three sons, Fred (1839-1925), George (1842-1905), and Louis (1845-1908), and a daughter (Magda)Lena (1835-1919). They had come from Wurtemberg to Connecticut in 1854 and had spent a short time in Iowa.

The settlement did not grow rapidly during the years of the Civil War.

Fred Schwartz (1834-?) arrived from Iowa in time to make part of the militia organized after Quantrill's Raid in 1863, and his brother Charles's (1836-1909) oldest child was born in Kansas at about the same time.

Charles had come from Michigan. Like the Haases, the Schwartz's were Wurtembergers and settled still nearer Worden.

None of these males were married on their arrival, but by 1869 they had all taken wives. Charles Schwartz took Magdalena Haas (1835-1919). Fred Haas and Fred Schwartz took two girls from Hesse Cassel, Germany-- (Magda)Lena (1824-1927) and Elizabeth (1845-1903). George Haas married a Pennsylvania girl, Elizabeth Albright (1844-1925) and Louis married an Elizabeth Johanning (1848-1950) from Missouri.

Elizabeth was the first of a group of some size that moved in from the Hermann, Missouri, neighborhood on the lower Missouri River; they included the Hacks and the Hornbergers, as well as the Johannings. They were North German in origin. To re-enforce the South Germans, there came Bavarians-- the Stoebners and late the Jungs.

Footnote: Stoebner, John (1828-1904); to Kansas by way of Pennsylvania. Married Elizabeth (1843-after 1925) who came directly from Bavaria. Son Henry born in Kansas in 1868.

Jung (or Young), Michael (1841-?); to Ohio in 1856. Married Catherine (1847-1934); first to Pennsylvania. Daughter Louisa born in Osage County, Kansas in 1873. To Marion Township (west end of Worden district) 1875-1885.

Jung, Peter (1835-?). Married Anna (1853-?). In Iowa at least by 1859--Willow Springs Township by 1884

Jung, W.F. (1811-?).and E.M. (1810-?) were with Peter in 1885.

Casper Henry Johanning (1806-1894) and his wife, Mary Catherine (1821-1893) came to the Hermann, Missouri, neighborhood between 1843 and 1848 in the first decade of this Missouri settlement's existence. In 1848, their daughter Elizabeth was born; and when she was twenty years old, she journeyed to Lawrence, Kansas, to work in the wholesale grocery of Theodore Poehler. Thus contact with Louis Haas from the Worden district became possible, and she married him in 1869. She began to attract her relatives almost at once. Her brother Henry (1849-1933) was a hired man with Fred Haas in 1870. In 1876, he and his foreign-born wife, née Amalia Klopheus, had their first child. Eventually, Casper and Mary and five more of their children settled here.

Like Casper, Gotthold Hornberger (1845-1921) was born in Germany. So were the parents of his wife Anna (1856-1933)--John (1809-1884) and Elizabeth (1817-1892) Ebinger. The Hornbergers came from Missouri to Kansas between 1870 and 1874; later the Ebingers followed them. They have left numerous descendants at Worden. The Hacks, Martin (1856-1913) and Elizabeth (1864-1939), have, on the other hand, left few. To fortify the South German element, Alsatians began to move in shortly after 1880--Ganz (arrived 1881-83), Straub (1876-83), Roser (arrived 1891), Dietz (arrived 1893).

Ganz, Mathias (37-04) - married Margaret, b. 37
 Straub, Joseph (born 1843) - married Salome (1835-1930)
 Roser, Phil (67-?) - married Mary (1873-?)
 Dietz, August (born 1863) - Magdalena (born 1867)

From this stock St. John's congregation was organized in August of 1868. In that year, the Reverend Christian Haas, who had come to the United States at the same time as George in 1854, arrived to spend time with his relatives at Willow Springs because of delicate health. He had attended Marthasville Seminary of what was to be the Evangelical Synod (still later E-R) from 1856 to 1859 and was ordained on leaving it. His zeal during his stay in Kansas led not only to the organization of a church among his relatives and their neighbors but also brought about in December of 1858 the establishment of St. Paul's at Eudora and the next year of the Lawrence church. The St. John's congregation built the "Stone Church" (so it is known in the neighborhood) in 1876. George Haas was one of its deacons.

The Hermann neighborhood in Missouri, settled in 1836, has been very German; its Evangelical Church (definitively organized in 1844) grew strong in a district half Protestant, half Catholic. The immigrants from the Hermann district carried their religious and nationalistic enthusiasms with them, and their church, the Stone Church, has been much more conservative than its somewhat larger rival, the Zion Church of the Evangelical Association. This church, which was organized in 1869 a year later than St. John's, built sooner (1872) but not of stone. Its charter members were all people who had come to the district in the two or three years preceding. They were:

Heffner, Michael (1819-1894) and Katherine (1833-1912)
 (Wurtemberg--Wisconsin--Illinois)
 Long, Christian (Pennsylvania--Illinois) (1840-1889) and Elizabeth
 (Hesse Cassel)(1845-1881).

Pippert, John Conrad (1841-1922) and Mary (born in Holland 1848-1935)
(Hesse Cassel--Holland--Iowa)
Warner, Charles (1842-1936) and Elizabeth (1843-1917)
Mrs. Fager and Mrs. Oehrle, G.
Zellner, David R. (1841-1927) and Salome

The Heffners, Longs and Warners came to Worden from Illinois; the Pipperts from Iowa. Conrad Pippert and Elizabeth Long both were born in Hesse Cassel and were probably related. The little group thus had this unity of experience before its arrival. Their birth places, however, were diversified. Heffner was a Wurtemberger and Warner a Bavarian. Long and Mrs. Warner were Penn-Germans (born in the state), and Katherine Heffner was a second generation German from Wisconsin.

The disrupting influence of their diversity of origin was soon counter-balanced by the addition of grandparents to the Pippert and Warner households (Charles Pippert 1809-1897; Jerome 1816-1882 and Susan 1817-1901 Warner).

The Evangelical Association congregation was almost at once enlarged by the addition of several who were already or may have already been on the ground at the time of organization. Among the oldtimers were George Oehrle (1818-1886) and his wife Catherine (1832-1899). Their oldest son Jacob was born in Kansas in 1860. Oehrle was the founder of the Western or Globe branch of the community which took shape around the headwaters of Eight Mile Creek, a Marais des Cygnes tributary. He came directly from Germany, according to the census.

Unlike Oehrle, Prussian Fred Fleer (1824-1890) had a history of residence elsewhere in this country before settling in Kansas. He came to the Hermann neighborhood in Missouri in 1852 and married Anna (1825-70). By 1866 they had five children and two years later, presumably seeking new opportunities for their brood, they moved to Eudora. They remained there only until the next

year (1869); then they joined the Hermann colony and the congregation that was to build the Stone Church. In January of 1870, Anna bore another son, destined to live only five months, and in February she died. The next year, Fred married the widow Barbara Zerby (born in Pennsylvania in 1825). Thereupon, his connections with the Evangelical Synod ceased, but he and his whole family were accepted into the Evangelical Association. Eventually their landholdings among the stone church people (section 19) were replaced by farms near the other church (section 32). The other Evangelical Association foreignborn arriving before 1870 were:

Funk, George (1829-1920) and wife Elizabeth (1837-1907)
George born in Germany 1868 (in census of 1870; still there in 1885, but names not in community at present)
Rappard, Charles (1839-1935) and wife Margaret (1848-1912)
They came from Switzerland in 1869.
Sitzler, John (born in Hesse Darmesteter 1798-1874) and Elizabeth (born in Baden in 1808). They came before 1870. They were accompanied by their son John (1838-1899) from Ohio. John married Amelia (born in Germany in 1856).

As in many communities, there was a pause in immigration at Worden during the middle 1870's. Of those arriving after activity began again and before the Kansas boom ended, five families that became permanent residents may be cited.

Elm, Henry (born Ohio 1854-1824) and wife Minnie (born Missouri 1859-1924)
eldest daughter J. J. born in Kansas in 1881
Heim, Fred (1838-1901) and wife Christina (1844-1937)
Maggie born in Illinois in 1878
William born in Kansas in 1880
Pohl, Christian (1834-1908) and wife Minnie (1838-1925)
Beine, William J. (1817-1890); Charles (1846-1929); and John (1848-1935)
William (1851-1937) and wife Elizabeth (1859-1921)
(Section 33-14-18) came to Kansas between 1875 and 1878
Stahel, Jacob (1841-1901) and wife Barbara (1839-1904)
(Section 4-15-18) came to Kansas in 1884 or 1885.

Five of the six just listed were born in Germany. Minnie Elm was Missouri born. Henry spent some time in Ohio as a bachelor before coming to Kansas. The Heims, both German born, spent at least twelve years in Illinois before reaching Kansas. The Pohls came directly from Germany after a quarter of a century of married life. With these three families, two that sooner or later settled near Oehrle at Globe will serve as examples. The Beines were Hollanders who came to the United States in 1859 and came to Kansas from Missouri. The older brothers, who always lived with William, never married; and William, whose wife was Wisconsin born, did not marry until he came to Kansas. They did not become associated with the Evangelical Association at once, for William J. is buried in a cemetery a mile from his farm. The Stahels were Swiss like the Rappards (Barbara was Charles Rappard's sister) and came directly to Kansas with seven children.

The two Worden churches were the centers of distinctly different cultural developments.

The Evangelical Association was served by ministers of the Eudora circuit until 1906 and was thus rather accessible to influence from the other members of the circuit, a tendency accentuated by the frequency of ministerial changes in accordance with the Association's policy. Its membership had no definite unity of origin and was comparatively restless, more given to moving around than the people at the Stone Church, and geographically their frontiers were vaguer. They occupied the southern and western two-thirds of the area, where, for the most part, their neighbors were not predominantly German in background. On the other hand, the Stone Church people bordered, on the north and east, upon the Dunkard community with its definitely Penn-German background.

It must not be thought that the Evangelical Association folk deliberately turned away from their German heritage; a part of them had too recently

immigrated from Europe to allow such a thing. But they tended to accept more or less good-humoredly the divergency of national habits among themselves and took pleasure in being "progressive". For example, in 1917 Worden "had the honor of having the first class in the denomination to take the exam...in the Evangelical Training Course"/ pz, continuation 28. When in 1906 the congregation was promoted from the "Willow Springs Mission" to the dignity of being Worden Mission, the modest building of 1872 was much enlarged. The community in depression times (the year was 1932) was prosperous enough-- with the aid of damages received because some change for their building was necessitated by road widening--to erect a new and even larger building/ pz, continuation 111. The personnel of the 1932 building committee is evidence of the character of the congregation. It is made up of the son of a Stone Church worthy (Hornberger), the son of an early Methodist pioneer (Gilges), and the son of one of the later arriving immigrants (Stahel).

The Evangelical Association never maintained a separate day school. On the other hand, the Stone Church had, as late as 1925, a separate school to be discussed further under the Linguistic History.

As might have been expected, there were dissensions in the Worden neighborhood during the First World War. The Evangelical Association congregation accomodated itself to the necessities of the times without incurring the censure of neighboring communities, but the Stone Church people would not bow to the hysteria around them. They continued preaching in German and were regarded as otherwise unpatriotic (Lawrence Germania, May, 1918 pages 10 and 17).

High feeling finally led in early May, 1918 to the tarring and feathering of Pastor Conrad Gastrock (1858-1931). It was alleged that he had

asked during the church services for all those who were in sympathy with Germany to stand up and be counted and that he had personally knocked down one member failing to rise. He and his congregation, of course, denied this absurdity. He admitted that in one campaign he had not recommended in English during services contributions to Liberty Loans and the Red Cross. His defense was that he had been absent from Worden at the time.

After this incident, there was uneasy peace. Pastor Gastrock evidently felt that he had his neighbors' confidence, for he ended his days in the community, and lies buried with his wife Ida (1866-1945) in the cemetery of the Stone Church.

The economic history of the Worden community has few distinguishing features. The upland farms of which the district is mainly made up came, as the years passed, to have increasing value relatively to the creek valleys and ravine country around it. Thus is explained Worden's ultimate, though not enduring, achievement of post office status. Its final victory as a center over Willow Springs may be attributed to the accident of fate that led Highway 50 N past its store and church. The store was established about 1896 by a man of Yankee stock named Peter Boone. He was soon displaced by a Glaeser of German stock originally located at nearby Clearfield, where the family kept its church membership, though resident in Willow Springs Township since before 1885. The Pipperts, of the earliest Worden stock, next took over. The store had burned about 1931, and the next year the improvement of the highway before its site led to the rebuilding.

As an example of family history from among the congregation of St. John's, the Stone Church, let us consider Karl Plambeck. Karl was born in 1879 in

the province of Pomerania. (Unlike most of the Stone Church people, he is therefore, a North German.) In his youth, he worked in Danzig where he acquired a smattering of Polish. In 1902 he emigrated to the United States--first to Tacoma, Washington and later to Denver, Colorado. There he met Amalia Haas (born 1886) on the way to the church from the home where she was working. She was the daughter of Louis and Elizabeth Johanning Haas. Marriage resulted from this meeting. Karl was a brewery worker and prohibition pursued him. His daughter Elizabeth was born in Nevada in 1917 and somewhat later the family lived in California. National prohibition did away with his occupation. In 1921, they returned to Worden to settle down for good. Their home, a mile east of the Stone Church, was also that of Karl's mother-in-law, Elizabeth Johanning Haas, who lived to be more than a hundred (1843-1950). Karl did not restrict his income solely to what the farm would bring. Among other things, he helped with the construction of the new store in 1932. About 1937, he fell heir to property in Pomerania. Under Hitler, it was impossible to transfer the money to the United States; and since Karl and Amalia could not leave her mother, their daughter Elizabeth went to Germany to use up the inheritance. She spoke German though with an American accent and knew how to live in Germany, but the expenditure of the money baffled her, and the unused balances were swallowed up in World War II. Elizabeth married in the neighborhood. Her only sister, Antoinette, in 1952 took as her husband Lloyd Brecheisen from the Clearfield neighborhood.

The Karl Plambecks combine Worden's earliest family stocks (Haas and Johanning) with the latest arrived foreign-born. The William Rappards represent two Evangelical Association stocks that arrived in the late 1860's (Warners along with Rappards).

✓ 700

William Rappard was born in 1870, the next year after his parents, Charles and Meta (or Margaret) had arrived in Worden from Switzerland and had settled just west of the north focus. Seven brothers and sisters were born later. He acquired a farm just west of the homestead. He married Susan Warner (born 1873). Though Susan's father Charles, one of the charter members of the Evangelical Association Church, was Bavarian by birth and though his parents came to live with him, the family, because of Charles' wife's preponderant influence, was regarded as Penn-German. Seven Warner children were living at home in 1875. William and Susan Rappard came to be regarded as at the very heart of the Worden community. Their family was not numerous, three children, but all remained intimately connected with Worden. They were Mabel, who remained at home with her parents; Charles, a farmer in the neighborhood (Section 34-14-18) who married Viola, the daughter of George Oehrle, the pioneer at Globe; and Gladys, who married Frank, a grandson of Conrad Pippert, the pioneer (see above). Frank Pippert is a merchant in Lawrence.

Worden's connections with other German-speaking groups were mostly with those in the rest of the county, Stull, Clearfield, Eudora, Lawrence, and its immediate neighbors at Lapeer and on the edge of the Wakarusa valley. The connection with Lawrence, exemplified very early through the Johannings, has rather been with the closest shopping center than specifically with the German group. Most of the Worden families have members established there, some since the last of the nineteenth century. Some Wordenites have lived there and returned to the settlement (example, Elmer Rappard, grandson of Charles Rappard and William Beine).

The connections with Eudora were stronger before the Second World War than since; the existence of both types of Evangelical Church in both places is sufficient evidence. An example of family connections is furnished by the Lefholz brothers, one in each community. The later attitude of Eudora toward Worden is illustrated by the woman of German descent who exclaimed in 1952, "Worden? Why, that's all sauerkraut down there!" It was Stull capital (Chris Krafft's) and Stull supervision (Oscar Nuffer's) that rebuilt the Worden store in 1931, and a manager (Platz) came from Stull to operate it.

The connections with Clearfield have not been marked since early days. The Clearfield Evangelical Association Church is older than Worden's and certain families that lived in what was ultimately Worden belonged there. But they happened to be among the less persistent families. Later, John Breithaupt from the Clearfield district came to live at Worden.

Religious differences kept the people of Worden separate from the Lapeer Catholics, and the Willow Springs, Pleasant Grove, and Lone Star Dunkards from early mutual assimilations (though examples, Letz, Eberhardt, can be cited.) Propinquity finally breached the walls of separation, but they were not important during the period of greatest linguistic interest.

Linguistic history. The use of German in Worden community was not yet dead in 1950. It had been generally abandoned, but in one or two homes was still the ordinary means of communication, and as late as 1940, was used regularly in certain families where there were children. The evidence of the cemeteries is as follows:

	Evangelical and Reformed			Evangelical United Brethren		
	German	% of German	English	German	% of German	English
1870-79	0	0%	11	0	0%	5
1880-89	5	36%	9	1	6%	17
1890-99	5	56%	4	4	17%	20
1900-09	5	38%	8	2	7%	25
1910-19	2	15%	11	0	0%	18
1920-29	1	7%	14	1	4%	22
1930-39	2	20%	8	0	0%	25
1940-52	2	29%	5			
	<u>22</u>		<u>70</u>	<u>8</u>		<u>132</u>

From these data, it is quite clear that the Evangelical Association membership accepted English as the language of permanent public record from the very beginning and even that the majority of the Stone Church people (St. John's Church, Evangelical Synod) always felt that English records were more appropriate.

In both cemeteries, the period when German was most used was in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The persistence of German among a minority of inscriptions in the St. John's cemetery is quite remarkable. Indeed, one bearing the year 1950 is to be found. It is that of the American-born centenarian, Elizabeth Johanning Haas (1848-1950); her family made her inscription harmonize with that of her husband Louis, who died in 1908; but Louis was the only Haas to have a German inscription on his tombstone. As we shall see, the choice for Elizabeth conformed also to her habits. The two inscriptions of the 1930's were for Conrad Gastrock and Lizzie Hack (born Missouri 1864-1949).

The Johanning family has an informative series of inscriptions. Between 1880 and 1894, six deaths were recorded in German; the last was that of the patriarch Casper. In 1912, two wives died, and their inscriptions are in

English, as are all inscriptions since, unless Elizabeth Johanning Haas, mentioned above, should be included. Within the gap between 1894 and 1912, fall the deaths of Louis and Lorenz Jehle. Louis's 1906 inscription is in German; Lorenz's (1909) is in English.

As might be expected from the tombstone data, the Evangelical Association abandoned German in church services much earlier than the Stone Church, but both churches were conservative.

English seems to have been introduced into the Evangelical Association services about 1895. From the time that Worden Mission was established in 1906, all records were in English. In 1906 the morning service was in German, the evening in English. In 1914 German services occurred once a month, and were abandoned during the First World War. From 1915 until 1918, the Rev. C. F. Hartman was pastor. It was his first charge, but his father Henry (1856-1931), who was born in Langedorf, Germany, was a minister in the Kansas Conference, and, thus reared, the young man understood how to sway his congregation so that they yielded to the pressures of the time. Some twelve persons in the congregation could not understand English. By 1952, German had not for some time been needed for pastoral purposes. Almost no one in the congregation was capable of connected discourse in German.

→ (Evangelical Synod, now Evangelical and Reformed)

The Stone Church is labeled by a carefully preserved inscription carved in stone over the door, "Deutsche Ev. St. Johannes Kirche-1876". Here the exclusive use of German was taken as a matter of course until the time of the First World War. The hysteria that led to Pastor Gastrock's being tarred and feathered was exasperated as much by the congregation's staunch devotion to its original tongue as by anything else. The Reverend Conrad Gastrock was

already sixty years old at the time, and even after his chastisement was not inclined to change his ways. He went on preaching in German until his retirement in 1924; after this time, he remained in the neighborhood on his farm (Section 15-15-19) until he died in 1931. Though the dates of his tombstone inscription are in English, the familiar quotation from Philippians 1-21 is in German. The same stone with its German quotation also bears the name of Ida, Conrad's wife (1866-1945). His successor was G. E. Seybold, a young man just entering on his ministry, Seybold was of a pioneer family of Evangelical Synod pastors. His grandfather, J. C. Seybold (1827-1902) was born in Wurtemberg and educated in Basel, Switzerland. He came to the United States in 1855. G. E. Seybold was brought up in Missouri, born at Wellington. His older brothers were ministers too. He kept his vital records in German at first, but before he left in 1927, dropped into English. He began by having German services twice a month but attempted to cut them down to once a month. There was trouble, but after his day, German disappeared from regular services. However, on Good Fridays some German was still customary, and in 1951 a special German service by the Rev. Joseph C. Polester (Austrian born ca. 1897) was made a social occasion of importance. The Rev. John Kreuzer (born ca. 1885), whose pastorate ended in 1950, used German in his own home and nostalgically put it to use in pastoral work. His successor, the Rev. Henry G. Rieder, though bi-lingual, left the initiative in the use of German to his parishioners and still found its use occasionally necessary.

The Stone Church was an educational, as well as a religious stronghold of German. Until 1925, it maintained from September until Christmas every year a school where the instruction was in German. After it closed each year, the children went to the district school. As elsewhere, the district school was an important instrument for the dissemination of English. As late as 1938 or 1939, children entered it who had heard only German at home.

The distinction in the use of German between Zion Church and St. John's Church was much less marked in the everyday life of the two congregations than it was in records and services. Though the most conservative families linguistically were and are to be found in the Stone Church, and families linguistically non-German at home were to be found very early in the other group, still the community as a whole had a certain unity, and it was German until about the time of the First World War.

At the turn of the century, the Rilling boys were brought up at the focus. Their mother was an Irish woman, and they spoke English at home; but they had to learn to understand German and used bits of it for communication with their neighbors. Even in 1931, English speaking children arriving in the community became used to hearing German from most adults. By 1938, most individual homes where foreign born grandparents were ^{not} present preserved their use of German among children of school age only through an effort of authority on the part of the parents (e.g. William Hornberger). By the late 1940's, German had fallen into disuse in the Hornberger family despite this rigorous early demand.

Elizabeth Johanning Haas always claimed ignorance of English. But in illnesses in her late nineties she spoke the language involuntarily. Still it is not surprising that in the household in which she and foreign born Karl Flambeck lived, German was the language usually in use. The case was exceptional in the 1950's.

In most households, even where the members were old at that time, the use of German, except for expressions or memorized items like prayers, required effort.

PART III

MEXICAN SETTLEMENTS

MEXICAN SETTLEMENTS--Introductory Note

The background for Mexican settlements in Kansas is presented in Sections 45.01 to 45.92; particularly the reasons for the separate treatment of this grouping are the subject of Section 45.01.

The location by counties of Mexican settlements is as follows:

Atchison-Atchison 47.72

Brown-Horton 47.82

Cowley-Arkansas City 47.71

Winfield 47.99

Dickinson-Herington 47.81

Douglas-Lawrence 47.88

Ellsworth-Kanopolis 47.85

Finney-Garden City 47.79 (47.22 ff.)

Ford-Dodge City 47.76

Franklin-Ottawa 47.92

Harvey-Newton 47.91

Labette-Parsons 47.93

Lyon-Emporia 47.77

Marion-Florence 47.78

Montgomery-Coffeyville 47.74

Independence 47.84

Morris-Council Grove 47.75

Neosho-Chanute 47.73

Pawnee-Larned 47.87

Pratt-Pratt 47.94

Reno-Hutchinson 47.83

Rice-Lyons 47.89

Riley-Manhattan 47.90

Saline-Salina 47.95

Sedgwick-Wichita 47.97

Shawnee-Topeka 47.96

Sherman-Goodland 47.80

Sumner-Wellington 47.98

Wyandotte-Kansas City 47.86

47.71 Arkansas City Mexicans

Arkansas City was founded in 1870. The Santa Fe railroad reached it in December 1879. It was a terminus for the next 6 years, and it became the seat of much Santa Fe activity. Presumably there were Mexicans employed by 1900; there were two in the county in that year; probably 3 in Arkansas City in 1905. In 1915 there were according to the printed census 54 Mexicans all foreign-born; they were employed on the railroad. In 1920 there were 76 foreign-born. The printed census of 1925 reports 13 Mexicans in Arkansas City. The assessors' lists for that year record the thirteen mixed into the general population, and then at the end of Book Three has this item without further detail:

"Mexicans; 100 men,
84 women,
<u>112 boys and girls,</u>
296 total".

For the census of 1930 in this case difficulties of interpretation make it hard to say what number between 210 and 360 is correct for the Mexican population of Arkansas City. A Mexican who arrived in 1927 estimated almost 40 years later that there were 400 families in 1927. The estimate was doubtless so generous that he should have said persons rather than families, but this was the peak period. Reliable estimates were 40 families in 1953 and 25 in 1955. By 1966 the number had dwindled further, to 15 or 20 families. Some men were still working on the railroad, but more were living on railroad pensions. Others were employed elsewhere, particularly in 1953 in a packing house. In 1950 Arkansas City was reputed one of the towns where discrimination was active /fr 53 ; in 1966 some remained, but such behavior was in general a memory. In 1955 morale was high, and a chapter of the American GI Forum was organized. By 1966 Mexicans of active age had frequently left for employment elsewhere, leaving children with grandparents. By 1950

there were families living distant from the round house at the southern edge of the city, but the concentration was still near it to east and west. The Santa Fe provided quarters for some of the families. These were brick structures of rather early construction (perhaps 1930), somewhat modernized about 1950, better housing than that found in many places. In Arkansas City the young were quite constructively active; the contrast to the inertia and conservatism of the old was therefore more evident by contrast. The Catholicism of at least a part of

the Mexicans of Arkansas City was more ardent than usual among Mexicans. By 1953 there had been 2 girls and 1 boy who received vocations. The children attended the parochial school. Inasmuch as there was never a Mexican church or pastor at Arkansas City, the whole religious influence has been Engl-izing. An Anglo reported in 1942 that the Mexicans used Spanish at home and in small social groups, but not in buying and selling. By 1953 the children of immigrants were using only English with each other (more frequently than in Topeka) and their Spanish was limited. In 1966 the young refused to speak Spanish; the old used deteriorated Spanish with each other, but were bi-lingual.

1955 Data on Mr. and Mrs. Z and family. He, born 1929, here, of immigrants; she born here, father immigrated from Durango, mother born in El Paso, Texas. Spanish of both younger Z's limited. Same true of her brother, father of two children. Z's parents of three children; all understood a little Spanish because grandmother spoke only Spanish to them. Z employed locally, brother-in-law commuted to Wichita.

1955 Data on Mr. and Mrs. C and family. C born 1925, here, of immigrants; she also born here of immigrants; one son born 1951, in high school. C. president of local American GI Forum. Oral Spanish of couple quite good; ~~he~~ found difficulty in reading and writing. The difficulty in writing was only orthographical.

1966 Data on Mr. and Mrs. O. He born 1899, in Zacatecas, Mexico; she born Tabasco. To San Antonio 1925; to Arkansas City 1927. Railroad worker till injury in 1954, part-time house painter afterward. Six daughters, one son; all had left Arkansas City. Parents lonesome; they were speaking Spanish together without noticeable deterioration since leaving Mexico.

(Compare Winfield)

47.72 Atchison Mexicans

Atchison, as a railroad town among its other activities, received Mexicans early. In 1910 it held 6 persons born in Mexico, in 1920, 69. The 1925 census included 88 foreign-born Mexicans with whom lived 17 children. There was no single colonia. Only 16 of the 88 recorded the year of arrival in the United States, 4 in 1916, 5 in 1920, 1 in 1922 and 6 in 1923. These dates and the low proportion of children indicate that the Mexican population of Atchison became stable late. There were from 112 to 129 "Mexicans" in the city in 1930, a few more in the adjoining township. In 1967 there were perhaps 15 families in Atchison. They all lived in well-kept neighborhoods and were socially and occupationally accepted; a number of families in no solid group were centered about the nine hundred block on south Seventh Street just below Mount Saint Scholastica. In 1936 a nameless "Mexican parish" existed. Preaching in Spanish at a Mass first occurred in 1931 when 45 Mexicans were present; in 1935 Spanish sermons were given once a month /lp:21.

The use of Spanish had by 1967 been relegated to grandmothers except when the next generation was addressing them. No one aged less than twenty had any proficiency.

1967 Data on H.R., born 1954, did not know family history. Knew only a few words ^{of} Spanish, her sister, born 1952, a few more. Her mother spoke Spanish to her grandmother who was living with her grandfather in another neighborhood. The grandmother spoke only a little English. H.R. had never heard her cousins, who lived in her own neighborhood, speak Spanish. Everyone who could, spoke Spanish to an old couple in the neighborhood.

1967 Data on W.L., born ca. 1954. Family lived in isolation (not in the neighborhood with H.R.). His grandparents had lived in Deerfield, Kansas (the Arkansas Valley beet country, but he knew nothing of beets). He doesn't speak Spanish, but his parents do to each other once in a while (not so often that the neighbors were aware of it; so presumably for secrecy from their son). Interviewed in company with an Anglo playmate.

47.73 Chanute Mexicans

Chanute's history goes back to 1870; the railroad line that was to become the Santa Fe entered shortly afterward. Chanute became a division point of importance. Its railroad fortune later dwindled, but endured longer than for many railroad towns. The Mexican colony there became the most flourishing in southeastern Kansas. According to his recollections in 1965 the first Mexican to have continued residence in Chanute arrived in 1902. The first baptism of a Mexican child took place in 1907. The 25 persons who in 1925 told when they had entered the United States recorded 2 for 1907, 8 for 1911 and 1912, 14 for 1916 and 1918, and 1 for 1921. The printed census of 1915 showed 37 foreign-born Mexicans; with them lived at least 7 children. This is probably a serious under-enumeration. In 1920 there were 260 foreign-born. The census taken in 1925 counted 67 foreign-born, 74 children. Again under-enumeration seems the case, for the Mexicans 40 years later estimated between ⁴⁰⁰ and 500 families for that time. The 1930 census showed 389 Mexicans (except for perhaps 2 Indians). A reliable estimate set the number at 100 families in 1966. The 1925 census shows more dispersal through the city than was usual at the period, but the center has been near the Santa Fe installations in the southwest part of town. Here there was early a box-car colonia. The Santa Fe replaced the box cars with brick houses, demolished in 1958, dispersing the Mexican population much more. In spite of railroad personnel reductions extending into the mid-1960's, the economic fortunes of the group have held up better than in most railroad towns because of the employment afforded by a cement plant some 6 miles north of town (nearer Humboldt) and by the Southeast Kansas Tuberculant Hospital. Near the cement plant in 1925 lived 19

Mexicans with 4 children and 3 Spaniards with 6. In 1930 in Humboldt and the township around it there were from 60 to 76 Mexicans. Chanute's fiesta to celebrate Mexican independence, September 16, has taken place ever since 1917. In 1965 from seven to eight thousand people participated, in 1966 many less. Those present were often Anglo onlookers, but Mexicans who had their roots in Chanute returned in considerable numbers, and all the Mexican settlements in the area gathered. In its later days Anglos have seized upon the fiesta as an instrument of municipal promotion. It becomes at once the instrument creating and the phenomenon exhibiting an ambivalent attitude on the part of Anglos in the town. The Mexicans reflected sadly upon the fervor exhibited by their fellow townsmen during the period of the fiesta and the frigidity most frequent through the rest of the year. In 1966 the Catholics maintained that they were more big-hearted than the Protestants toward Mexicans; they were right, the Mexicans were their project, but the Mexicans preferred to sit in the rear of their church. Catholic employers claimed, evidently in defense against pastoral questioning, that they would lose their other employees if they hired Mexicans. The Mexicans themselves were little exercised over social conditions, and discrimination had not been such as to hinder Engl-izing. Among them there were 5 Protestant families; the Baptists had a church in 1953. The other Mexicans avoid these folk as Anglos avoid Mexicans. The Protestants were Baptists in Mexico before coming to the United States. Chanute Mexicans practice their Catholicism better than the inhabitants of many colonias. Since they have had no separate parish the effect has been Engl-izing, particularly as the children attend the parochial school. The children of 1966 belonged to the third generation; and very few spoke Spanish. It was not used by their

parents in talking to them, only in conversing with people of the first generation. The Spanish of all who spoke it was laden with loan-words from English.

1966 Data on Mr. V., born 1882 in Aguas Calientes; to the United States 1910. Became a railroader; to Chanute by 1917 when he organized first fiesta. Wife died 1961; no contacts with Mexico since. Revisited Aguas Calientes in the 1940's. Two children, daughter living next door, son in Kansas City.

1966 Data on Mr. and Mrs. T. She niece of Mr. V. Born Chanute 1922 of parents from Aguas Calientes. Husband's parents from Jalisco; 3 sons, 1 daughter. Both parents in public life. Mr. T., chairman of fiesta. Both the younger T's speak Spanish well, but their children hardly understand.

1966 Data on Mr. G. Born in Guanajuato, 1901. To United States with parents 1917. Railroading brought them to Chanute. Railroad retired him 1965, became ground keeper of St. Patrick, felt well-liked there, but not during rest of career.

47.74 Coffeyville Mexicans

Coffeyville was for a time after its foundation in 1870 the southern terminus of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad, later acquired by the Santa Fe. The Missouri Pacific and the Katy (MK and T) also passed through the town and by 1901 there were Mexican railway workers there. The people in 1966 gave a rosy estimate of 200 families for the hey-day of the 1920's. In 1910 there were 25 persons born in Mexico in Coffeyville, in 1920, 77. The 1915 printed census recorded 48 foreign-born Mexicans; with them lived at least 11 children. The 1925 printed census registered 48 foreign-born; with them lived 26 children. Of these, 26 recorded the year of their arrival in the United States, 1 came in 1900, 10 between 1911 and 1913, 7 in 1915 and 1916, 8 in 1920. In 1930 there were 295 of other races, i.e. non-white, non-Negro in Coffeyville. In Montgomery County there were 277 Indians, but in Coffeyville those of "other races" were largely Mexicans. The reliable estimates of 1955 and 1966 were respectively 15 and 17 families for those years. In 1955 the Catholic pastor counted 7 of the 15 families as Catholic, in 1966, 12 of the 17. In 1966 the 5 outside were not Protestants but ^{still} not of the raza. Census records and conditions ~~a~~ after the mid-century show the Mexicans scattered, so scattered indeed that they hardly saw each other outside groups of two or three families to the block except on Sunday. These small units had distinctly different impressions of the discrimination shown against them, some saying that attitudes were much better than in Chanute, others that they suffered much. Naturally the prosperous complained least, but were most ready to depart so that those left were more likely to be hurt. The event drawing the whole Mexican community together

was not local; it was the fiesta at Chanute, which awakened enthusiasm. Education beyond high school was frequent. The children of 1966 understood Spanish but answered in English. The family groupings explain that the ability to understand remained with them. They were thrown oftener with grandparents. The members of the second generation were unaccustomed to using Spanish.

1955 Data on Mr. and Mrs. M. He born in Jalisco 1903; to the United States in 1920. She born in Zacatecas in 1905. Four sons, 3 daughters, oldest born 1928 and married to a Mexican neighbor's son who was teaching at Horton. Other education good. They felt well accepted. Spanish of second generation limited. Read paper from San Antonio. Catholic.

1966 Data on Mr. M. Born 1898 in Guanajuato. To the United States 1917, railroader; to Coffeyville 1918, married a Mexican-American, who has learned very little English. Two daughters, 1 married Mexican and in California. Voluble, shifting languages from moment to moment. Catholic.

1966 Data on Mr. L. To United States to flee revolution about 1912, married earlier in Mexico. Bitter non-practicing Catholic, his wife practicing.

47.75 Council Grove Mexicans

(Example of the smallest community; interesting particularly for dissemination.)

Council Grove, of pre-territorial origins, received railroad lines in 1868 and 1885 or '86, the M.K. and T. (Katy) and Missouri Pacific. Both companies began employing Mexicans rather late, and Council Grove was the operational base for nothing more important than section gangs. No Mexicans lived in Morris County in 1900. Part of the 41 persons born in Mexico and living in Morris County in 1910 must have been living in Council Grove, probably one by 1905. In 1915 the printed census recorded 10 Mexican foreign-born in Council Grove; with them lived 3 children. In 1925 the published figure was 23; 16 children lived with them. In 1930 there were 33 "Mexicans"; in 1950 11 born in Mexico. In 1966 the Mexican population had dwindled to three families, 2 of which are analyzed below; the other was a young woman divorced from a non-Mexican marriage, living with her mother. The rest of the community, who regarded them from above without hostility, never heard any of them speak Spanish. A Mexican section foreman, who was transferred elsewhere about 1955, had used Spanish with his children.

1966 Data on Mr. and Mrs. M and descendants. He born 1903 in Michoacan. To near San Antonio in 1921; soon to Council Grove to work on section. She born elsewhere in Michoacan about 1912, to El Paso in 1915 soon to Salina (long residence), then to Council Grove, where married. Three daughters, 1 son; oldest daughter, Mrs. L born 1935. Mrs. M's parents retired from Council Grove to Gary, Indiana, where there were relatives. The M's usually spoke Spanish together, but Mrs. L living next door rarely spoke Spanish to them. Her 2 sons, born about 1953 and 1955, understood almost no Spanish

despite their grandparents' nearness. Their divorced father was non-Mexican. Another daughter of M's, living in Topeka near other Mexicans, spoke Spanish rather well. A son, born 1938, chemist at Gary steel plant spoke best of all, courses in school. A daughter, born 1944, spoke, but very badly.

47.76 Dodge City Mexicans

Dodge City came into being with the arrival of the Santa Fe railroad in 1872. There were probably 11 Mexicans there in 1905. The 366 Mexicans in Ford County in 1910 were very probably distributed at several points, for in later years townships through which the Santa Fe and Rock Island run held numbers that indicated earlier employment. In 1915 the published census assigned 196 persons born in Mexico to the county and 31 to Dodge City. With the 31 lived 6 children. Dodge Township contained 137, representing the population of the "village" as the census takers secured it. In 1925 the published count for the county was 240, for the city 39. With the 39 lived 24 children. At least 159 were in the "village" and with them dwelt at least 99 children. In 1930 the "other races" category included in Ford County 5 ~~Indians~~ Indians and no Orientals. "Other races" in Dodge City numbered 69, in Dodge Township 363; 5 other townships in the county (most with easy access to Dodge City) harbored more than 20 each. Thus until after 1930 about 15% of the Mexicans of Dodge City lived within the city limits. In 1948 an estimate placed 150 in the "village," 350 in the town. The shift from "village" to town seems to have become marked during the Second World War. The "village" was an assemblage of shacks south of the Santa Fe roundhouse beyond the southeast edge of town. It was the most picturesque Mexican establishment in Kansas, but undoubtedly a health hazard -- "a disgrace" Franco said in 1950/fr 50. The community and the railroad wiped it out of existence about 1954. The Mexicans outside of the "village" were at first all still near the roundhouse but across the tracks within the city limits. Our Lady of Guadalupe church had its

definitive location (Avenue J. and Vine St.) in this area, and most of the Mexicans live rather near it in good small houses surrounded by fences, but by 1948, perhaps earlier, there was no sharply defined settlement. The 156 Mexicans who in 1925 told the census takers the date of their entry into the United States arrived as follows:

Through 1902	7
1905 - 1908	9
1909 - 1912	23
1913 - 1917	44
1918 - 1921	58
1922 - 1924	14

The Santa Fe Shops at Dodge City were among the most important in Kansas /fr 51 until approximately 1953 and they were the chief employers of the Mexicans. Economically as in other places conditions for the Mexicans were very bad during the 1930's but became notably better during the Second World War. All the "village" contingent and some others continued to work for the railroad, but there were jobs in a packing house, and in 1948 the young might secure work in grocery stores. The discrimination against Mexicans was quite marked until the late 1940's. Franco in 1950 still named Dodge City as one of the towns most given to discrimination/ fr 53 . It grew weaker through conscious efforts on the part of influential Anglos and through the mixing of children in both parochial and public schools. In 1953 the children of the east end were frequently to be found in mixed groups; still amalgamation was going on very slowly.

Father Hilary Hernandez (1881-1956) born in Podroso, Salamanca, Spain, was long pastor of the Mexicans in Dodge City -- for over 30 years said a fellow priest in 1952. Koeder's History of the Diocese of Wichita of 1937 makes no mention of him nor of the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe. His active career ended in 1953. He was a force distinctly conservative of

Spanish. He not only preached in Spanish, he obliged children against their will to learn prayers in Spanish and he answered in Spanish those who addressed him in English. He lost parishioners to the Anglo parish. Our Lady of Guadalupe, labeled "Mexican" in the 1948 Catholic Directory, had become "Spanish" in 1960, but its pastor bore a German name. In the Catholic cemetery the Mexicans are segregated, but no inscriptions are in Spanish. Except for one infant of 1918, monuments do not begin to appear until 1935. In the general cemetery, Mexicans began commonly to have tombstones in the mid-1940's; two (1947 and 1948) out of 18 in that period had inscriptions in Spanish. Earlier there were 4 inscriptions in Spanish and 5 in English. The first of each language records deaths of 1915 (English) and 1922 (Spanish).

The Protestants were sufficiently active in Dodge City so that some 10% of the Mexicans joined them. By 1950 there were intermarriages, though they were not very successful. The celebration of Mexican Independence Day was still taking place at Dodge City in 1948, but the fiesta was drawing less attention than in certain other places. The American G.I. Forum established itself at Dodge City and was still in operation in 1967; its clubhouse enjoyed the usual privileges of Kansas clubs, including a bar. Engl-izing had not progressed so far in 1950 that there was any notable number of Mexicans unable to speak Spanish, but some years before the young were using primarily English. They did not disdain, however, to speak Spanish to their elders. The village was then still so Spanish that parents left shopping to their children; in 1953 it was still customarily Spanish, but bi-lingualism had more prestige. In that year in the town's east end older women spoke Spanish together and their grown daughters were proficient. However the younger

parents were teaching their children both languages, and pre-school children were as apt to play in one language as the other. Children of school age scarcely used Spanish. There were those who could hardly speak it. Englishing quite apparently had a firm grip. In 1967 it had progressed so far that Mexican high school students were unable to communicate in Spanish with the teachers there, not because they knew no Spanish, but because it was of such poor quality. People aged less than 40 almost never used Spanish to each other, but there were old immigrants who spoke it habitually. Younger immigrants sought to acquire English quickly.

1948 Data on Mr. G. and family. He born in Mexico in 1904, in Dodge City since 1914. Living in "village." Married there to a wife born in San Antonio. His 8 children able to speak Spanish; 2 sons used it less after army service.

1953 Data on Mr. S. and family. He born in 1879 in Las Vegas (west town), New Mexico, learned no English in his boyhood -- no schooling. Worked 4 years for Rock Island in New Mexico, for the Santa Fe 33 years, here since 1917. First wife died 1908, second still alive. They were living with daughter in town. Four sons and 1 daughter. Two sons at Pueblo and Denver in Colorado. One here in "village"; this son had 3 children, aged 2, 7, and 8 -- bi-lingual. Daughter's 7 children ranged from age 7 to 14 or 15 -- bi-lingual. During interview he was in the "village," tending nephew's 3 children, none older than 3. The 3-year-old bi-lingual.

Mr. S. represents an element in Dodge City imperfectly shown in the census records -- New Mexican Hispanos.

1967 Data on Mr. E. Born 1928 at Dodge City. His parents were from

Queretaro. Learned to read and write Spanish. Lived in the "village" during his youth. Operated a store not far from St. Catherine's later. Reproached the young for not wanting to be Mexicans.

47.77 Emporia Mexicans

Emporia was founded in territorial times and became a Santa Fe town when the railroad was built through in 1870. There were no Mexicans in Lyon County in 1900 and 224 in 1910. There were probably 6 in 1905. Greater numbers began to arrive in 1907. The first baptism of a Mexican infant occurred in that year. As remembered in 1950, one estimate fixed the population of 1909 at 75 to 100 men without families, and 6 families. The estimate is probably close, for Mexicans were employed at other points in the county as well as at Emporia. There were 125 in 1914. Only 45 persons born in Mexico were shown for Emporia by the published census of 1915, but there were 102 residing in Emporia Township. The Mexican village was outside the city limits. There were 296 Mexican foreign-born in the city according to the census of 1920, 199 by that of 1925, again probably incomplete. The census takers then found 128 children living with the foreign-born. In 1930 there were 449 "Mexicans," that is, foreign-born and their children. There were some 30 more in the surrounding township and 31 to 34 in the one next west. In 1934 there were 300 souls in 45 Catholic families/lp 119. In 1941 there were 330 in 75 families and in 1950, 400 in 80 families. The birth rate accounts for the increase; there were 170 baptisms in this period. The estimate of the number of families in 1966 was 40 to 50.

An analysis of the Mexicans in Emporia Township in 1915 shows the following facts:

With the 102 foreign-born lived 22 children. In five families with children born in Kansas, the oldest was 4 years old in two cases, 2 years old in one case, 1 year old in the other two. Of 112 not born in Kansas, last

previous residence was distributed as follows:

Mexico	24
Colorado	1
Iowa	7
New Mexico	2
Texas	78

One family had a child 6 born in Mexico, another 5 born in Texas. There were 46 single men living in 9 bunk cars, 74 persons living in 17 rented houses, and a family of 5 living in a house of their own. The 17 rented houses contained 21 adult women all married. In other words about one-third of the men were married.

The original colonia was at the southwest edge of the Santa Fe yards. Until 1926 housing was bad. In 1919 "almost all lived in boxcars or buildings made of old railroad ties along the tracks and in the various sections of the town"/lp 118. At Emporia as elsewhere after the boxcar period, the Santa Fe built brick tenements, still standing in 1950, taken down later. Also a number of houses which had to be moved when the Santa Fe shops were enlarged were sold to Mexicans at terms they could meet/fr 50. In 1907 the village existed definitely separated from the rest of the city (Arundel St.), but not all inhabitants were Mexican; the Mexicans were also widely scattered in other sections.

The attention of the Catholic clergy to the Mexicans at Emporia became marked in 1907. The priest in charge was a "true friend"/lp 117, and he had the aid of the diocesan specialist in Mexicans, Father Epifanio Ocampo. Segregation was the rule, however, In the new church in 1912 the Mexicans

were assigned two rear pews and allowed to exercise their "favorite devotions" in the old church/lp. 117. "Many Catholics, as they admit, were embarrassed to associate with the Mexicans even at Church"/lp. 118.

In 1923 St. Catherine's Church was founded for them. It was still labeled "Mexican" in 1960. It has been in charge of the Franciscans, with its own pastor at least since 1940. The German-American who served through the 1940's read and understood Spanish somewhat, but made no effort to speak it. He occasionally brought a colleague to preach in Spanish. Sermons in Spanish were productive of many monetary contributions. The pastor discouraged membership in civic societies thus becoming a force for the conservation of Spanish. Protestants blamed him for lack of participation of Mexicans in any but church sponsored social activities. In 1966 opportunities for confession in Spanish were maintained but no one attempted to talk Spanish with the Franciscans. Catholic educational efforts began early, though poorly supported. Father Florentine Meyer, unskilled in Spanish, taught English and citizenship. Toward 1927 the Catholic community conceded a segregated room in the parochial school to the Mexicans. A second room was offered by the hierarchy to the sisters in charge, but the offer was declined as "jeopardizing the peace of the community"/lp 119. A parochial school for St. Catherine's had in 1948 been functioning a short time and in that year had 65 pupils, 88 in 1960. There was no attempt to have regular preaching in Spanish. Slow progress of pupils reported for 1950 was proof that small children heard hardly any language but Spanish at home.

A Protestant group, called the Mexican Evangelical Association, procured two buildings from the Santa Fe about 1923/lp 118. It was strong enough to do missionary work among Mexicans in other towns in the 1920's, but had sunk

to 6 families in 1950 with a lay preacher. Except for a Sunday School class for children conducted by an Anglo volunteer, services were in Spanish. As usual, hostile pressure against the Protestants from other Mexicans was marked; they were consequently more drawn toward the Anglo community but little better received. Mr. R, the Baptist lay minister in 1950, expressed the reaction thus: "Since they will keep calling us Mexicans, for our color, our background and everything, even when born in the United States and having served in the armed forces, let's make the best of it. Let's keep our Spanish"/ri 29. Still, the general attitude towards Mexicans in 1950 was better than in some towns; Mr. R's sons were treated like other boys when they joined Protestant church groups; women already had certain lowly economic opportunities, not domestic service, in 1950. In 1966 Mexican women still had more work "over in town" than men. The men still worked largely for the railroad if they had procured jobs before 1946, but more commonly were employed in the local packing houses. The linguistic result has been the persistence of bi-lingualism. In 1950 Emporia conformed approximately to Ricart's generalizations stated elsewhere; that is, bi-lingualism was usual except with older women, and because of them, since 3 generations often lived together, Spanish was the common home language. Usage in Emporia was perhaps a trifle more conservative than elsewhere. Older women expected a bus driver to understand their Spanish/ri 21; teen-age girls discussing the merits of a movie were using mostly Spanish/ri 25. In 1967 though the use of English had grown, children still frequently knew Spanish **because** they were left with grandparents while their mother worked in town. Complete Engl-izing was practically certain for

the future, however, because couples younger than 50, some 10 years older, were using English with each other, the young frequently "just looked at you" when addressed in Spanish. Still in the case of one family where the father was German-born and the mother a Kansas-born Mexican, the children were fairly proficient in Spanish, though their grandmother lived in another town.

1966 Data on Mr. S., born Aguas Calientes, 1893. To U.S. 1925. A few months in Augusta, Kansas, then to Emporia. Worked for Santa Fe 1925-1965. Wife, Mexican by birth, has learned little English. Two children, son in California. Daughter, employed, married to a Mexican, living in Emporia. Ten grandchildren in Emporia left with their grandparents during working hours. Then, including those with several years of schooling, talk Spanish with their grandparents. They play together in English. One granddaughter in nurse's training.

1967 Data on Mr. L., born in Emporia in 1921, mother from Michoacan, paternal grandmother reputed to be from Spain but reared family in Mexico. Mr. L. employed on railroad, one of the last to secure work there. Wife born in Pittsburg, Kansas. Daughter born in 1949 speaks Spanish, son born 1956 understands only. What son knows he learned from grandmother. Mr. L and wife usually speak English together. Three visits to Mexico, but only as tourist, never to Michoacan.

47.78 Florence Mexicans

Florence was at the end of 1870 a creation of the Santa Fe, and by 1883 was a point from which 2 branches of the railroad separated from the main line. It has never attained much importance from other sources. The census of 1915 assigned to this town of 1300 people, 156 Mexicans. Presumably because they were all mono-lingual, the census takers recorded no data concerning them, no ages, no places of birth. In 1925 the census found 125 persons born in Mexico with whom lived 41 children. The 102 Mexicans who in 1925 told their date of arrival in the United States arrived as follows:

1901-1902	3
1907	9
1908-1912	8
1913-1917	26
1918	17
1919-1921	22
1922-1925	17

In 1930 there were 199 "Mexicans" in Florence and Gale Township to the east. Memories of 1950 recalled that in 1911 there were 300 working for the railroad or in the stone quarries. In 1950 there were 17 families and the town then contained 933 inhabitants. By 1966 the number of families had fallen to 10. The census records of 1915 and 1925 make it clear that the Mexicans were residentially segregated in those years. The dwindling fortunes of the town evidently released other housing, for in 1966 no one was conscious of the existence of a Mexican quarter. Florence has had to be content with one Catholic church (a building in 1877, a resident pastor in 1882). The Englishing potential in this situation has been reduced by Anglo hostility. Discrimination in Florence has been quite marked. In 1950 Mexican children were not accepted in kindergarten /ri38. Their linguistic handicap was therefore worse than usual. Food in eating places could be purchased only to be

consumed off the premises/ri. 59. At church, then and still in 1966, Mexicans occupied the back seats and were not welcome at all masses. This severity doubtless increased the tendency of the inhabitants of small towns to migrate to large centers, more marked as this century has advanced. It has also contributed to linguistic conservatism by isolating Mexicans.

Ricart's principal informant in Florence in 1950 was Alejandro Palacios, described as a leader and proficient in both English and Spanish of a type appropriate for a workman. He and his wife habitually spoke Spanish; her English was limited. Three telephone conversations during R's short call were in Spanish/ri. 22. P's children usually spoke English with each other but generally played with other Mexican children in Spanish/ri. 26. Their father found their Spanish bad/ri. 29. Though a leader, Palacios was not naturalized; saw no advantage in being. The situation was little changed in 1966.

1966 Data on R. D. Male, born 1949. Grandparents, now dead, to Florence about 1917. Mother born shortly before in El Paso. Several brothers and sisters. Spanish customary in family because mother ignorant of English. He and other Mexican boys his age often spoke Spanish together.

47.79 Garden City Mexicans

Because the history of Mexican settlement is closely bound to that of the Volgans at Garden City, an account of both stocks together with a sketch of the sugar beet industry are to be found in the Garden City Settlement History.

47.80 Goodland Mexicans

In 1910 there were 15 persons born in Mexico in Sherman County, in 1920, 43, in 1930, 114 "Mexicans." In 1950, 20 of the 22 persons born in Mexico and resident in Sherman County were living in Goodland; everything indicates this proportion was true for other years. In 1925 all 49 persons born in Mexico who were in the county lived in Goodland; the 1915 census showed 3 in the county, 2 in the city. The 1925 census showed dates of arrival in the United States from Mexico as follows:

1912	1	1916	5	1920	5
1913	5	1917	1	1921	3
1914	2	1918	1	1922	9
1915	0	1919	5	1923	1
				1924	4

Children living with these 42 numbered 21. The Mexicans had usually resided earlier in Texas or Colorado. A reliable estimate of the number of Mexicans living there permanently in 1967 was 25. Sherman County had, however, begun to grow beets and there were migrant Mexican workers at appropriate seasons. Goodland has been a Rock Island railroad town, and until railroad employment fell off, all Mexicans worked for it. They appear to have accepted a humble lot without great effort to improve it. Their economic condition in 1967 was similar to that of the less prosperous Mexican units in the railroad towns. In the early days most considered education a waste of time, and in later days it was in less esteem than is often the case. The pastor of the Catholic Church was never proficient in Spanish but occasionally a priest came from Denver to preach in Spanish. In 1967 those aged fifty or older normally spoke Spanish together; those aged forty were well versed in Spanish but usually

spoke English with each other. Conversations between these and older people alternated between Spanish and English. The young used English. The migrant workers are distinctly less Engl-ized.

Data concerning Mrs. O, born ca. 1900 in Saltillo, Mexico. Brought up in the cotton fields of Texas. Married and to Colorado beet fields in earlier 1920's, and husband found other work there; to Goodland in 1927 when there were already three children. These, contrary to Mexican opinion of the time, were put through school; they were not particularly fond of Spanish, but learned it. A daughter, born in 1928, resident in St. Francis, Kansas, felt more enthusiasm for it. Mrs. O, a Seventh Day Adventist, the only Mexican in Goodland who is Protestant.

47.81 Herington Mexicans

Herington was founded in 1885. Within 2 years the Missouri Pacific Railroad had run a line through and the Rock Island had established there the headquarters of the Kansas division, including a roundhouse for routine engine servicing, a repair track for rolling stock, rather extensive marshaling yards, and a bridge yard. All these facilities ultimately gave employment to Mexican laborers. The federal census of 1900 reported no Mexicans in Dickinson County. The town was not conscious of Mexicans among its inhabitants until about 1903, though there was probably one in 1905. In 1915 the printed census reported 34 inhabitants born in Mexico with whom lived 14 children. All except 7 were living, as recollected, in boxcars provided by the railroad. In 1925 the census showed 219; the records reveal only 5 children born in the United States living with them; the census takers, speaking only English, probably did not learn from mothers speaking none there all their children were born. The 1930 census assigned to Herington 228 persons of "other races" (not white or Negro) who were all Mexicans in that town. The 228 included foreign-born and their children. The colonia of 1925 was as concentrated as 10 years before; only 5 lived outside it. But it had taken over quarters earlier occupied by Russian Germans. The Mexican population whose size had been strengthened by a double-tracking project between Topeka and Herington soon decreased in numbers very materially. In 1966, there were eight or ten families resident in town; a few others, considered as part of the settlement because they were parishioners of St. John's, lived at Lost Springs 3 miles south; they were members of a section gang. Employment at Herington also was almost exclusively still on the railroad. The families at Herington lived in reasonably good housing in the southwest part of town.

They did not, however, form a solid group, and were not all socially compatible. Most of their neighbors were descendants of Russian-German immigrants.

For 1917 a report is possible on a group of some 12 Mexicans employed on the repair track of the Rock Island. The foreman of the gang was a German; he was also the foreman of an emergency crew whose members had other work until a wreck or washout took place somewhere out on the line. The Mexicans were used on both crews. They were so completely mono-lingual that they had to be used as a group, dealt with through their cabo, who knew some English. The foreman had acquired a few words of Spanish, not so much for giving directions as to provide encouragement and exhortation, for instance, "Arriby mit'im!" (up with it!). Other workers on the repair track and the wrecker gang regarded the Mexicans more or less as animals sufficiently tamed to respond to their handler but otherwise to be left alone unless they got in the way. Such attitudes were not productive of Englishing. The Mexicans made no effort to seek contacts. In the business establishments of the town at that time little effort was expended to attract Mexicans by learning Spanish to deal with them, though their trade was welcome. During the early days the attitudes toward the Mexicans were not greatly different among the general population from the attitudes toward the "Roosh'ns," who in the first generation were almost as easily recognized by physical characteristics as the Mexicans. But the Mexican women were fewer in proportion and not desirous of nor accepted for domestic service like the Roosh'ns. Nor did the Mexican children grow up indistinguishable to the eye from the rest of the population like the Roosh'ns. Consequently

bi-lingual proficiency came later to the Mexicans. As time went on, the men, though unadmitted to skilled mechanical employment, acquired jobs which isolated them from their Spanish-speaking friends and forced them to learn some English. But they

v71c

attained no breadth of vocabulary nor complete command of English structure. Their children, however, learned English at school, and continued to be bilingual. The third generation had in 1966 not lost all ability to understand Spanish. The townspeople said, though, "The younger ones talk like anyone else."

In the cemeteries the shift from Spanish to English occurred between 1925 and 1930. Monuments erected later are not only in English but as pretentious as those commemorating persons of other stocks. In the Catholic cemetery, Mexican graves are definitely segregated. Later burials have mostly been made in the city cemetery where segregation, at one time perceptible, has given way to a transitional zone where Mexican graves are found with those of other stocks. A few intermarriages have taken place with people from other places -- with a German girl met in Europe in one case.

The Catholic pastors at Herington have never been of Spanish stock, but the linguistic needs of the Mexicans have not been completely neglected. A Spanish-speaking priest from Hope near by came to deliver sermons occasionally during the early 1960's. At other periods a priest has been brought in at least once a year to hear confessions in Spanish. The local pastor, said Mexicans in 1966, was "pretty good at joking around in Spanish."

1966 Data on Mr. M and family. He a New Mexican Hispano, the only one in Herington; born 1900 south of Santa Rosa rather near the Pecos River. Parents came from 4 miles from Mora. Later moved to Texas. Father born 1874, still without English, living in Dalhart, Texas. Our M came to Herington in 1917, married, first, another Hispano from New Mexico, by whom he had 10 children. His first wife died 1946. The first husband of the present Mrs. M died at ~~about~~ about the same time. Long courtship.

811

She did not want to marry before her 10 children grew up. Married 1953, soon a son. She born 1910 in Mexico, to Gypsum City on Missouri Pacific in 1918. He found his Spanish similar to hers. "She has been in this country such a long time." He worked at roundhouse; retired December 1965. He talks Spanish to his wife; English to their children. His wife's daughters' children in Emporia speak ^{Spanish}. His oldest daughter married and lives here. Son-in-law, Mr. P, born at San Antonio of parents from Mexico. His grandchildren understand a very little Spanish.

47.82 Horton Mexicans

Horton came into existence as a Rock Island railroad town in 1886. It gained added importance because shops were established here. These gave employment to Mexicans before 1910. The census of 1915 recorded that there were 49 persons born in Mexico in Horton, that of 1925, 162. Of these, 105 lived in a colonia along with 75 children. In a small district in Mission Township, presumably an extension of the colonia on the west edge of town by the roundhouse, lived 64 more with 25 children. The 416 "Mexicans" at Horton in 1930 represent further development. The shops were closed about 1936, and many Mexicans were laid off several years before. Those still employed were mostly transferred to Rock Island and Moline, a few elsewhere, to Goodland for example. Some of the unemployed found their way to Kansas City. A few clung to Horton and were ultimately fully accepted socially. In 1967 there remained according to two independent and reliable sources ten families. At that time the grandmothers were using Spanish by preference, their sons and daughters spoke Spanish with them usually, but their grandchildren in almost all families knew only English both when listening and understanding, and the grandmothers had learned to communicate with them in English. The case recorded below is exceptional.

1967 Data on Mrs. R. and family. She born 1918 in Wilcox, Arizona, a Southern Pacific railroad town. The parents were from El Marmol in Michoacan. Father died in a few years, and mother, born 1880, went to her brother, born 1884, who had come to Horton via Dodge City about 1922. He learned to speak English with relative ease; his sister always found difficulty with it. Mrs. R. before marriage had obtained a university degree in Spanish by 1940. After a short career as teacher she married an Anglo, and early returned to

be with her mother and uncle (still living in 1967) while her husband committed to work. Thus her three daughters born 1944, 1949, and 1953 were exposed to Spanish much more than is usual in miscegenation and their mother, who ultimately resumed her teaching career was "careful about it." The girls therefore became expert in Spanish.

47.83 Hutchinson Mexicans

Hutchinson was founded in 1871 a few months before the Santa Fe Railroad arrived. The railroad here reached the Arkansas River and the new line followed the river course around the great bend. About 1885 a cutoff was built and the point of separation was Hutchinson. The Missouri Pacific and the Rock Island came through also in the 1880's. The Santa Fe introduced Mexicans into Hutchinson probably after 1905; it continued to employ them for 51, but the developing salt industry (\$380) which by 1893 was using 400 workers, became their principal source of employment till mechanization displaced most after the Second World War -- in 1966 there were 12 left in the salt works. By then besides construction labor, there were Mexican mechanics (automobile and airplane), and flour mill employees; a number of young held clerical positions. Opportunities were more varied and more numerous than in most towns.

The first Mexican arrived in Hutchinson in 1907. The 1910 census showed 238, that of 1915, under-enumerated doubtless, 118 with whom there were 47 children. The bulk of the immigrants arrived between 1916 and 1924. Many were "Villistas" driven out by the fall of their leader. The 1925 census also evidently missed some since it was lower than 1920 or 1930; it recorded 280. With 239 of them resided 115 children. In 1930 there were 399 non-white and non-Negro; 16 of them may have been Indians; all others were Mexicans. Later arrivals were usually not directly from Mexico and were already partly acculturated. An estimate of 1950 was similar, 350 persons; another fixed the figure at 500. An estimate of 1966, 265 to 275 families, seems generous, but favorable conditions should result in growth.

In Hutchinson Methodists in 1925 opened work among the Mexicans /fr75, but it has been the Mexican Baptists who have been somewhat more fortunate than Protestants in other Mexican towns. Here too, they have been pariahs among their fellows, but have been more numerous (12 families in 1966) and have achieved a sort of economic prosperity, perhaps because they were early ready to accept signs of Anglo advances toward them. Preaching in 1950 was in Spanish, but in 1966 there was an Anglo pastor; a visitor from Wichita preached occasionally in Spanish.

A building for Our Lady of Guadalupe church was erected in 1927 /mo 130. A school was never connected with it. The priest was not a native speaker of Spanish except from 1960 to 1965, but despite this the pastors were an influence conservative of language if the others resembled the father incumbent in 1948 and 1950. He was reported to attack from the pulpit all efforts to integrate Mexicans into civic organizations (except finally Boy Scouts) and to give no encouragement to education. Born in Ireland, he felt Anglo influences were ruinous. The pastor of 1966, also Irish-born, had no such reputation. The attitude of 1950 was perhaps in part a personal reaction, but it was in part provoked by dynamic efforts of the period to make the Mexicans a part of the general community which gave rise to the Sociedad Representativa Mexicana. Earlier, says Franco, discrimination at Hutchinson was great. /fr53. The inspiration however, for this society, Ricart says, came from "Miss Olga Johnson, head of a City Commercial School, . . . full of enthusiasm for Mexican things [with] a great love and sympathy for Mexican people" /ri 65. Her chief aids among the Mexicans were the Garcias, 2 of whose daughters with secretarial training had found positions in the city. The movement to incorporate the Mexicans in the general community did not disappear with the 1950's. A school to train machinists where Mexicans were welcome was subsidized by the employing companies of the town.

There was early a Mexican quarter densely inhabited but already in 1925 the census records show pockets of Mexicans outside of the colonia. In 1966 the younger people were distributed rather generally through the community. It was said that 30% of the marriages were between Anglos and Mexicans. The older Mexicans, who disapproved, thought American girls were pursuing their boys.

The linguistic situation in 1950 had reached the point where teen-agers were using English together most often. A high school teacher of the period stated that more and more Mexican children were coming to high school and they knew less and less Spanish. However, they could shift to Spanish readily and did so to repulse interlopers. A report of 1949 showing one type of pressure for English, and at the ^{same} time the persistence of Spanish among the old, runs thus: "Now and then a Mexican who is unable to speak English is admitted to the hospital." In the Garcia family intercourse with Anglos was usual and of course in English. But the language of the family was so customarily Spanish that two small children brought to his parents by a son, after an Anglo marriage had failed, learned Spanish in their new surroundings. Mr. Garcia was born in Zacatecas in 1893 and came to the United States in 1912/ri 54. In 1966 the teen-agers had completely given up Spanish and often did not understand it. The immigrants and their sons and daughters were proficient. The immigrants had become few, the linguistic habits of the second generation varied.

1966 Data on Mr. and Mrs. A. He born 1906 at Irapuato in Guanajuato, (9 days of schooling). A Baptist. His father, a Villista, feared betrayal by the priest of his native town when he escaped in 1919, and in his revul-

sion left the church. A. followed his father, and when he took a wife she did too. Various jobs, but not badly off. His Spanish better than usual; since his cousin who helped his family escape was an alcalde, presumably the family was not of the lowest class. The Revolution and the hardships in the U.S. account for no schooling. His English heavily accented. No living children; a son killed in a car wreck.

✓84

47.84 Independence Mexicans

Independence, founded in 1869, had varying fortunes with railroads, but by 1887 it was the branching point of 2 lines which were to become part of the Santa Fe system. Mexicans were later brought in as a result, but other employment, especially a cement plant, ultimately became of great importance. In 1910 34 persons born in Mexico lived in Independence, one in the county in 1902. The printed census of 1915 showed 37 persons born in Mexico and residing at Independence; in 1920 there were 57. In 1925 the published figure was 14 foreign-born; with them lived as many children. In 1930 there were probably 120 "Mexicans" there. Local report of 1955 claimed 50 Mexican families for the 1920's and 30 at that moment. In the most prosperous days local bonds among the Mexicans were close enough to allow the foundation of a mutual aid society which collapsed during the depression. No Mexican church was ever attempted. The Mexicans interviewed in 1955 felt that there was no discrimination against them.

1955 Data on Mr. M and family. He born in Jalisco in 1890. To Texas and then to Independence by 1913, year of marriage. She born in Durango in 1891. Three sons, 4 daughters, all through high school, 1 a law student, 2 expecting to teach. Trips to Mexico. Insisted that children and grandchildren learn Spanish; good results, Contrast with a neighboring family where the immigrants made no effort to retain Spanish, and where consequently it has lapsed.

47.85 Kanopolis Mexicans

Kanopolis is at the site of the railroad stop for Fort Harker. Its post office name became Kanopolis in 1886. A salt mine was sunk there in 1890. Later there were three salt mines. In 1961 there was only one and it had been mechanized in 1958, but there was also a brick plant employing Mexicans. The 67 Mexicans in Ellsworth County in 1910 were probably mostly at Kanopolis. In 1930 of the 229 "Mexicans" in Ellsworth County at least 195 were in the Kanopolis area. At least 66 were within the city limits in 1925, but only 24 told the date of their arrival in the United States, as follows:

1905-1909	6
1912-1913	5
1917	9
1922	4

The township to the east had at least 7 arrivals in 1919 and 2 in 1923. In 1954 there were in the Catholic parish at Kanopolis 287 souls of whom 137 were Mexicans; of the latter 71 were foreign-born. A report of 1961 said that there were 65 Mexicans at Kanopolis. Presumably these were the foreign-born. But most of the young had left and gone to other Mexican colonies; Topeka was one destination. Salt mining was dangerous. The Catholic church specifically served the Mexicans of Kanopolis only with visits from the Augustinian Recollects until 1945; then the pastor at Wilson, doubtless drawn by the Bohemians in the neighborhood, worked in Kanopolis for 2 years. In 1947 a mission was created, served by the Spanish native speaker who also served the Mexicans in Salina and was accredited to Holyrood. In 1954 he was preaching once a month in Spanish, once every 2 months in Italian for those in the community. There were then 3 Mexicans, almost all women,

who could not speak English, but over half of the Mexicans were confessing in English. Most of the children were then able to speak Spanish. Men who had been in the service resumed the use of Spanish in the home. Teen-agers were then slipping back and forth from one language to the other. Those who were then about 10 years old began using English altogether with each other and by 1961 their Spanish was very bad. There were families in which the parents knew almost no English and the child could speak no real Spanish. Those born about 1935 esteemed their English very good, better than that at Lyons. In 1967 there were still grandmothers deficient in English, and children, many of whom had one Anglo parent, usually knew some Spanish as a result. However integration with the half of the town which was not Mexican was complete and active individuals rarely had recourse to Spanish.

In the cemetery few of the Mexican graves bear inscriptions of any kind. Only 2 were in Spanish, both of old women who had evidently come to join their children and grandchildren; one 1861-1946. Inscriptions in English for Mexicans began in 1920.

1957 Data on Mrs. M., born in Guanajuato 1908; to Kansas from Mexico 1918. In 1957 spoke only Spanish. Her 3 children bi-lingual.

1957 Data on Mrs. R., born in Mexico 1906; to Kansas from Mexico 1922. Limitedly bi-lingual. Son born 1937 usually spoke English.

1961 Data on Family F. Father and mother to United States from Oaxaca about 1913. Never learned much English. Son born ca. 1936, bi-lingual. Gained college education, teacher; learned to read and write Spanish in correspondence courses.

47.86 Kansas City Mexicans

To separate the Mexicans of Kansas City, Kansas (hereafter KC, Ks.), from those of Kansas City, Missouri (KC, Mo.), is ^{easy} for census statistics, but much more difficult in other respects. The principal settlements in the 2 ~~states~~ cities are not far apart; there have been some exchanges of population and common employment agencies. Size did not in this case make Missouri dominant over Kansas.

The Federal census has reported persons born in Mexico for the two cities as follows:

	<u>Kansas City Kansas</u>	<u>Kansas City Missouri</u>	
1900	3	24	
1910	102	233	
1920	2039	1797	
1930	1517	1868	
"Mexicans"		2615	2984
1940	947	1012	
1950	715	1107	

The Kansas state census of 1905 implied that there were 35 Mexicans in Kansas City, Kansas. The report for 1915 was 465, for 1925, 1575. With 1429 foreign-born Mexicans living in the 3 principal settlements in 1925 there lived 565 children; with 426 foreign-born in the same settlements in 1915 there lived 20; the proportion of children had risen from 5% to 40% in the decade, witness to the very great increase in family life among Mexicans. Similar data from Federal figures show a rise from 18% in 1920 to 42% in 1930. In 1925, 1194 Mexicans recorded the date of their arrival in the United States; the results were as follows:

1898-1899	3	1912-1914	101
1900-1902	11	1915-1917	243
1903-1905	20	1918-1920	350
1906-1908	22	1921-1923	233
1909-1911	71	1924-1925	140

The Senate Investigators of 1909 found only 11 persons born in Mexico among the 7023 employees of meat packing firms in Kansas City, 8 of these had been in the United States less than 4 years, 1 between 5 and 9 years, and 2 over 10 years. Clarke's statement of 1907 (see #88.02) that Mexicans in El Paso frequently gave Kansas City as their destination and that it was an employment center for them could apply only to the railroads and to them only for distribution to extra and section gangs, or else the census of 1910 was a very material under-enumeration. However that may be, the railroads and later the packing houses were long the main employers of Mexicans in both Kansas Cities. The census of 1920 places the principal groups of Mexicans of KC, Ks. in the first (264) sixth (1095) and seventh (535) wards; for KC, Mo. in the first (188), second (867) and third (422) wards. Other censuses agree with this distribution. In Kansas City, Kansas, the seventh ward is Argentine on the south side of the Kaw River. The Santa Fe railroad had shops and yards there. The early importance of the railroad is shown by the fact that in 1910 80 of the 102 Mexicans in KC, Ks. resided in the seventh ward and only 4 in the first ward in the bottoms east and near the mouth of the Kaw and adjoining the Armour and Company plant. The proportions between these two districts reflect the relative importance of railroad and packing employment at that time; they reflect it, but not very accurately, because Armour's and Mexicans worked together less harmoniously than Mexicans and other meat companies. The sixth ward is Armourdale, which is the tract bounded on the north by the Union Pacific Yards and on the other three sides by the horseshoe bend of the Kaw. The Slavs avoided this district in favor of Strawberry Hill to the north after the flood of 1903. The Mexicans could get no foothold on the hill and filled up much of Armourdale particularly on

the east. They were here close to employers in both the industries that were basic for Mexicans prior to the Second World War. The Mexicans in KC, Mo., found no competitors for the hillsides east of Armourdale and southwest of the new Union Station, which was built about 1909. They were here relatively near the packing houses and near extensive railroad yards, both those connected with the new station and those that had been constructed near the old station on the edge of the Kaw mouth bottoms somewhat to the north. In 1949 a reliable estimate located 3 to 4 thousand Mexicans in this area. Subordinate Mexican settlements were not far away, and also some large but later developed, were in Sheffield and the East Bottoms; in these two in 1949 there were some 500 families. Few of these settlements were left undisturbed by outside forces. The group in Argentine suffered from the decline in railroad fortunes. The group in the Kaw Mouth Bottoms, which had taken the place of earlier comers, who had largely gone to Strawberry Hill after the flood of 1903, were themselves in part displaced by Negroes, in part by industrial plant expansion, in part discouraged by the flood of 1951, but in 1953 there was still an element there, practically gone a decade later. The 1951 flood affected the fortunes of Armourdale in the horseshoe bend much more seriously; momentarily the colonia that had been flourishing there was so completely wiped out that Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church was abandoned and for some time only desolation prevailed. By 1953 Mexicans were moving back into the area, but it never regained its pristine importance partly because of the decline in centralized meat packing, partly because it was no longer solidly Mexican; many Negroes were there, in Argentine too. In 1967 the Argentine and Armourdale contingents were reputed to be of nearly the same size. The Mexican population of KC, Mo., benefited from the ill fortunes of the

settlements on the Kansas side, but the barrio described above as the principal agglomeration, usually called the settlement on the Twenty-third Street hill, was, during the late 1940's, pared at the edge by the construction of the Southwest Trafficway. Its traditional importance left it, however, still, in some sort, the capital of Kansas City Mexicans. On July 28 a festival of large proportions patronized much by Anglos regularly takes place at the Guadalupe Center (Catholic).

The importance of Mexicans among packing house employees at Armour's did not become very great until 1921 when they were used as strikebreakers. In 1951 they provided about the same proportion in the labor force of Armour's and Cudahy's, at Armour's 7% or 8% of a total of 1900; at Cudahy's 150 out of 1697. Employment in both plants was then falling off, at Armour's 10% or 12% since the close of the Second World War; at Cudahy's from 1889 in 1948 to 1697 in 1951. The proportion of Mexicans at Cudahy's had increased -- 129 in 1948, 150 in 1951. The Mexicans usually held the positions where layoffs were frequent, but they considered work in the packing houses as much to be preferred over work for the railroads, and there were in 1951 cases where men had worked at nothing else over periods of 25 and 30 years. The packers employed many women, and the Mexicans had to overcome their reluctance to having women work outside of the family in order to take full advantage of job opportunities. The prejudice was no longer observable in 1951, but the earlier isolation of women in the home made mature women so mono-lingually Spanish that they sometimes could not follow directions from people who did not know Spanish. In the first 3 months of 1951, Cudahy's had had applications from half a dozen women who needed interpreters. The suppression of the Armour and Cudahy packing plants in the old district,

which occurred in the years around 1960, leaving only Swift's in 1967, tended to disperse Mexicans both in employments and in habitat.

Discrimination against Mexicans in Kansas City has been as much because of their position on the economic ladder as because of skin color and Indian features. Skin color for some time played a part, however; Franco in 1950 quoted colleagues in Kansas City to the effect that Mexicans were assigned at Bell Memorial Hospital (the University of Kansas Medical Center) to white or Negro wards (segregation) according to the darkness of their complexion/fr. 53. Discrimination has been at work, often zealously. Informants from among the Mexicans of 1953 said that in KC, Mo., they suffered little from discrimination, but that it still reigned in a number of cafes and restaurants on the Kansas side; movie houses segregated Mexicans until 1951 (for schools see below). Before the flood of 1951 few Mexicans of KC, Ks., ventured to live outside the colonias. An attempt in the Quindaro neighborhood had met hostile behavior. The refugee population during the flood was installed in trailers to a great extent. Part of these people found their way back to their original habitat but part found access to homes more widely distributed. There has also been greater social penetration of Mexicans into other groups on the lowest economic level than in Wichita or Topeka. Intermarriage is not an uncommon phenomenon. There has been less a feeling on the part of the Mexicans of loyalty to the raza and fewer impediments from Anglos because a person was a Mexican.

The Catholic Church did not establish a separate parish for Mexicans in KC, Ks. until 1924. The Augustinian Recollects came to the diocese in 1923, and their initiative doubtless led to the construction of the church that became Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Armourdale. Previously there had

been churches in each of the 3 sections of the city where Mexicans were to be found; none of these was a national parish, so that Mexicans could be accommodated. But none of the clergy attached to them was Spanish speaking. The Kaw Mouth Bottoms neither gained nor deserved a separate parish, but in 1937 a parish was established in Argentine, St. John the Divine, soon confided to the Augustinian Recollects. In KC, Mo., Our Lady of Guadalupe was functioning as a Mexican national parish by 1915 and was staffed with two priests bearing Spanish names. The Augustinian Recollects also took it over. In 1967 at Our Lady of Guadalupe there was one Mass in Spanish and four in English. Since the two Kansas cities were in different dioceses the coming of the Augustinians gave unity to the work impossible before, and because its members were at first all born in Spain, it increased the use of Spanish on the Kansas side. The Sisters of St. Joseph, among whom native speakers of Spanish did not appear, taught the schools of these parishes. In Kansas the school was in Armourdale until Our Lady of Mount Carmel was abandoned after the flood of 1951. Thereafter it was attached to St. John the Divine in Argentine. Until the flood, there were about twice as many families in Mount Carmel (300) as in St. John the Divine (150). The flood caused damage in Argentine too, the national parish there had only 100 families in 1953. Preaching at 2 masses was in 1953 partly in Spanish, partly in English. In 1967 the eight o'clock Mass provided sermons in Spanish, the ten o'clock in English. They were about equally well attended. Father Gabriel Perez had then been pastor for 23 years. In 1941 and in 1967 there was little interchange of population between the Guadalupe settlement in Missouri and those in Kansas. At most they occasionally attended the same dances and their

teen-agers sometimes fought each other. The destruction of Mount Carmel by the 1951 flood did not throw all its people into the other Mexican national parishes. Those who remained or came back to Armourdale frequently attended St. Thomas, the church located there. The Protestant work among the Mexicans on the Kansas side began about the same time as the establishment of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The Methodists began work in 1925 and the work continued, but the Baptists labored more zealously perhaps. On the Missouri side, the Baptists built a sturdy church at 23d St. and Summit, apparently in the 1920's. In 1967 it announced its services for worship in Spanish, its vacation school for children four to twelve in English. A Baptist church was destroyed in Armourdale by the flood; in 1949 the church had 150 members and was maintaining a vacation Bible School attended by 57 children. A new church of cement blocks was built by the members after the flood, but the blow was severe; in 1957 there were 71 members. Many of the members at that time lived in Kansas City, Missouri. Preaching was consistently in Spanish. The minister of 1957 who had been there 4 years, stated that he did not speak English, that he communicated with the children of his congregation in Spanish.

The most outright evidence of prejudice against Mexicans was manifested by the establishment of a segregated school for them. Franco speaks thus of an experience he dates 1938: "In a conversation with the school superintendent, Mr. Schlagle, (he) said to the writer: 'Mexicans have no business moving or living away from the Mexican school. We would rather pay their transportation to the Mexican school than let them attend any other school in the city' "/fr. 54-55. The effect of the existence of such a school was undoubtedly conservative of Spanish; it discouraged later schooling. But there were early examples of

ambitious youngsters who went on to high school. These cases in 1949 were more numerous in Argentine than elsewhere.

Among Mexicans in the Kansas Cities social organization not connected with churches has been minimal. The general attitude of 1951 was urban inattention to one's neighbors. There were a certain number of business establishments conducted by Mexicans, but not enough to be a nucleus of social intercourse.

Engl-izing among Kansas City Mexicans, though it has affected many, has by no means been thorough. Testimony of about 1935 from the Kaw mouth bottoms is that all children there, while bi-lingual, were all in the habit of using Spanish, and possessed only imperfect English. In 1949 in the Guadalupe center, Mexican teen-agers were in general preferring to use Spanish to each other, though there were exceptions especially among Mexicans on the fringe who went to different schools from the majority. There then seemed little evidence of further shift. Among the Mexicans in Armourdale for children of school age, Engl-izing was somewhat more advanced. They could speak English better than Spanish, but seldom in ordinary discourse produced a sentence without elements from both languages. Pre-school children, their parents and those older were using Spanish habitually. The tendency consciously to prefer English existed among those younger than 25. Informants agreed that this age line was rather sharp, even within a given family, though young women tended to be more proficient in Spanish than young men. Those older spoke Spanish almost exclusively except in dealing with employers; their English was imperfect even when they had gone through high school. The situation described is for 1949, but in early 1951 the evidence was similar.

In Argentine Engl-izing in 1949 seemed somewhat more advanced than in Armourdale. Those aged 35 were true to Spanish but the younger tended to be bi-lingual and there were families where the younger of school age children, though understanding Spanish, did not deign to speak it. This attitude turned up in a 5-year-old child in Armourdale in 1953: "I don't like to speak Spanish." Still in 1957 children were generally able to understand Spanish. In 1966 at Westport High School in KC, Mo., where a fourth of the student body came from the Guadalupe colonia teenage Mexicans still spoke Spanish with each other in the halls; it was definitely a sign of belonging among the boys' gang organizations, which tended to be hostile to Negro groups. Girls were using Spanish somewhat less often, presumably because the clique did not have the same importance among them. The boys' behavior was definitely a status determining device. At least in 1967 in the Guadalupe Center district itself they were using English with each other though it was an English hard for an outsider to follow. Then the Spanish of people aged forty was quite acceptable, that of those aged thirty was less good, and those aged twenty were often considered by their elders as unable to carry on a conversation. Those ten-years-old claimed ignorance of Spanish. Still there were many women in their seventies practically ignorant of English. Fifteen of them maintained a Senior Citizens Club at the Center. The settlement in the East End was more given to using Spanish. In Argentine the age stratification was not so evident, because there was a significant proportion of late comers, "Netbacks" who had come in during the Second World War and married were anxious enough to bring in relatives so that they succeeded in surmounting immigration obstacles which elsewhere in Kansas City seemed too great. There were particularly a group from the village

of Tanguansicaro not far from the city of Morelia in Michoacan. The children of this group adopted English rapidly. A mother of a brood but three years in Argentine bewailed her children's addressing her in English. In Armourdale children used Spanish words occasionally, but normally English. The Spanish of those thirty years old was here acceptable to their elders.

1950 Data on Mr. Q and family. He born 1923 in KC, Ks. Served in the armed forces during the period of the Second World War. To University of Kansas afterward. Tests showed his English to be defective. He and his friends were in the habit of mixing English and Spanish as they talked. A

second year course in Spanish at the university added much to his vocabulary where he had been using English words before. One brother, born 1925, used English almost always because unsure of his Spanish; his friends were in like case. His father, born in Mexico, bi-lingual but using Spanish a great deal, particularly at sister's where the family did not use English.

1953 Data on Mr. A and family. He born Austin, Texas, 1923 -- to Kansas City 5 months later. Father (born 1896) and mother (1900-1945) from Guanajuato to Texas by 1915, learned no English. Graduated from Argentine High School, living in Armourdale and working at Armour's. Learned to read Spanish from woman who, gratis, taught 15 children; 2 years of Spanish in high school. Married an Anglo -- no children. Sister, S, (1915-1940), born Texas, completed 11th grade, proficient all round in Spanish. Sister, F, born 1920 in Texas, completed 10th grade, 2 years' study of Spanish, proficient. Brother, B, born 1925, completed 9th grade, speaks Spanish, reads poorly. Sister, G, and brother, N, born in 1929 and 1932, through 9th and 8th grades only speak Spanish. She married without children; husband illiterate in Spanish. Sister, J, born 1927, through 9th grade, married. She and husband illiterate in Spanish. Two sons, M and R, born 1948 and 1950. It was M who did not "like to speak Spanish." He evidently heard it habitually.

1953 Data on Mrs. V and family. She born 1927 in KC, Ks. Father, 1893-1952, born in Guanajuato, to KC in 1917, worked for Santa Fe. Mother, born 1901 in Guanajuato, to KC in 1920. He learned little English, she none. Mrs. V's husband, born 1921 in Durango, came from Mexico to KC in 1951; he spoke English on arrival from contacts with tourists. Working at Swift's. Couple, living with mother in Armourdale, therefore have a mono-lingual home.

1953 Data on Mr. C and family. He, born 1896, and wife, born 1902, came from Michoacan to KC in 1918 with new-born son, A. A, through 9th grade, working at Swifts; his wife also born in Michoacan in 1918, through 8th grade; both speak good Spanish, he literate in Spanish, she practically illiterate. Living in Armourdale with Mr. and Mrs. C., A's children, born 1946 and 1948, speak more Spanish than English. Son, F, born 1925 just married to an Anglo, born 1938. Daughter, F, born 1924, married a KC Mexican, illiterate in Spanish, nearly in English (6th grade); their son, J, born 1947, "still [1953] prefers Spanish to English." Daughter, E, born 1925, married T, born Mexico City 1923, from there to KC, Ks., in 1949. Their oldest son, born 1950, was speaking only Spanish. The last two husbands working at Mauer Nueur Meat Company. Mr. and Mrs. C, the "old folks," literate in Spanish, ignorant of English except for his oaths and numerals.

1953 Data on Mr. O and family. He born Michoacan 1909; to KC, Ks., in 1915. His parents, born in Michoacan, died in KC 1936 and 1953. He through 3rd grade, barely literate in English, illiterate in Spanish. Speaks both languages, living in Armourdale, working at KC Structural Steel Company. Married an Anglo (born 1917), superior in culture to most Anglo women married to Mexicans in KC. She has learned some Spanish and their two daughters, born 1935 and 1938, speak some Spanish (note above date of death of grandmother). Elder daughter of O's through 8th grade, younger continuing in 9th. Mr. O's sister, C, (born 1919 in Emporia, Kansas) married SM (born 1909 in Jalisco). He came to Kansas 1923, no formal education, speaks broken English, works at UP roundhouse; she "speaks both languages, and, in fact, almost simultaneously." The 4 sons and a daughter (born KC, Ks., 1936-1944) spoke Spanish; the boys still attending school; the girl, the oldest, through

the 6th grade, married JR, born 1926 in Hutchinson, Kansas, taken to Guanajuato, Mexico, at age 3, back to US (KC, Ks.) 1948, knows very little English.

1953 Data on Mr. VM and family. Father of S just above. He, living in Argentine, a retired Santa Fe laborer, born 1883 in Jalisco, first wife 1888-1927, married 2nd wife, T, 1929; she born 1895 in Guanajuato. Husband and wife speak only Spanish, both illiterate. Three daughters from this marriage, all speaking Spanish, only the oldest able to read a little Spanish; her husband born 1929 in KC, Ks., speaks and literate in Spanish and English.

1953 Data on Mr. P and family. He born 1902, his wife 1901, in Guanajuato. To Kansas 1925. Both know little English, are literate (subscribe to San Antonio La Prensa) in Spanish. Living in Argentine. He working at Railway Ice Company. Seven children, born 1925-1942. The 3 born before 1930 speak Spanish better than those born later, but all able to speak at least fairly well. All but the 2 oldest through high school or continuing school. Oldest, a son, through 6th grade; literate in both languages; working at Railway Ice. Daughter, born 1928 through 9th grade, married MR, a Mexican, born 1928 in KC, Ks., practically ignorant of Spanish because brought up in an orphanage, student at the University of Kansas.

1953 Data on Mrs. J and family. She born 1919 in KC, Ks., left to foster parents at 6 months. They born 1886 and 1895 in Queretaro. Foster mother died 1943, spoke only Spanish and illiterate; foster father, retired from Armour's almost ignorant of English, literate in Spanish. Her real father, born 1894 in Queretaro, working at Kaiser Meatpacking Company, able to speak some English, illiterate. Mr. J, born 1911 in Coahuila to KC, Ks., in 1923; no schooling, reads both languages "slowly," doesn't write, working at Armours.

They were living in the Kaw Mouth Bottoms. Mrs. J, through 7th grade, not literate in Spanish, spoken Spanish and English equally voluble and defective. Eight children, born 1935 to 1945. Two oldest, 1935 and 1936, through 7th grade "talk words" in Spanish; the next 2 still in school, born 1937 and 1939 speak well, the 4 youngest 1937 on do not speak Spanish.

1953 Data on Mr. B and family. He, born 1909 in Falfurrias (60 air miles southwest of Corpus Christi, Texas); to KC, Mo., in 1933, working at Armour's, living in Kaw Mouth Bottoms, speaks practically no English, literate in Spanish. His wife, E, born 1908 in Guanajuato, "speaks both languages -- usually a mixture -- and cannot write," reads both a little. Her father, born 1890 and mother 1892 from Guanajuato to KC, Mo.; he died 1930, mother living, speaks broken English, illiterate. Mr. and Mrs. B have 11 children born 1931 to 1950. Two oldest, born in Texas 1931 and 1932 speak fair Spanish. Of the others 1 girl, born 1937 speaks fairly good Spanish; 2 brothers older than she is, do not speak. The one born about 1933 understands, the one born about 1935 scarcely understands. The 6 youngest, born 1940 and after, understand Spanish but do not speak it. They and the girl of 1937 still in school. The four oldest left school between 8th and 10th grade. The oldest daughter married a Mexican, born 1930 in KC, Mo., living in Chicago. The son of 1933 married an Anglo, living in KC, Mo.

1967 Data on Mrs. V. and family -- Argentine. She born in Horton, Kansas in 1925. Parents born in Leon about 1890. Father to U.S. about 1910, married and to Horton about 1913. Mother died about 1935. Family in Horton till 1940, without work during the last years. Economic position better after Second World War. Father a widower for 13 years, then went to Mexico and brought back a wife, born about 1927. Second wife never learned English and her five children, eldest b. 1949, all speak Spanish to her. Mrs. V. married about 1944 to husband born in Kansas City in 1927 -- auto mechanic. They spoke English together from the first, but till the 1951 flood lived in the same house with father and his second wife. Her three oldest children born in 1945, 1946, and 1949 therefore learned to speak Spanish. Those born after the flood in 1955, 1962, and 1965 learned to speak only English. In 1967 the two-year-old addressed a neighbor's child of the same age in English, and the latter answered in Spanish. The neighboring mother was a late arrival who spoke only Spanish. Mrs. V. was therefore habitually bilingual. Except to immigrants she spoke English to those her age or younger because her English vocabulary was richer.

1967 Data on Mr. and Mrs. M. and family -- ~~Armored~~dale. He born 1900 in Durango, Durango. She born in Eagle Pass, Texas; brought up till 1916 in Fort Worth. In Kansas City earlier, but in 1930 at birth of son in steel mills of East Chicago. To packing houses in Kansas City in 1933. Opened store with Mexican specialties in 1942, also a general stock and generally patronized by workers from Swifts. Business therefore bilingual. Children bilingual by effort. Son of 1930 became a high school teacher and married an Anglo. Grandchild born 1953 ignorant of Spanish. With each other and with employees Spanish is the habitual language.

1967 Data on D.D. -- 23rd St. settlement. Lived on East Side till 1965. His older brothers born 1948 and 1951 speak Spanish better than he, but he speaks some. His sister, b. 1955, "doesn't really speak it." "But there's lots of Spanish around here."

1967 Data on Mrs. S. -- 23rd St. settlement. Born here in 1910, so also her husband. Her mother born in Monterrey, her father in Durango. Visited relatives in Mexico in 1957. Unmarried. Speaks Spanish to those her age, but usually speaks English in her work at the Center. Spoke Spanish regularly with her grandparents till they died about 1952. Has niece, b. 1944 and nephew, b. 1948, unable to converse in Spanish, but the niece is more nearly proficient.

47.87 Larned Mexicans

The Mexican population of Pawnee County where Larned is situated existed by 1910, but fluctuated. Its federal census shows for 1910 and 1920 respectively 45 and 32 persons born in Mexico, -- in 1930, 290 "Mexicans." In 1950 those born in Mexico numbered 35, of whom 20 lived in Larned. The published state census for the county recorded for 1915, 3 persons born in Mexico, for 1925, 22; none were in Larned in 1915, 15 in 1925. Underenumeration by the state seems in part the explanation of the erratic differences between it and the federal census. There is an explanation too in the fact that sugar beets were grown in the area; in 1925 and 1926 the acreage here was about 10% of the acreage in the Garden City district. All other counties had negligible acreage. Migratory workers would not have arrived at the beginning of March when the state census was taken. The Santa Fe railroad has employed Mexicans at Larned since they were first introduced, and in 1967 work on the railroad was reported to be their chief occupation. All young Mexicans were ~~then~~ then able to speak English, but bilingualism was common. One mother of thirteen children was unable to speak English.

✓ 880

47.88 Lawrence Mexicans

Census statistics indicate that the numbers of Mexicans in Lawrence fluctuated greatly after their first arrival near the beginning of the century. In 1905 there were probably 3. The published state censuses of 1915 and 1925 recorded 31 persons born in Mexico for both years. The 20 who recorded their dates of arrival in the United States in 1925 distributed themselves as follows:

1884	1	1911	2	1920	2
1907	3	1914	1	1922	2
1908	1	1918	6	1923	2

Inferences made from the published data of the 1930 census assign 85 (or 88) "Mexicans" to Lawrence. The 41 foreign-born who are recorded for 1950 indicate that Lawrence enjoyed a certain popularity among Mexicans. The inference is supported by direct testimony, but the movement had ceased by 1950. The report for 1966 was 84 families.

Mexicans were first brought to Lawrence by the Santa Fe Railroad, though some came later as employees of the Union Pacific. In 1950 the chief employment was still with the railroad; some were at the University of Kansas (Buildings and Ground employees). During the Second World War some slight penetration into other domains began. By 1966 the occupations were varied. The Mexicans of Lawrence were not numerous enough to secure special personnel to serve them religiously. St. John's church has at most times been hospitable and in 1966 was successfully promoting the "Cruzillo" movement whereby laymen assumed certain parochial functions. In the years around 1950 the school nearest the Mexican section maintained a Mexican Club. Thus the inspiration for social activities has come from outside. Relations with Negroes were

1780

friendly. Discrimination against Mexicans in Lawrence was considerable but rather passive in character; it has decreased. In 1950 boys were accepted on baseball teams. Their chief residential section somewhat southeast of the Santa Fe station was also a Negro quarter so that some mixture with English speakers occurred early. Employment by the Union Pacific scattered them further, and in 1966 there was hardly a recognized Mexican quarter. Inter-marriage had become a rather common phenomenon. In 1950 there were still immigrants who spoke no English. Their daughters were sometimes not very fluent in English, and always had an accent; the sons were more fluent. Grandchildren were truly bi-lingual after they reached school age. By 1966 the immigrants had nearly all died. 98% of their children still spoke good Spanish and accented English. Though the next generation after them would answer in English, they were very often still addressing their children in Spanish. The characteristics of the Mexican family were persisting among them, even to some extent in the third generation. Among this generation somewhat less than half were proficient in Spanish; all were using English with each other so that their children are monolingually English.

1950 Data on Mrs. U and family. She born Mexico ca. 1912. To the United States 1914. In 1941 with husband from Williamstown (on Union Pacific northwest of L.) to Lawrence. Neatly housed. Her children speak English to her in which she is proficient, Spanish to their father who believes Spanish should be maintained as a family language.

1950 Data on Family M. He and she born about 1895. He to Pueblo 1910, to Lawrence 1920. They knew English but spoke Spanish together even in public. Son had married an Indian who had recently left to him her 3 children, aged from 7 to 3. All could talk her language as well as English and

Spanish, with limited vocabularies, particularly in English. In public they spoke English to their grandfather and Spanish to their grandmother. Grandparents cared for them while father worked in Topeka.

47.39 Lyons Mexicans

Lyons was founded in 1870 and the branch of the Santa Fe attached to the main line at Florence and Ellinwood went through in 1880. Salt mines were first established there in 1890 and they eventually employed Mexicans. The census of 1910 recorded that there were 109 Mexicans in Rice County. Part of them were probably at Lyons, though the census of 1915 found none at all in the city and only 22 in the county. Mexicans still resident in 1956 had arrived by then. Inasmuch as the Mexicans were in large part not in the city itself but just to the south the most reliable published census figure is that of 1930 when in the county there were 313 "Mexicans." There were then no Indians or Orientals in the county so that the count of "other races" recorded for the minor civil divisions was made up solely of "Mexicans." There were 172 in Lyons and 140 in Atlanta Township, just to the south. (There had been at least 51 foreign-born with 11 children in 1905 in this township.) The other 36 in the county in 1930 were in four different townships, evidently section workers. The 232 at Lyons in 1930 were not in a solid group because housing for them was built near each of the salt mines. The houses had four rooms and electricity, no plumbing/fr. 61. The members of the various groups seldom saw each other except when shopping on Saturday or at church. So to speak, life before emigration continued; there were families which knew each other in Mexico/fr. 34. The general population of Lyons tended to treat them severely. When the activity of the salt mines diminished -- during the depression salt miners had work two or three times a week -- and when mechanization replaced hand mining, the Mexicans often departed. In the 1930's when a Mexican Methodist bishop visited Lyons, he

was refused service in the restaurants. Some citizens apologized, but the refusal was not rescinded/fr. 54. In 1956, except at the hotel owned by Jewish interests from New York, Mexicans might secure work in restaurant kitchens but could not be promoted to waiting on tables. In 1967 the situation had greatly improved; Mexican girls had work as waitresses, and a few men worked in the general community, in one or two cases as entrepreneurs. Children were generally accepted socially until they reached an age when mixed marriages might be feared. In 1956 only half of the employee housing at the salt works was then occupied by Mexicans. They had been leaving Lyons for some time. Besides the disagreeable social situation, the character of work in the salt mines drove them away. It was strenuous and dangerous; more than one Mexican was killed "in the hole."

The first mention that Moeder's History of the Diocese of Wichita makes of Lyons was that it was a mission of Chase, next town west, in 1923/mo 121. Chase had unnamed missions in 1918 however/mo 99. A church was erected in Lyons in 1927, but it still had no resident pastor in 1937/mo 129, 148. By 1948 the priest was resident, and a few years later there was a new church, but other elements in the parish accounted for this material progress rather than the Mexicans. Not all pastors were proficient in Spanish, but the incumbent from 1953 until after 1960 had learned Spanish from Mexican seminarians at Las Vegas, New Mexico. His successor in 1967, though a blood brother, was not proficient in Spanish. The Methodists began work with the Mexicans in Lyons about 1925; it went on for a number of years with Spanish-speaking missionaries. In 1943 Anna B. Enlow began working with the mission, and in 1945 became the lay minister in charge. She learned little Spanish, but gained the complete confidence of her people; she was thus a strong

Engl-izing force. The Methodists contained a few very prolific families and at one time numbered 75. Their mission was merged with the Anglo church in 1963 upon Mrs. Enlow's retirement; she continued as a counselor. In the palmiest days there were celebrations on Mexican Independence Day but not in the 1950's.

The conditions at Lyons were long definitely conservative of Spanish, though by the 1940's the use of English as a means of establishing identity as "Americans" was common. Most children born in the 1950's were still learning Spanish -- at least one was not -- but in 1956 the young were using English with each other. However, almost none of the young were staying in Lyons when they became old enough to earn money. Teen-agers were still adept enough to use Spanish for secrecy while playing basketball, but their Spanish was imperfect. Spanish was ordinarily the priest's language in speaking to anyone older. By 1967 only the immigrants spoke Spanish habitually, in a few cases to the exclusion of English. Unless intimately associated with the old the second generation were not at home in Spanish. Those younger than eighteen knew only a few words learned from grandparents though many continued to understand.

✓ 696

1956 Data on Family C. Father born 1892 in Jalisco; to the United States by 1915, to the Lyons salt mines less than 10 years later, still employed there in 1956, never learned English. Mother born at Buenaparte 1896. As a child with her parents to Abilene, Kansas, where a brother was working; there 3 years, then to Lyons, where she was in 1956 the longest resident; never learned English. Three sons, all in Lyons. One born 1928 married daughter, born 1934, of another Mexican family long resident at Lyons. They often spoke Spanish together. Their 2 oldest, born 1950 and 1951, spoke Spanish and their two youngest were learning. The sister of this wife was not using Spanish habitually with her husband. I, the youngest son of the old couple, born 1938, spoke Spanish constantly in 1956 with parents, but they thought his Spanish was funny. Still unemployed. He and one brother had not gone beyond the eighth grade; the third had finished high school while in the army.

47.90 Manhattan Mexicans

Manhattan's origins occurred in territorial times. The Kansas Pacific (later U.P.) reached the town in 1866; by 1883 there was a branch running up the Blue Valley, thus providing railroad employment. There was also by then a railroad running to the southeast which was soon to become the Rock Island line running from McFarland to Belleville. The census of 1900 records no Mexicans as resident in Riley County. There was probably one in 1905. Those present there in 1910 were presumably at Manhattan; at least in 1915 the 29 reported by the printed census for Riley County were all in Manhattan. In 1925, 63 of the 67 reported for the county also lived in that town, 78 children lived with them. Only 8 recorded the year of their arrival in the United States, 5 in 1900, 3 in 1914. In 1930 there were from 146 to 148 Mexicans in Manhattan, 21 to 23 in Ogden township next west. In 1966 there were perhaps a score of families almost all long residents, employed by the railroad, the university, the Fort Riley post, and by construction companies. Their group was not compact residentially, but it was practically all living south of the tracks on Juliet, Colorado, and Yuma Streets. There was little feeling of discrimination. Linguistic usage as described in the following biography is typical in the community. Girls are definitely more proficient in Spanish than boys.

1966 Data on Miss E and family. She born in Manhattan in 1946. Paternal grandparents brought father to Manhattan from Leon in Guanajuato and moved back during the depression. Mother of similar origins. Father a construction worker. Parents married by 1937 still using Spanish together in 1966. Sister born in 1938 more proficient in Spanish than she. Her own Spanish limited but adequate. Two brothers and a sister speak no Spanish. She going to business college in Kansas City; no contact with Mexicans there.

v9/10

47.91 Newton Mexicans

Newton burgeoned just before the arrival of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1871. It changed from a cowtown to a railroad town 2 years later when the main line was extended west, and the line to Wichita was built. The growing importance of this line meant greater need of personnel at the division point. There were no Mexicans in Harvey County in 1900; in 1910 the 395 were doubtless not all in Newton, for minor colonies have existed in the county ever since, and extra gangs were at work in 1910, but some were in Newton, probably 2 in 1905. The 1915 census showed only 114 in the city and 119 in the county. The 1925 and 1930 censuses show about equal numbers: in 1925, 286 foreign born plus 130 co-resident children; in 1930, 411 "Mexicans." The 277 foreign-born of 1925 who told the year of their arrival in the United States declared it as follows:

1901-1902	9	1915-1916	41
1903-1906	3	1917-1920	89
1907-1910	20	1921-1922	19
1911-1912	10	1923	31
1913-1914	27	1924	19
		1925	9

In 1949 there were 492 persons in 92 families. In 1966 a reliable estimate was 620 persons, 155 families. The increase was through natural reproduction. Newton retained its Mexicans because it remained important as a railroad center. Certain industries developed in the town (mobile homes, etc.). Wichita was near enough for commuters.

The colonia of the Mexicans was in the southwest part of town and until after 1925 few families were found elsewhere. The Santa Fe, as in other towns built brick tenements to replace boxcar dwellings. They were still in use in 1966, refurbished so as not to deserve the reproaches made by Ricart in

1950 when they were not only run down but far too crowded. By 1949 the dispersion outside of this nucleus was considerable, but largely into sections where Negroes also might be found, though the 2 stocks were not always in harmony. The Mexicans found difficulty in purchasing property in other parts of town. Indeed in 1950 Franco records Newton as one of the towns given to marked discrimination against Mexicans /fr 53. The church of Our Lady of Guadalupe was not founded until after 1937. In 1948 and 1950 it was in charge of the Franciscans who were also the pastors of the Mexican churches in Wichita, but by 1960 it had reverted to the secular clergy. In 1966 the universality of Catholicism was almost complete. Only one family of Mexicans was outside the fold. At the church's social functions, few of the young were present, and consequently Spanish was extensively used. In 1950 there were semi-monthly dances in the City Auditorium which the Mexicans rented. There was also a Latin-American Club with part Anglo members, evidence of some effort to encourage good relations with Mexicans. The American GI Forum was prosperous in 1966.

Despite hostility the Mexicans of Newton have prospered economically more than in other towns. The employment opportunities noted above have been with firms not dominated by local prejudices. Education has become fashionable. In 1949 only 2 families were furnishing students to the high school. In 1966 attendance by Mexicans at high school was normal and there were a number of students in college. Eighty percent of the Mexican population was fully literate, 3 times as many as 25 years before.

The hostility toward Mexicans in 1966 seems to have been mostly among the older Anglo generations. Inter-marriage was not uncommon, and young Anglo girls were said to be attracted by handsome Mexican youths. The shift in

attitude among the young was recent. Mexicans were not allowed to participate in high school athletics until well into the 1950's. In 1950 men had few employment opportunities except with the railroad. Girls could obtain certain lowly jobs. The discriminatory attitude of the governing generation in 1966 still prevented Mexicans from having their hair cut where they liked. Even when eligible, they could not join the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Linguistic habits have altered materially among the young since 1949. Then teen-agers spoke Spanish with each other though acquainted with English -- often so that non-Mexicans accepted among them learned Spanish. In 1950 a young couple in their twenties among the more prosperous spoke Spanish so consistently at home that their child 3 or 4 years old knew no English. Another family with grown children still at home elicited this remark from Ricart, "Even in a family of higher intellectual level, Spanish was still the normal language" /ri22. To be sure he found another family where the parents used Spanish but where the children, not allowed to play with other Mexican children for fear they would learn "bad words," played together in English. A young man whose Spanish had grown rusty in army service resumed his old habits on returning home, though chiefly in speaking to his parents. In this active railroad center, there were still arrivals from the Mexican border without English as late as 1950.

In 1966 Spanish was restricted to the older generations. The teen-agers used it but rarely, when in the company of their grandparents or for secrecy. There was, however, a sense that bi-lingualism was a valuable gift, and in a generally sympathetic atmosphere there has been some effort in certain families to keep it alive among children.

1950 Data on Mrs. C and descendants. Mother widowed. Two daughters finishing their training as nurses, a third married to son of Mr. P of Florence (q.v.); a son employed to support others. The last 2 through high school. Son-in-law college graduate. Mother's English limited. Family and friends habitually spoke Spanish with her.

1950 Data on Mr. S and family. He born ca. 1905, she 1910. Her English limited, but (unusual) able to read and write Spanish. Children only understand Spanish for lack of contact with other Mexican children.

1966 Data on Mr. T and family. He born California 1922 of parents from La Paz, Lower California. To U.S. 1920. When father died family to relatives at Newton. Grew up Newton. Married a Mexican girl from Florence. Clerical job at railroad. Three small children. Mother living with them. Spanish better and used more frequently than in most families with young children. He bitter about discrimination.

47.92 Ottawa Mexicans

Mexicans came to Ottawa to work for the Santa Fe and Missouri Pacific railroads. Their colonia was outside of the city limits until some time between 1925 and 1930. The 1925 census takers without giving any other data stated that there were 40 Mexicans in Ottawa Township, none in the city; the 1930 census showed 111 "Mexicans" in the city. The numbers have held up better in Ottawa than in other railroad centers and in 1967 most of the wage earners were still employed by the railroads. They and others too then felt them to be "scattered all over town," but they were mostly on the north side near the tracks. They and their fellow townsmen considered that there was no discrimination, though the praise bestowed upon them ^{by Anglos} was the expression of conscious benevolence. They maintained the use of Spanish quite well, and in 1967 persons born before 1925 were proficient, those born after 1945 were not expert, and those born after 1955 were ignorant of Spanish.

Data on Mr. P. and family. He born 1901 at San Juan de los Lagos, Chihuahua. Employed on railroad, and returns annually to see relatives. By first wife a son also a householder at Ottawa. Second wife, born 1925 at La Junta, Colo., reared there. Of old Colorado stock. She fluent in Spanish. By her, three sons, oldest b. 1953 "knows a little Spanish." Other two born 1956 and 1958 know none.

-921- ✓93

47.93 Parsons Mexicans

Parsons was founded in 1870 at the junction of the 2 most important lines of the Missouri Kansas and Texas Railroad and it became a Katy town. There were no Mexicans in Labette County in 1900; only 9 in 1910. In 1915 the printed census recorded only 8 Mexicans for Parsons; there were probably as many in 1905; the Katy was evidently just beginning to hire them there, ^{in 1915} for in 1925 the number was 77. With them lived only 9 children a further indication of the late start of the colonia. In 1930 there were at least 213 "Mexicans" there. In 1955 there were 35 or 40 families at Parsons. Then they were distributed in various parts of the city; the same was true for half of them in 1925. Economic conditions in 1955 were comfortable and those interviewed reported no discrimination. A mutual aid society existed before the Depression, and another association for some years after the Second World War. The field seemed fertile for the American GI Forum in 1955.

In 1948 there existed a mission for Mexicans served from the Irish church of St. Patrick, where there had been a curate specially charged with Mexicans by 1928 /mo 131. It had a school with 76 enrollments. But the pastor who arrived next rejected such segregation, and mission and school were amalgamated with that of the main parish.

1955 Data on Mr. P and family. He born in Guanajuato about 1915, to United States when very small; she born in United States. Her mother from Zacatecas and residing with P's. Read Spanish journals, but with difficulty. Spanish rather imperfect. One son born 1941, and 3 younger daughters. Lived at Fredonia until 1953, but active 1955 in Parsons community.

47.94 Pratt Mexicans

In 1910 there were 94 persons born in Mexico in Pratt County, in 1920 there were 62. Presumably in 1910 there were extra gangs in the county. The state census of 1915 recorded 27 persons born in Mexico in the city of Pratt, that of 1925, 31. There were 85 "Mexicans" there in 1930. In 1925, 17 children were living with the 31 foreign-born. Pratt also possesses an element rare elsewhere in Kansas, a significant number of New Mexicans with Spanish names, in 1925 there were 45 with whom lived 22 children. The two stocks were mingled residentially but there were only three intermarriages. The Mexican-born included one man who had come to the United States in 1885. He had resided in New Mexico and his daughter had married a New Mexican.

Others Who Were Born in Mexico Arrived in the United States as Follows:

1901-1905	5	1912-1915	4	1924	1
1907-1910	8	1917-1920	4		

Few of the persons born in Mexico had children born in Kansas, 3 families in one of which only the husband was born in Mexico. The oldest child born in this family was 7. In a second family the oldest was 15, and the third 3. In this family the next oldest, 4, was born in Texas, and the oldest, 9, in Mexico. The rest of the Mexican-born must be considered recent arrivals, since reproduction after marriage begins early. The Hispanos had been longer resident; the oldest child born in Kansas for each of these families had attained ages as follows: 14, 12, 9, 9, 7, 7, 6, 3, 1. In two cases children born in Kansas had a younger sibling born in New Mexico. The Spanish-speaking of Pratt were linguistically conservative, especially considering their relatively small numbers and their diversity of origin. Children born up to the time of the Second World War spoke Spanish, sometimes badly but fluently.

47.95 Salina Mexicans

Salina's beginnings go back to territorial days, and the main line of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, later Union Pacific, reached there in 1867, the Missouri Pacific in 1886 and the Rock Island shortly afterward. Though for the Rock Island, Salina was only the terminus of a short branch line from Herington, that railroad probably introduced the first Mexicans into the town. They were there at least by 1902, date of a cemetery inscription. The published census recorded Mexicans as follows:

1915 -- 14 born in Mexico

1925 -- 167 born in Mexico (with them 68 children)

1930 -- 319 persons not white or Negro; 13 Indians in county;

therefore, minimum of 306 "Mexicans."

In 1966 a reliable estimate set the number of Mexicans at 370; memories both then and in 1954 spoke of twice as many in earlier years. Fifty-one of the Mexicans of 1925 told the census takers the year of their arrival in the United States; 2 came in 1895, 1 in 1899, 2 in 1903, 15 in 1909 and 1910, 1 in 1912, 9 in 1916, and 21 in 1922, 1923, 1924. Railroad employment continued for a long time to be the chief employment, principally ^{in the service} of the Union Pacific and Missouri Pacific; a poultry packing plant took some; for almost 25 years after the beginning of the Second World War the Air Force base nearby furnished much work. In 1966, though the shock of the loss of the base was recent, jobs were available, as usual, of unskilled nature. Some men were still with the railroads and railroad pensioners were numerous. The Mexicans were still living primarily in their first area surrounded by the tracks of the various railroads to the northeast of the business center. Negroes are

numerous nearby; the relations between them and the Mexicans were in 1966 rather unfriendly, much worse than in other Kansas towns with many Negroes, particularly Wichita. In 1928 Our Lady of Guadalupe acquired an outgrown Lutheran church (wooden) and moved it into the center of the colonia. In 1966 270 of the Mexicans were its parishioners. Some were attending St. Mary's, not erected till after 1948. There were 4 or 5 Baptist families. In 1960 the Catholic Directory described Guadalupe as a "Spanish-speaking mission," but it had not been exclusively Spanish-speaking since 1941. Up until that year it was served by Augustinian Recollects, Spanish by birth and stationed at Topeka. From 1941 to 1944 no Spanish was used, but Spanish was restored with a priest born in the City of Mexico who was preaching once a month in Spanish in 1949. Then and in 1954 when he was hearing confessions in Spanish he was referred to as Father Monzell, but the Catholic Directory of 1948 referred to him as Ignatius Monzo, whose parish was at Holyrood with Guadalupe as a mission. By 1960 he had been transferred to Sharon Springs, and Guadalupe at Salina was in the hands of Father Wasinger as his only charge. During Holy Week in 1966 he was still bringing a Mexican priest to satisfy the desires of the old for Spanish. The celebration of Mexican Independence Day, September 16, which for some time was a self-directed festival, fell into the hands of the church, which made it first a fund-raising dinner and then multiplied the dinners to 3 or 4 a year, patronized chiefly by "Americans" anxious to eat Mexican food. In 1966 the church and a GI Forum (not too flourishing) were the chief agencies drawing Mexicans together. Otherwise social relations hardly went beyond the family. There has been some intermarriage with Anglos. Contacts with Mexico exist, but are few. The use of Spanish among Salina Mexicans in 1950 was still such that

teen-agers sometimes spoke it to each other, and it was the customary language in the home. By 1954 though there were still some monolingual immigrants, the young were seldom using Spanish to one another; still all except a few children of the third generation were moderately proficient in that language. In some homes even with immigrant mothers English was the usual language though there were others where the women born in Mexico knew very little English. In 1966 the use of Spanish was sometimes anomalous. A few of the young spoke it well in spite of small opportunity to acquire a pronunciation, vocabulary and morphology of any purity. But even the immigrants were usually employing English in talking to each other, if not entirely, at least during the greater part of each speech. The third generation, though usually not competent in Spanish, looked upon proficiency in it as desirable and admirable, an attitude in conformity with the times but not widespread in Mexican settlements.

The evidence of the inscriptions in the ill-defined Spanish section of the Catholic cemetery is slight because there are only 15 inscriptions, but it is in harmony with what was said above.

	<u>English</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>% of Spanish</u>
1918	1		0%
1920-29	1	2	67%
1930-39	1	3	75%
1940-49		1	100%
1950-59	2	4	33%

No inscriptions 1962-7.

1954 Data on Mrs. F, born in Mexico about 1911, with parents to Salina 1912. Husband, immigrant of same age. Her parents and her family living together. Her children speak a little Spanish with grandparents still employing only Spanish. Boy 12, "speaks Spanish when he has to," otherwise English.

1954 Data on Mrs. H, born Mexico 1901. To Kansas 1908, to Salina 1932. Husband working for Union Pacific. They were speaking only a little English; 14 children who speak English together, some Spanish to parents.

1954 Data on Mrs. Z, born Mexico 1902, to U.S. 1905 or 1906, Salina 1917. Bilingual. Husband born Mexico 1888, to U.S. 1912, employed by Union Pacific, 15 children were speaking a little Spanish, but usually English.

1966 Data on Mr. H. Born at Zamora in Michoacan in 1900, to U.S. with 5 brothers in 1919. He to Salina, the others elsewhere; 2 of the survivors in California, one in Arkansas City. Five sisters came later; of 4 surviving, one at Salina, one at Manhattan, 2 in California. Married 1929 the daughter of an immigrant. Worked on Union Pacific till 1946 when blinded, now a net-maker and pensioner, 6 children, 20 grandchildren. Said immigrant Mexicans preferred English to Spanish even in talking together. His Spanish fair, but requiring effort. Sons and daughters know some Spanish, grandchildren none.

1966 Data on Mr. R. Born Horton, Kansas, 1918. Parents to U.S. 1916. Married the daughter of immigrants, born Wichita; 3 sons just grown. He a prosperous shoemaker, normally speaking English to sons as well as others. The boys "barely speak it."

47.96 Topeka Mexicans

Special Bibliog.: E --Earle, Peter. The Mexicans of Topeka. Typescript, 1953.

Topeka, as headquarters for the Santa Fe Railroad, received Mexicans as early as any city in Kansas. The censuses of 1895 and 1900 show none there. In 1905 on the first of March there were probably 23. The Federal Census in succeeding years recorded persons born in Mexico and resident in Topeka as follows:

1910 -- 284	1930 -- 730	1940 -- 649
1920 -- 837	"Mexicans" -- 1,730	1950 -- 583

The decrease from 1930 to 1940 for Kansas as a whole was 54%, for Topeka 11%, indicative of the comparatively favorable living conditions in the city. The state censuses of 1915 and 1925 showed 443 and 922 persons born in Mexico in Topeka. In 1915 from 80 to 120 children lived with these foreign-born; in 1925 from 310 to 360 (239 with 611). In 1925 the 377 persons born in Mexico who stated their year of arrival in the United States were distributed as follows:

1900-1906 -- 12	1913-1914 -- 5	1920 -- 70
1908-1909 -- 12	1915-1917 -- 105	1921-1924 -- 80
1910-1912 -- 66	1918-1919 -- 26	

There were also in 1925 at least 41 persons born in New Mexico and bearing Spanish names living in Topeka. "The gradual increase from 1,730 in 1930 to somewhere between 2,000 and 2,300 in 1953 was not the direct result of immigration, which for Topeka became insignificant after 1924 . . . It seems simply to have been the result of a birth rate: " /E 1 . The number had very greatly fallen off by 1966. There were then probably not many more than a thousand there. Earle before this remark quoted above had just said: "A

very large majority of the Mexican immigrants . . . were not seasonal workers who roamed from the Southwest as far north as Wyoming and as far east as Pennsylvania. Practically all of them, contracted by the Rock Island, Union Pacific, and Santa Fe Railroads, came directly from their homeland to Topeka." There were families, however, before the Second World War who went to work in the beet fields. Most of the Topeka Mexicans as usual elsewhere, came from the Mexican central plateau. Of 30 interviewed by Earle, the states of origin were as follows:

Guanajuato, 12
Durango, Michoacan, Zacatecas, 3 each
Jalisco, 3
Hidalgo, San Luis Potosí, Nuevo León, 1 each (E 3).

Earle goes on, "The great majority came to work for the Santa Fe Railroad . . . virtually all . . . were employed in the shops and yards, not on track sections and extra gangs. This situation contributed greatly to the solidarity and permanent nature of the Mexican colony Today [1953], 316 Mexican-Americans still work in the Santa Fe shops of Topeka." /E 1. An informant 3 years before said 1,000. The primary colonia of Topeka Mexicans is to the east of the Santa Fe shops to the north and east of the Branner Street viaduct, which is the only entrance to this part of town for many blocks; the settlement is isolated between the railroad, the river and the Volgans to the northeast. This is the Guadalupe district, so-called because of the church. In it as late as 1939 there were boxcar residences. The Santa Fe Railroad did not here, as in many other places, attempt further housing projects. In 1950 the Santa Fe was still using ~~box cars for~~ braceros. West and south of the shops and south of the Kaw River there is another district broken by tracks and industry. It faded out to the west and in 1966

scarcely reached Highway I-70. Another small district (25 families in 1953, E 2) was near the Union Pacific station, between it and the river. Flooding by the Kaw in 1951 and destruction by the tornado in 1966 did not separate the Mexicans from their quarter. In 1966 80% of the Mexicans were still living in the old districts.

In the Santa Fe shops Mexicans found it impossible to better their relative economic standing until they were allowed to enter the AFL union in 1941 (E 4). In 1953 half of the Mexican employees had machinist ratings. Relative advantages seemed no greater in 1966, for most early employees were then on pension. Employment in the packing houses also occupied some, but the supply of Volgan labor did not allow the Mexican contingent to reach the same importance as in Wichita. Still, before the 1951 flood brought calamity to Morrell's, from 70 to 150 Mexicans were employed there. Though there are opportunities in the installations of the Federal government and somewhat in State agencies, employment opportunities for Mexicans seem to have developed less than in Wichita. More of the raza are thus found living as neighbors and tendencies toward the preservation of Spanish are greater.

The parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Topeka grew from 20 families in 1914 to about 400 in 1953 (E 5); 95% of the Mexicans in Topeka were its parishioners. The number of baptisms for the first three years was: 1914, 5; 1915, 30; 1916, 47. In larger time groupings for later years they were:

1917-1919 -- 195	1927-1930 -- 389	1943-1947 -- 306
1920-1922 -- 304	1931-1934 -- 251	1948-1951 -- 421
1923 -- 137	1935-1938 -- 225	1952 -- 103
1924-1926 -- 304	1939-1943 -- 240	

The beginnings in 1914 were hampered by poverty, but the uninterrupted succession of native Spanish-speaking priests, 3 Mexicans till 1923, Augustinian Recollects all from Spain at least through 1953 has kept Topeka Mexicans more closely together than is true elsewhere. Officials of the Augustinians reported in 1951 that their charges at Topeka were more conservative in several ways, including language, than the Mexicans in Omaha. The modest church erected in 1921 was succeeded in 1948 by a much more pretentious structure. In 1953 Earle said, "For the past ten years [five years later, said the pastor of 1950] the nine o'clock Sunday sermon has been given in English; the other two (7:30 and 10:30) are still given in Spanish. Father Roman Irribarren predicts, however, that an additional sermon will be given in English 'in the near future.' The church records were kept in Spanish till 1944, when by superior order English was substituted" /E 7 . He says further, "The Guadalupe church sponsors the most important social event of the year, the July Mexican Fiesta, which this year took place from July 1 through July 4 . . . The July fiesta does not correspond to any celebration, either religious or national, in Mexico. From time to time the Mexican Independence Day (Sept. 16) has been observed, but not during the last four years . . . it has decreased in popularity" /E 8 . There was a celebration of Mexican Independence Day in 1966. It was Americanized, loud, and profitable to the Mexicans, because one-third of the attenders were Anglos with money to spend. The parochial school organized in 1929 with an enrollment of 275, had 225 pupils in 1941, 209 in 1948, 207 in 1953, 250 in 1960. The sisters have not used Spanish as an aid to instruction. In 1953 over 300 Mexican children were going to other schools /E 8 . English, not Spanish, here became the language of the Mass in 1964.

The Mexican Baptist Church was organized by 35 members of the Guadalupe parish in 1924. There was bitterness, even threats of violence, at first, but

later relations of Catholics and Protestants seem more amicable than in most towns. The membership rose to 110 in 1937 and dwindled to 35 in 1953 /E 10. It was still an active organization in 1966. "Until 1941 all services were conducted in Spanish. At that time the Sunday School converted to . . . four classes in English and one in Spanish. The morning and evening Sunday sermons are still [1953] given in Spanish. The Young People's Club uses English exclusively. . . . The church offered a night Spanish course in 1935 and 1936; 40 students enrolled the first year and 25 the second" /E 10.

Education among Topeka Mexicans made great progress. "Of 475 persons (aged ten or over) studied in the 1925 state census, 240 or over 50% were listed as illiterates. . . . Of 85 persons interviewed in June, 1953, only 6 (7%) could not read or write in either English or Spanish; of these 3 said they 'could pick out words'; 4 of the 6 were over 60; the other two were 53 and 58" /E 4. In 1941 a small minority of Mexican children completed junior high school at Topeka; in 1950 over 50% of those eligible were attending high school. The Mexicans of 1953 felt that discrimination against them had greatly decreased in 1953; "as one of them put it, 'Now it's up to the individual'" /E3. The discrimination then existent was usually from people on the same economic level. Active campaigning against discrimination led by the priest and Nate Morales (see below) had achieved results. The swimming pools had opened to Mexicans, and Morales had succeeded in removing from drivers licenses the designation of Mexicans as such. Some trouble in restaurants was still continuing. It cannot be said in 1966 that prejudice is absent in Topeka, but employees who have secured positions among Anglos suffer no discrimination from fellow workers. Intermarriage has been relatively rare. Between 1935 and 1953 a qualified informant told

1968

Earle that 35 Mexican boys had married Anglos; 15 Mexican girls; 2 Mexicans had married Indians, 4 or 5 Negroes /E 4. In 1966 the troubles leading to the divorce of a mixed couple was provoking much comment among the Mexican people.

Engl-izing among Topeka Mexicans was already so far advanced in 1939 that children 10 or 12 years old preferred to use English, though all were proficient in Spanish. Men at work in the Santa Fe shops sometimes were using Spanish with each other a decade later, but by then 90% of the Mexicans could speak English and grandchildren of immigrants knew little Spanish. It was already becoming difficult to communicate with them or even young sons and daughters of immigrants in anything but English. A mono-lingual immigrant who maintained a small store selling candy to small boys and girls sometimes had to deal with them by signs or perhaps the better informed told the others what "cinco centavos" meant. The 1951 flood for a time distributed Mexican refugees throughout the city and was definitely a force for Engl-izing. The surest indication that English was becoming more frequently used in the home in 1951 was that girls spoke better English than boys. If their mothers had resented the use of English they would not have had an opportunity to practice it to this extent. Up until then there was a weekly Spanish film at the Kaw Theater, well attended but not by the young who preferred their blood and thunder in English. The young were not, however, weaning those older of their Spanish. Until 1939 quite a number took the Mexico City Excelsior -- average subscribers 55. In 1953 the Tavares' store sold 36 magazines in Spanish a month E 11. A few people received magazines from Mexico and correspondence with Mexico was not uncommon. Half of Nate Morales' radio show was in Spanish. For the generality in 1953 both

1966

-994-

languages seemed natural. Earle says, "I found that older people speaking Spanish tend to insert numbers, dates and oaths in English. Children, who prefer and use about 90% English, would make statements like . . . 'Watch out for your cabeza!' " /E 12. He found that people who spoke Spanish habitually spoke rather well. He concludes thus: "Very few persons under thirty years of age use Spanish except, in some cases, when addressing elders. The majority of those between 30 and 50 prefer English, but can speak passable Spanish. Few of those over 50 prefer English, and most over 60 understand and speak little English" /E 15. English made little progress among those described by Earle as adept in Spanish in the next fifteen years. Spanish was often heard on the streets downtown in 1966, although high school students had shown no desire to employ it for many years. The mothers of girls employed in Topeka stores spoke more Spanish than English sometimes and their daughters were able to communicate with them. The children of 1950 had not become speakers of Spanish, but their ears had been exercised enough so that they understood their elders. The path of the tornado of June 1966 went squarely through the Mexican district. The property was mostly in the hands of those who were old or oldish and insurance adjusters frequently had difficulty in dealing with these people. On the other hand, those who wished to make contracts with the Mexicans for repair or replacement of destroyed structures wisely employed salesmen who could deal with families unwilling to use English for bargaining. One reason for the dominance of the old in real estate was that at Topeka, as in many other centers, the people of productive age had frequently gone elsewhere to work leaving grandchildren to be reared by their progenitors. This custom here as elsewhere has made for persistence in understanding Spanish.

1966

The evidence of inscriptions in the Mount Calvary Cemetery shows greater persistence of Spanish than usual.

	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Span.</u>	<u>% of Span</u>
1910-20	--	1	100%
1921-30	1	11	92%
1931-40	27	41	40%
1941-50	20	78	20%
1951-53	3	9	25%

1948 Data on Mr. L.M., father born in Durango, mother in Zacatecas. He born in Manhattan, Kansas in 1916; to Topeka in 1920. In 1948 was using Spanish and English both in the home. Had worked mostly on the railroad, sometimes at Morrell's. Played trumpet in an orchestra that had gone to Wichita, Newton, Lawrence, Emporia and Kansas City. People also came to listen from Peabody and Florence.

1950 Data on Mr. A, born in Mexico City about 1885. Came to Topeka about 1920. Never learned English. Had been miner in Mexico. Revolutionists seized the blasting powder; no work. His wife already in El Paso called him there. Two daughters still in Mexico, 1 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. She had come to help him when he was ill, and helped with his store. She, bilingual, liked by children.

1953 Data on Mr. J and family. He born Michoacan 1897; to United States 1915, to Topeka 1921. Wife born Michoacan 1908; to Texas 1921; to Topeka 1923; first husband, Mr. H, died 1935. His own children, daughter born 1942 and son 1945 know Spanish, the boy better than the girl, both in school. His stepchildren: boy, J, then in Austria with army, married an Austrian. He speaks ~~his~~ broken Spanish; girl, through 1 year of high school speaks, reads and writes Spanish, married Mr. E born 1923, 3 children with English names; boy, no school after 8th grade, speaks broken Spanish, married an Indian, 2

children; boy completed 9th grade, construction worker, married another Indian born 1933, he speaks very little Spanish; girl finished 10th grade, 1 year of Spanish in school, speaks, reads and writes Spanish, working at Seymour Packing Co.; boy finished high school, works in a foundry, reads and writes Spanish but does not like to speak it. Mr. J himself illiterate and possessing little English. Wife literate in Spanish, possessing very little English.

1953 Data on Mr. H and family. He born Lagos, Jalisco, 1893, to Texas 1912, but soon returned to Mexico. Came to Topeka 1919 with wife, born Monterrey 1898, and : son who had been born in San Antonio. Knows very little English, his wife only understand certain words. They go to Jalisco for vacations. In all, 5 sons, 3 daughters, born at nearly equal intervals till 1938. Oldest through 11th grade, 1 year Spanish in high school -- speaks and reads well -- an electrician in Cicero, Illinois. Oldest daughter fluent in Spanish, 5 years schooling -- married Irish -- lives in Topeka. Maria into 10th grade -- speaks, reads and writes Spanish fairly well. Next daughter through grades -- Spanish as for sister -- works at Seymour Packing. Son C had year schooling after grades in Mexico City -- proficient in Spanish -- in army but lives in Chicago. Son A, born 1931, high school graduate and in Air Force -- knows Spanish, but prefers English. Son B born 1933, through grades, in army. Son V through 9th grade -- apprentice at shops. Daughter A born 1938, still in high school. Spanish of last three is broken. Parents' national affections with Mexico, children's with the United States. A typical family.

1953 Data on Natividad (Nate) Morales and family. Born in Lerdo, Durango, 1911, with parents to Topeka in 1920. They had been born, 1868 and 1867 in

Sombrerete, Zacatecas -- living in Topeka, illiterate and monolingual -- a sister of Nate also there. Nate's wife born Topeka 1910, adopted daughter of couple born in Durango 1883 and 1885 who came to Topeka in 1912. Four children, a daughter, born 1934, a son and adopted son, both born 1937 and a son born 1938. Daughter in college in 1953. The 2 born 1937 -- in high school, son of 1938 about to enter. Wife easily bi-lingual. Nate's brother and sisters speak better English than Spanish. He, himself, more at home in English, and uses it constantly with wife and children, so that they speak little Spanish. Announces his radio program of recorded music in both English and good but somewhat accented Spanish. Till 1951 flood, with Morrell's -- since, with Santa Fe -- successful salesman of tacos in district in youth, graduated from Guadalupe parochial school May, 1953 after intermittent attendance during which he helped with coaching.

1953 Data on Mr. R.A. and family. (Probably a relative of 1948 Mr. A.) He, born Durango 1883. Wife also born there, married ca. 1900. Both to the U.S. in 1911, to Rock Creek, Kansas (on Santa Fe line from Topeka to Atchison) 1913. To Topeka 1916; track^{*}worker there for Rock Island till retirement in 1948. Often fought with the bolillos, but situation better after joining Brotherhood of Railway Workers. Discrimination, he said, "era preety bad, y lo sigue siendo [and keeps on being], pero what the hell?" Knows little English, his wife none. Until 1951 when wife died subscribed to Excelsior (Mexico City), La Prensa (San Antonio), La Opinión (Los Angeles). Oldest son J born Durango 1901; second son P, born Chihuahua 1909, through 8th grade, since 1926 in Chicago. Both these sons proficient in Spanish. Daughter Ch born 1915, through grade school, married a Mexican born Topeka 1919, who graduated from high school, living in Topeka. She is proficient in

Sombrerete, Zacatecas -- living in Topeka, illiterate and monolingual -- a sister of Nate also there. Nate's wife born Topeka 1910, adopted daughter of couple born in Durango 1883 and 1885 who came to Topeka in 1912. Four children, a daughter, born 1934, a son and adopted son, both born 1937 and a son born 1938. Daughter in college in 1953. The 2 born 1937 -- in high school, son of 1938 about to enter. Wife easily bi-lingual. Nate's brother and sisters speak better English than Spanish. He, himself, more at home in English, and uses it constantly with wife and children, so that they speak little Spanish. Announces his radio program of recorded music in both English and good but somewhat accented Spanish. Till 1951 flood, with Morrell's -- since, with Santa Fe -- successful salesman of tacos in district in youth, graduated from Guadalupe parochial school May, 1953 after intermittent attendance during which he helped with coaching.

1953 Data on Mr. R.A. and family. (Probably a relative of 1948 Mr. A.) He, born Durango 1883. Wife also born there, married ca. 1900. Both to the U.S. in 1911, to Rock Creek, Kansas (on Santa Fe line from Topeka to Atchison) 1913. To Topeka 1916; track^{*}worker there for Rock Island till retirement in 1948. Often fought with the bolillos, but situation better after joining Brotherhood of Railway Workers. Discrimination, he said, "era preety bad, y lo sigue siendo [and keeps on being], pero what the hell?" Knows little English, his wife none. Until 1951 when wife died subscribed to Excelsior (Mexico City), La Prensa (San Antonio), La Opinión (Los Angeles). Oldest son J born Durango 1901; second son P, born Chihuahua 1909, through 8th grade, since 1926 in Chicago. Both these sons proficient in Spanish. Daughter Ch born 1915, through grade school, married a Mexican born Topeka 1919, who graduated from high school, living in Topeka. She is proficient in

Sombrerete, Zacatecas -- living in Topeka, illiterate and monolingual -- a sister of Nate also there. Nate's wife born Topeka 1910, adopted daughter of couple born in Durango 1883 and 1885 who came to Topeka in 1912. Four children, a daughter, born 1934, a son and adopted son, both born 1937 and a son born 1938. Daughter in college in 1953. The 2 born 1937 -- in high school, son of 1938 about to enter. Wife easily bi-lingual. Nate's brother and sisters speak better English than Spanish. He, himself, more at home in English, and uses it constantly with wife and children, so that they speak little Spanish. Announces his radio program of recorded music in both English and good but somewhat accented Spanish. Till 1951 flood, with Morrell's -- since, with Santa Fe -- successful salesman of tacos in district in youth, graduated from Guadalupe parochial school May, 1953 after intermittent attendance during which he helped with coaching.

1953 Data on Mr. R.A. and family. (Probably a relative of 1948 Mr. A.) He, born Durango 1883. Wife also born there, married ca. 1900. Both to the U.S. in 1911, to Rock Creek, Kansas (on Santa Fe line from Topeka to Atchison) 1913. To Topeka 1916; track^{*}worker there for Rock Island till retirement in 1948. Often fought with the bolillos, but situation better after joining Brotherhood of Railway Workers. Discrimination, he said, "era preety bad, y lo sigue siendo [and keeps on being], pero what the hell?" Knows little English, his wife none. Until 1951 when wife died subscribed to Excelsior (Mexico City), La Prensa (San Antonio), La Opinión (Los Angeles). Oldest son J born Durango 1901; second son P, born Chihuahua 1909, through 8th grade, since 1926 in Chicago. Both these sons proficient in Spanish. Daughter Ch born 1915, through grade school, married a Mexican born Topeka 1919, who graduated from high school, living in Topeka. She is proficient in

Spanish, but he is not. Son R, born 1916, wife born 1919 in Topeka. Neither is proficient in Spanish. Daughter S born 1919, divorced, speaks Spanish but does not read. Daughter G also born 1919, through grade school, married a Mexican graduate of Topeka High School, born 1918, living in Chicago.

1953 Data on Mr. G and family. He, born 1900 in Zacatecas; as a boy, in Torreon. To U.S. with brother, born 1906, in 1919; to Topeka 1920. Rest of family came that year; stepfather, died 1951, mother (1887-1936), and 2 offspring who soon died. His wife born of Italian parents in Oklahoma in 1907. Son J.L. born 1928 through 10th grade with year of Spanish there, speaks little Spanish -- in Air Force. Daughter M.T. born 1929, through 11th grade, 2 years of Spanish in school, can converse. Son J.M., born 1931, through 2 years at Washburn University. In Air Force. Fairly proficient in Spanish. Daughter C, born 1936, still in school, 2 years of Spanish in school, proficient. Daughter A, born 1941, understands Spanish, will study it. Mr. G, a machinist in Santa Fe shops, has had "sporadic" education in various clubs, schools, and courses. President of Central (I.E., Kansas and adjoining states) Baptist Association. Regards the 1920's and 1930's as hard years socially and economically for the Mexicans, much improvement through the 1940's.

1953 Data on the Montes family. José, born 1888, and Juana Montes, born 1896, came from Omitlan, Hidalgo, to Topeka in 1916. Four sons and three daughters all born in Topeka, between 1917 and 1925. All graduated from high school, 3 from college, 1 in Air Force, the 2 others, girls, with clerical positions. All studied Spanish in school, 2 (Joe and Jhn) were Spanish majors at Washburn University. The sons and daughters all prefer English but all speak Spanish with their mother. Highly regarded, particularly Joe.

1958 data concerning: "The Gomez family have lived in this neighborhood [near the river west of the tracks] for over twenty years. The great grandparents do not speak English fluently, but their granddaughter who makes her home with them speaks very well and is proud of her Business College education" (from the master's thesis at the University of Kansas of Verone Vivian Peak, "...The Keyway Area in Topeka, p. 15).

1966 Data on Mr. C and family. He born on central plateau in Mexico in 1921. To Topeka as child of ca. 7. Wife born in Missouri where parents still are. Her English no better than his. Both work, he for Santa Fe, she for soda fountain. They seldom spoke Spanish to each other and their children, born 1959 and 1961, understood only the simplest things. Almost an obsession for education, as was true for most Mexicans by this time.

47.97 Wichita Mexicans

Mexicans first began to appear in Wichita about 1903. There were probably 50 there in 1905. The Federal censuses of 1910 and 1920 showed respectively 337 and 797 persons born in Mexico in the city; the printed state censuses of 1915 and 1925, 331 and 652. The Wichita "Mexicans" of 1930 numbered 1165; those born in Mexico 527. In 1944 Franco estimated 1500 Mexicans; in 1950 Ricart secured estimates. The estimates which varied between 500 and 600 seem to refer to those practically unassimilated (compare the census figure of 341 foreign-born in 1950). An estimate that ran as high as 800 families for foreign-born and their descendants was probably somewhat high, but a similar estimate of 1966 was 6,000 persons. The families were then still large, 3 to 13 children each. The 624 persons who in 1925 recorded the date of their arrival in the United States distributed the dates as follows:

Before 1893	28	1910-1913	90
1894-1900	5	1914-1916	96
1901-1904	17	1917	67
1905-1908	64	1918-1921	194
1909	4	1922-1924	56
		1925 (3 months)	3

There have been 2 colonias in Wichita, a south and a north. The south settlement is to the east of downtown and the Arkansas River straddling the Santa Fe tracks. It is the older, but has been subject to industrial and business pressures; it was therefore soon the smaller and has continued to shrink. The location of the north settlement was determined by that of stock-yards and packing houses. It is to the west of these facilities, and therefore on the west side of the tracks and of Broadway north of 21st street. It has been from 2 to 3 times as large as the south settlement. The main

confrontation here is with Negroes. At one time, Anglos classed them together, put them in the same segregated wards in hospitals/fr 54. A contrast to conditions in many other cities, the relations of Mexicans and Negroes are friendly. With industrial development, particularly in the airplane factories, the variety of employment greatly broadened.

The Santa Fe Railroad provided early housing in the south in much the same manner as in other communities, but the city was not willing to tolerate it as long nor permit it to be improved. It was demolished as a health hazard in the middle 1940's/ri 13. Similar intolerance of the sub-standard led to the closing and demolition of Mexican stores in that area. Here lies in part an explanation of the comparatively early dispersal of Mexicans through various parts of Wichita. The people of the city at times resisted Mexicans coming into their neighborhood/fr 55, but the hostility was not too vigorous or persistent. Indeed the Mexicans in Wichita told Ricart that there was no discrimination/ri 63, though he cites a visitor from Newton who could find no place to eat downtown till 2 o'clock. This situation made for Engl-izing, though the general influence was attenuated by the severing, at least usually, of all connections between the colonia and these fugitives.

Special religious work among the Wichita Mexicans has been carried on by both Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants are no more than 6% to 10% of the Mexican population of Wichita, but since absolute numbers are considerable because of the size of the settlement, and since local philanthropic Protestants maintained an interest, Protestant activity has not flagged since its initiation. In the south settlement, "about 1910,

Miss Cora Mendenhall, a Presbyterian"/fr 71, began to teach Mexicans English and was soon carrying on other settlement house activities. Inter-denominational interest developed and in 1921 José Angulo came from Mexico to become the minister/fr 74. His pastorate lasted till 1939. He was succeeded by Hector Franco who remained 10 years, and produced the thesis often cited in this study. A church building was erected in 1925. The Baptists withdrew from the interdenominational group soon afterward and established their church in the north colony. There were 19 pins in its congregational map of Wichita in 1950. It had a new church building then /ri 63. A report of 1964 claimed 800 families for it, probably a mistake for 80, which still marks it as thriving among Mexican Protestant congregations. The Protestant churches have been a force conservative of Spanish because the pastors have been native speakers of Spanish. Angulo was a Cuban; Franco and his successor were born in Mexico. The pastor of the Baptists in 1950 had also been born in Mexico. The 2 ministers in 1966 were Mexican. The Protestants have also promoted bi-lingualism. In 1944 Franco had been teaching classes of 50 persons the English appropriate to use in buying.

The Franciscans saw the need of special churches for Mexicans when the Protestants began to build. In the south settlement they erected Our Lady of Guadalupe in 1926 and in the north Our Lady of Perpetual Help the next year. Presumably the care of the Mexicans fell to this order because their German church lay half way between the 2 settlements, nearer than any other. The fathers themselves have been of German extraction and have regularly preached in English, importing a Spanish speaking colleague occasionally to preach and hear confessions. Announcements have sometimes

been made in Spanish. In 1948 the parochial schools attached to the two each had some 90 pupils, in 1960, 108; but the number

197A

of Mexicans in each settlement is not to be judged by this fact for by 1948 Guadalupe was no longer a national parish. The Engl-izing effect on the children of the south settlement was thereby marked. In 1960 the main entry in the Catholic directory no longer qualified Perpetual Help as national, but the listing of Franciscan responsibilities in the Wichita Diocese marked it as "Mex." The tendency of Mexicans who consider themselves assimilated is to attend neither of these churches, because "they want as little association with other Mexicans as possible."

Aside from religious societies, Ricart in 1950 found, important to Mexicans, a patriotic society named the Ateneo Amado Narvo and the Pan-American Club. The former promoted celebrations for Mexican Independence Day; the latter had bi-national membership. The Spanish-speaking intelligenzia belonged to it along with culture-seeking Anglos. The Pan-American Society was still active in 1966, but the social group of most importance was the American GI Forum, mainly because it sponsored dances.

Engl-izing was well advanced in 1944. Franco then stated that the older children of immigrants spoke Spanish, though not always of the best, but all children of school age were disaffected toward Spanish, and often answered in English when addressed by their parents in Spanish. His statement for 1950 cited elsewhere was doubtless largely founded on conditions in Wichita. He dealt mainly with Protestants in the south area. Conditions in the north seemed somewhat more conservative. Ricart found a woman informant who maintained that a decade before "many Mexicans did not know a word of English;" she added, "now everybody at least understands." The investigator thought that she exaggerated the prevalence of Spanish, but he cites families in which the children used Spanish and English both in talking

together /ri22 , and found a group of girls performing bi-lingually as they cleaned the altar area in Our Lady of Perpetual Help /ri 2.5 . At the other extreme, completely Engl-ized were the families scattered over the city that had rejected all contact with things Mexican /ri48..

In 1966 the immigrants were becoming few in number, largely faithful to Spanish. Byron Palls, born in Greece, fluent in Spanish from residence in South America, and resident for some years in Wichita speaks thus of conditions at that time among later generations. "[The children of Mexican immigrants] generally speak fairly good Spanish, and generally, again, have married girls of their own background. They prefer many of their father's ways. They treat their children more strictly than their American counterpart and this not without difficulty. . . . [They] like . . . to take trips to the old country frequently, and keep alive the ties with their relatives and tradition. The members of the third generation enjoy a freedom their predecessors lacked. Intermarriage here claims easily as much as 50%. . . . They do marry Negroes of the north side. They seem completely at home. . . . They travel about more than their parents but not to Mexico. They speak very little or no Spanish at all, and in many ways would rather not discuss the subject of their ancestry. There are more and more of them attending schools of higher education and trade schools. The fourth generation is being reared quite differently from their parents." Clearly the fourth generation even if brought up and chiefly cared for by grandparents will be completely Engl-ized.

1950 Data on Family R. Husband's English poor, hers non-existent. Teen-agers of family bi-lingual. Child of five -- no English.

1950 Data on Family W. Husband, born about 1905, "works for the Santa Fe, completely self-educated, reads, writes and preaches in Spanish," English fair. Wife born about 1910, to the United States in 1925, knew no English. Their children bi-lingual.

1950 Data on Family G. Husband chef at Allis Hotel, good English; wife knows very little. ~~Engl~~ish. Four sons grown used English only, except to mother.

1950 Data on Family G2. Both born in Wichita. Parents from Jalisco and San Luis de Potosi. He a veteran. Had visited Mexico. Used good Spanish together.

1950 Data on Miss T. Had secretarial job. Asked to translate a letter and found her Spanish badly limited.

1966 Data on Mr. and Mrs. A. He born 1910, in (probably) Guadalajara, to Texas 1922, bus-boy and dishwasher. Then to a Greek restaurant in Oklahoma City. Married a widow, daughter of a Dallas family (she was born in Dallas) in the food business. In 1966 operating a successful restaurant in Wichita. The 2 spoke Spanish to each other; hers was better. Frequent visits to Mexico. Her daughter by first & marriage speaks little Spanish -- lives in Dallas, married to an industrial engineer, son of a Mexican immigrant. Most of the restaurant clientele was Anglo. Well-to-do Mexicans (said A) would not eat there for fear of contamination from "the occasional poor Mexican laborer who might bring his family for a Sunday enchilada dinner."

1966 Data on Mr. Ch and family. He born Wichita 1928; parents from Chihuahua in 1926; in Texas one year, then to relatives in Kansas. Mechanic at air base. Wife, born Wichita 1934, secretary at a construction firm. Well off. Speak excellent Spanish. Two daughters, 1 son, whom they address in English. Children understand some of what they say to each other in

Spanish. Visits to Mexico. Preserved Mexican customs, pious and patriotic. Belonged Pan-American Club, GI Forum.

1966 Data on Miss H. Born 1947 in Wichita. Dental assistant.

Speaks fair Spanish, but uses it as little as she can. Her father Baptist of parents who were Baptists in Mexico, and went to Arkansas. Her mother Catholic and saw Mexicans often away from home. Father did not want Mexicans at his house, and daughter also Baptist; was contemplating a Protestant non-Mexican marriage.

47.98 Wellington Mexicans

Wellington was founded in 1871 and within a decade, like its neighbors Arkansas City and Winfield, it was becoming a railroad town. There may have been as many as ten persons born in Mexico resident there in 1905. The census of 1915 recorded 101; that of 1925 published the figure 171; counting those in Wellington Township, the assessors had actually recorded 188, with them lived 84 children. Some 230 Mexicans lived in a colonia, and a half-dozen New Mexicans with Spanish names lived with them. The date of arrival in the United States was recorded for most of the heads of families (only the men):

1900-1914	6
1915-1919	14
1920-1925	9

The oldest child born in Kansas in each family with children was born in:

1914	1
1915-1919	9
1920-1924	16

These data indicate that the Mexican population of Wellington began to be stable only with the outbreak of war in Europe. In 1930 there were ~~we~~ 237 "Mexicans" in Wellington, 80 more in Wellington Township. Late comers were not uncommon in Wellington; there were new arrivals in the 1950's.

Railroad employment continued to furnish the principal means of livelihood as late as 1950; because of strikebreaking in 1922 it also was at the root of continued hostility to Mexicans resulting in much discrimination /f r 51, 39, 53.

Such was Franco's report. The testimony below for the same period disagrees. Apparently hostility existed, but was not universal.

The statement below is by a native of Wellington, born in 1936 and well versed in Spanish. She left Wellington about 1953 and wrote her recollections in 1968.

"There were a number of Mexican families in our community, drawn there almost entirely by the Santa Fe Railroad. During the time I lived there Wellington was a division point on the railroad and had a large roundhouse operation. I suppose many Mexican families have left since the Santa Fe moved many of its operations out of Wellington. The roundhouse was in the southeastern part of town, and most of the Mexican families lived in the eastern and southern parts of town. There was certainly some element of segregation in this, but I was never conscious of any particular prejudice against them, and they could certainly have lived elsewhere in the town if they had desired to do so. I recall that somewhere in the eastern part of town they had their own "recreation hall" or social center-- a small building in which they gathered after each railroad payday (the first and the fifteenth, roughly) to have a dance and chat and enjoy home-cooked Mexican food. My godmother took me there on a couple of occasions because she knew some of the people there and we enjoyed eating tacos, enchilladas, etc. St. Rose Catholic Church was built during the time I lived in Wellington, [but after 1948] to serve the large Mexican Catholic community--or more precisely, the Catholic community of the eastern or southeastern part of town. [St. Anthony's, the other Catholic Church, was built in 1907/mo. 81; it was not the seat of a parish till 1913/mo. 91. The priests were Irish till after 1948; in 1960 they had an assistant with a Spanish name. Baptists began work among these Mexicans in 1925.]

"In an effort to give you more concrete information, I made a study of my high school yearbooks for the year I entered Junior High (7th) and for my senior year in high school to determine how many Mexican students were enrolled. While not official, my count is at least reasonably close. I also listed the different family names I came across, and was rather surprised to find such a large selection. As for how much Spanish was actually being spoken, I have no accurate information at all, but could only guess. The young people my age certainly were exposed to "Mexican" in the home, but my guess is that they were not fluent in it. They spoke slang, but were not familiar with good, grammatical Spanish, as evidenced by their difficulty in Spanish language classes. In some ways they were worse off than we students who had never heard it, although pronunciation came easier. I imagine most of their parents used Spanish regularly, if not entirely, in the home, and there were probably grandparents who spoke very little English.

Wellington Jr.-Sr. High School

<u>Year</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>No. of Mexican descent</u>	<u>No. in Class</u>
1947-48	Senior	7	132
	Junior	1	112
	Sophomore	4	124
	Ninth	4	122
	Eighth	6	105
	Seventh*	5	112
		<u>27</u>	<u>707</u>
1952-53	Senior*	4	110
	Junior	4	102
	Sophomore	9	133
	Ninth	5	122
	Eighth	7	123
	Seventh	9	121
		<u>38</u>	<u>711</u>

*my class - Rita Shoup Bartholomew

Mexican family names appearing in these two yearbooks:

Caudillio	Perez
Cisneros	Ramirez
Cornejo	Reyes
Fletes	Rives (Mexican?)
Gonzales (Gonzoles)	Sabala
Hernandez	Serrios (Serrioz)
Jaramillo (Jarmillo)	Vasquez
Jiminez (Jimenez)	Venegas
Ledesma	Ybarro
Lira	Zavala (Zavalo)
Luevano	
Macias (Macies)	
Montenegro	
Moreno	
Olivas	

I do not know if the variation of some of the spellings indicates different families, or simply a typographical error of the yearbook's staff or printer.

[They reveal something of pronunciation .]

The observations concerning the use of Spanish are in harmony with testimony set forth elsewhere for towns in the Arkansas Valley at this period. Later reports indicate somewhat greater conservatism at Wellington than in other colonias.

47.99 Winfield Mexicans

Winfield was founded in 1870 and the Santa Fe railroad reached it in 1879, a little earlier than the rails came to the temporary terminus, Arkansas City, fifteen road miles to the south. Though close together both became Santa Fe railroad towns, for a line from the east was soon built to intersect the north-south line. The Mexicans attracted were few in number, 200 families in Winfield against 400 at Arkansas City according to the generous memories of 1966; 20 families in Winfield, 25 in Arkansas City in 1955 by a more reliable estimate. However, in 1966 the number in Winfield had not decreased, while that in Arkansas City had. There were probably 19 Mexicans in Winfield in 1905. In 1925 the census takers found in the main agglomeration 72 foreign-born with whom lived 28 children. There were a few others scattered in the town, the only ones (7) reported in the printed census. In 1930 there were in Winfield 135 persons of "other races" (Mexicans, Indians, Chinese); most of the 135 were probably Mexicans. There seems to have been in 1955 a less dynamic spirit among the Mexicans of Winfield than that at Arkansas City, but by 1966 they were of nearly the same character, made up largely of old retired railroaders and of children left with them. The glory of Winfield in 1955 was that it had reared a distinguished bull-fighter, Jesus Cordoba (for his family see below). A closer connection with Mexico than is usual with ex-patriates was both a contributing cause and a result of this phenomenon. Also at least temporarily there was something of an enthusiasm for things Spanish. The linguistic effect was not great. The status of Spanish usage was much the same as in Arkansas City. The old used Spanish together. Young adults could speak Spanish but were not at home in that language. Youngsters understood their grandparents somewhat.

1955 Data on Mrs. V and daughters. Husband not in Winfield, born at El Paso about 1903. Mrs. V born in Michoacan in 1907; to U.S. in 1910; parents living in Madison, Kansas, and faithful to Spanish to the point of sending Spanish journals to Winfield. Four daughters, born 1932, 1933, 1936, 1938 all had high school educations, 1 already a registered nurse in Wichita, another in training. Another employed in a store, "situación económica muy modesta." Girls spoke Spanish with difficulty. Mother addressed them regularly in English. Grandparents the remaining link to Spanish.

1955 Data on Mr. and Mrs. C. He born in Aguas Calientes in 1908; to United States 1920; to Winfield 1927. Became a railroader shortly after arriving in the United States. Married 1929. Wife born El Paso 1912. Ten children, 6 girls, 4 boys, youngest born 1953. Spanish and English both faulty.

1955 Data on Mr. and Mrs. B. Cordoba. He born Mexico 1895; she born in Nuevo León, 4 sons, 2 daughters. Sons sent to Mexico to improve Spanish. Son Jesus preferred bullfighting to shoemaking; 2 others went; all still in Mexico. Girls married and in Kansas, at Wichita and Winfield.

1966 Data on Mr. G. Born Chihuahua 1898; to the United States 1925. First on farm south of Oklahoma City; then after marriage to a girl from Matamoros to the City and in a year or so to Winfield as a railroader. Wife died early. One surviving son in California married to an Anglo. A lonely retired railroader with little opportunity to speak any language to anyone. Regrets leaving Mexico, which is not the usual case at Winfield or Arkansas City.

PART IV

COUNTY SURVEY

County Survey

The County Survey contains primarily observations on those settlements not chosen for settlement histories. The number after the name of each county is that assigned it on the map on 30. The settlements within a county also are identified by area letter assigned in Volume I.

48.01 ALLEN COUNTY E21

The Germans in Iola were strong enough to maintain a Reformed Church at least 1901-1905. They were not concentrated anywhere in the neighborhood of the town, and were comparatively late arrivals so that ability to speak German was to be found later than in most communities.

The for-lings who appeared in this county at Iola and to the east of it during the period that the gas wells were operating (early 1900's) did not become a permanent element of the population.

The connections of the southern part of the county with adjacent counties to the south and west where there are other for-ling settlements has been close; largely because the border of the Osage Ceded Lands was within this county and its settlement was influenced by the opening of those lands in 1868-9.

Humboldt Germans (Mid-1, Area A) -- Origins of 1857 are discussed/tkl 77-8. See also city map 81.

The Missouri Lutherans (organized 1863) listened to announcements in English in 1905, held last confirmations in German about 1910, heard preaching in English regularly by 1916, abandoned German for business in Ladies Aid in 1929, translated the constitution from German to English in 1932.

German sermon once a month also abandoned in preaching at this time. The Evangelical Association began work here in 1858. Churches were built in town, at Golden Valley east of town (prob. on 33-25-19) and at Center Ridge southwest of town (P.O. at 21-36-17). Center R. had 77 members in 1948, 3 times as many as the others. From 1898-1903 the Rev. M. Walter preached mostly in German but some in English.

Father Ponziglione began the Catholic work at Humboldt in 1857; the Carmelites at Scipio carried on; in 1869 Humboldt had its first resident pastor; "many, especially Germans, were coming"/b89. People born about 1895 learned German but abandoned it. In 1949 German persisted in only one family in Humboldt; daughters in their forties talked to a German mother in German. For Humboldt Mexicans see Chamute Mexicans #47.73.

Savonburg Swedes (Hi-d, Area B)

Special Bibliography:

- N - A Swedish Lutheran Church, an unsigned typescript, ca. 1948
- T - Carl E. Tyler, History of the Founding and Growth of the Swedish Settlement in Allen County, unpublished master's thesis Kansas State College of Pittsburg, 1938.

N . P. Wisborg, b. 1826, a Dane, was the first Scandinavian in what was to become the Savonburg area. He settled on Big Creek in 1858. He appears in the census records of 1860. In 1872 at his farm in Allen Co., he became the first postmaster of Odense, a name which he must have suggested.*

^{fn} Odense is a city on the large island of Funen, Denmark.

Odense, Kansas was at first located on ne 36-26-19 (moved 3 miles south and one east between 1882 and 1886, when the postmaster Jas. R. Hanson, moved south); its early location was on land that ca. 1940 belonged to Mathe E. Wisborg. It may also be suspected that Wisborg named Elsinore upstream which became a post office in 1866. Presumably because of corruption of the written form, Elsinore became Elsmore, first for the township, then for the village.

He lived in the Swedish community that later developed, and while only his family and a few other Danes (Overgaard Eilerson, Peter Anderson) became whole-hearted members of it, he does seem to have been the attracting force that brought the Swedes to Big Creek rather than elsewhere in the Osage ceded lands.*

^{fn} Most maps, including that in Vol. I, p. 54, of this work represent the Osage reservation as extending from the South Kansas border, parallel 37 degrees to the South edge of Allen Co. The North and South boundaries of the reservation were a matter of debate. "It was at length determined that the South boundary of the Osage reserve was not the thirty-seventh parallel. The Osage line was found to be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of that parallel" / 28, 1242. This decision made Osage country of the south two miles of Allen County where the old Odense and old and present Savonburg are located.

The following passage from Duncan and Scott's History of Allen County is fully supported by the 1870 census:

"In 1869 some Swedes in Illinois . . . were attracted toward Kansas by the opening to settlement of the Osage Indian reservation which had been ceded to the Government . . . The original settlers were Peter Hawkinson and Swan Olson from Farmersville [Montgomery Co., 60, next above 101], Illinois, who reached Allen County in October, 1869. February 8, 1870 Olaf Nelson and son Charles, John B. and John H. Johnson emigrated from Knoxville, Illinois [Knox Co. 61, 142], and on March 12, 1870 they were joined by W. S. Holmes and Nels Olson and families from Farmersville . . . Sorrow was in store not only for these, but for all other people who had settled here, for the railroads had also seen that these lands were beautiful and productive, and laid claim. Finally in 1876, after a lawsuit of national renown, the United States Supreme Court vested the title in the Government. A few years after the organization [of the Lutheran Church] a great number was added by those who came from Moline [Rock Island Co.] and Woodhull [Henry County, 61, 131, next Rock Island], Illinois"/ch 01, 54-55.

The 1865 census shows no Scandinavian in the area, not even Wisborg. During the Civil War the region had been a sort of No Man's Land, and settlement of any sort awaited the coming of the railroads. In April 1870 the M. K. and T. Railway arrived at Humboldt, a number of miles to the west, and a few months later the Lawrence, Leavenworth, and Gulf was also built into the town. The census of 1870 shows 33 Swedish laborers in the town, doubtless engaged in railroad construction. The same census shows foreign-born Swedes in the Savonburg area (6, besides Wisborg and a Norwegian; in Cottage Grove Township, 25 with 4 Danes in Elsmore Township).

Duncan and Scott do not mention the railroad work at Humboldt as an attractive force, but John B. Johnson was listed by census takers both in Elsmore Township and in the city of Humboldt. Some others who appear in Humboldt in 1870 are in the Savonburg settlement later.

Among the families mentioned all but that of Nels Olson appear, in the 1870 census, in Elsmore Township. They are all in Cottage Grove

Township in 1875, a phenomenon to be explained by the land title troubles further discussed below.

Among these families of 1870 there were three with many children born in Illinois. The families all became permanent residents. They are those of:

Wm. S. Holmes b. 1829 - 7 children oldest born in Illinois in 1858
Olaf Nelson b. 1823 - 6 children oldest born in Illinois in 1854
Swan Olson b. 1838 - 6 children oldest born in Minnesota in 1857
next in Illinois in 1859

Those with fewer children were:

Peter Hawkinson b. 1833, 1 child born in Illinois in 1866
John B. Johnson b. 1836, 3 children, one born on the ocean in 1866
John H. Johnson b. 1837, 2 children, older born in Illinois in 1867
Another Swede who became a permanent resident was Swan Lawson, b. 1842,
married in Kansas, January 1870.

It is thus clear that the Swedish group had from the beginning many members with long experience in the United States. A similar history was true of many arriving later. Ole Erickson, b. 1812, came to Knoxville, Illinois in 1850 and was still living there in 1901. Three of his sons and a daughter, all born in this country, came to the Savonburg area in the eighties and nineties. The daughter, Anna, d. 1889, married Andrew P. Wisborg, the son of N. P., the first settler.

Individuals almost directly from Sweden appear from the beginning; John B. Johnson immigrated to the United States in 1866, but in general it was a number of years after departure from Sweden before immigrants arrived in Kansas. This situation usually makes for rather rapid anglicization, but at Savonburg, the case was rather different.

The agricultural report of 1875 shows that the grants made to the railroads overlapped in much of the area that was to become Swedish.

^{fn}In his thesis Carl E. Tyler says p. 3 "One old Swedish settler tells that he and his companions purposely chose the even sections believing that the even sections would be retained by the Government. However, the L. L. and G. and the M. K. and T. servicing virtually the same territory were given both the odd and even sections, the odd to one railroad company, and the even to the other." Some settlers claimed to have paid for their land 2 or 3 times.

Foreigners did not readily become parties to the title suits that developed between railroads and settlers, and the number of Swedes in Elsmore Twp. was only 19 in 1875, while, including the families mentioned above, there were at least 17 Scandinavians in Cottage Grove Township where only half the land was railroad land. After the land situation was cleared up in 1876, the greatest wave of new arrivals in the settlement seems to have set in immediately although, in interpreting the data below, the commonness of rather extensive periods of residence elsewhere must be taken into consideration.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons born in Sweden resident
in the Savonburg area in 1925

1864-1868	-- 2
1869-1878	-- 8
1879-1888	-- 27
1889-1895	-- 5
1896-1906	-- none
1907-1913	-- 5

The original focus of the colony had been on Big Creek, but among the new settlers the group which Duncan and Scott mentioned as coming from Woodhull, Illinois, took farms much nearer to Elsmore, or Elsinore as it was still called, than to the Old Odense. This group to the northeast formed about the Reverend C. E. Osterberg, born 1850, who took a claim in 1877/T 13. He had been visiting the community since 1872 when he helped organize the church. He was an ordained minister and did missionary work over wide

territory, for the 1885 census shows that he had one child eleven years old born in Texas and another five born in Missouri. During the 1880's he was primarily a farmer. The settlement developed in a sort of ellipse between and around these foci. Midway within a mile of each other two additional postoffices were established, Savonburg in 1879 and Wannersburg in 1880. The Savonburg office was moved 4 miles to its present location in 1888, and that at Wannersburg was discontinued in 1891.*

^{fn}The Agricultural reports of 1881 and 1885 list both these postoffices, but the maps show only Savonburg. The location of Wannersburg was less than a mile east at the church site; T/27 locates Wannersburg and informants in the settlement corroborate him. No explanation of the name Savonburg has been found. The word wanner is the Swedish word for 'friends', normally spelled vänner. The church is "Friends Home".

The duality at the new focus also affected schools. The Odense and Wannersburg Districts were organized in 1870. A Savonburg District was instituted in 1880. Elsmore lagged, 1883/T 48.

Charles Nelson, b. 1854, the oldest son of Olaf named above, established a store at Wannersburg about 1876 and continued to operate it until 1888. Then the M. K. and T. Railway built a line along the east edge of the county, and Charles Nelson organized a town company of which he became president/ch Ol:172, and established a town on the railroad directly east of the church. The Savonburg postoffice was transferred to it, and the town took that name. Savonburg became the commercial center for the Swedes, but it also served a territory farther east, and was never exclusively Swedish. Elsmore, also on the M. K. and T., served part of the community. It would probably have been the sole center if a planned intersecting line at that point had been built. As it was, uncertainty as to where the

second line would go through town prevented Nelson and other promoters from acquiring land there/T 30-33.

The Swedes enjoyed rivalry. In the mid-1880's two bands, both church sponsored to some degree, were organized. In 1892 one served the Democrats, one the Republicans.

There was constant friction between the 'Americans' and the Swedes, therefore fist-fights and rough play were common occurrences. The people living east of town called the Scandinavians 'damned Swedes,' but the Swedes had no particular name for the Americans other than 'Yankees.' However, the Swedes felt that these Americans were just envious because they were not Swedes. It was also the general consensus of opinion throughout the Swedish community that the Swedes were superior to the Yankees intellectually as well as socially.

There were some non-Swedish families in the rural community, but they had never [before 1933] been given an opportunity to become members of Friends Home [Lutheran Church]. Such families were considered "outlanders" and were looked down upon by their Swedish neighbors. Some of these families were quite prosperous and were as well educated as the Swedes.

The Swedish families lived very closely together as a group. It was customary that all marriages should be within the Swedish circle. Any young man (or woman) who seemed interested in an American was criticized and also urged that he could do much better. Many of the Swedish marriages were 'fixed' by the couple's parents without any consideration given to the victims involved. However, there were no divorces, and only one case of separation can be cited /N 2,3.

The fleshpots of Savonburg, maximum population about 320, did from the beginning have an attraction for certain young Scandinavians, but the social unity of the Swedes was nearly complete.

The primary institutions were the churches, particularly the Friends Home Lutheran Church, which was by far the largest. Formal Lutheran services began in 1870. The church was organized in 1872. C. E. Osterberg was the organizing minister, but for some time Andrew Hoff, a licensed preacher who was a carpenter at Chanute, served the congregation. He later became a farmer in the southwestern area, and there was a tug of war between the group surrounding him and Osterberg's followers, until finally in 1879 a

church was built at its present site and Wannersburg was founded; around it developed a village which grew to have one hundred inhabitants just before the coming of the M. K. and T. Although the location was central, its acceptance was something of a victory for the Osterberg party, but the cemetery was located two miles west. The person who seems to have profited most from the dissension was Peter Rumlblad (b. 1855) who became postmaster and proprietor of a general store at Wannersburg. The church prospered. In 1901 there were 250 communicant members, 450 souls, in 1906 - 242 communicants, 376 souls. (The children were growing up and departing). It remained about this size until in the 1920's. In 1950 there were 191 communicants, 238 baptized. (Few children.) The most important early pastor was P. A. Cederstem, b. 1829; he served from 1882 to 1890, and after him there was a three-year interregnum. F. E. Gard served throughout the difficult period of the First World War, 1914-1922. The longest pastorate seems to have been that of C. A. B. Swanson 1922-1942. The Swedish language was so well entrenched up till the First World War that the congregation bought all-Swedish hymnals published in 1915. Testimony as to when English was introduced into the services is conflicting, but the most trustworthy fixes 1922 as the date for sermons. English had made its way into the Sunday school in the first decade of the century during the pastorate of R. P. Acsell; then "the old conservatives pounded the pews with clenched fists and swore that they would not permit the change"/T 49.*

^{fn}Tyler makes this statement with the implication that it concerned the Lutheran church, but it may be founded on a scene at the Mission Church, for Tyler gives as his authority Hedvig Johnson Nystrom (b. 1894), the daughter of J. Alfred Johnson who preached at the Mission Church. Presumably Hedvig attended Mission services through her girlhood. Her marriage to C. A. Nystrom, a Lutheran, took place in 1917.

Rev. F. E. Sard in 1914 "found it necessary to conduct more services presumably not preaching in English, as the Swedish tongue was completely foreign to many of the youths and children"/T 23. In 1922 a feature of the semi-centennial celebration was the "compilation of a manual of church records and history in English"/T 24. For five years Swedish occupied one service a month, and, all agree, regular Swedish preaching disappeared in 1933. In his thesis of 1938, Tyler records: "An occasional sermon in Swedish, a treat for the elderly, is now unintelligible to the bulk of the congregation"/T 50. A Swedish Sunday school class went on until about 1940. Pastor Swanson, who favored the use of English, seems to have had little difficulty with the language question, though "some of the members thought that it was a shame to discontinue these Swedish services. Others realized that it was a matter of necessity and that they had only themselves to blame because they had neglected to teach their children to speak the language"/N 2. The pastor's difficulties were of a financial character, brought on by the poverty of the Depression in the 1930's. A dispute as to the way of handling the situation reduced the membership, and as a result to build it up again "outlanders" were admitted to the congregation. The complete disappearance of Swedish took place at the time of the financial crisis.

The Mission movement among the people of the Savonburg settlement had its origins in 1883, but the congregation was without a pastor until 1890 and was not organized until 1898. Shortly before that time the financial policy of the Friends Home church became rigid, and certain of its members defected. At that time too it became possible to secure a church building easily, for the Friends Home people wished to dispose of their modest structure to replace it by a building consonant with their size and the return of prosperity after the hard times of the earlier 1890's. There were however

in 1898 only ten members who signed the charter; there were 50 members in 1949. The congregation was never strong enough to support a full-time pastor steadily until 1917 when a parsonage was built; and from the time of organization until then J. Alfred Johnson, a licensed lay minister, (1862-1946) was usually the pastor/sd 239. He was Swedish born, brought to Fort Scott, Kansas, at the age of three. His ministerial career took him to various settlements. In 1892 he married Amanda Anderson (1870-1914) at Moline, Illinois, and he served variously in Kansas. He was at Savonburg in 1883, but became a permanent resident only in 1898. In 1917, when Strödda Drag was written, Pastor Johnson in his account of the Savonburg Church said nothing of language usage because evidently Swedish was universal; in 1948, when H. O. Dahl translated and completed Johnson's account, he said nothing of language usage; evidently Swedish was a thing of slight interest. Until 1917 all services were in Swedish and children were confirmed in Swedish. The transition was abrupt; the Rev. Edward Anderson, the first regular pastor (1917) knew no Swedish.

In the earlier days education in Swedish was not neglected.

"The old Swedish settlers did not deny their children the opportunity of attending public school, but, rather than have their children become too completely Americanized, they also sent them to a Swedish school. The Swedish children's attendance at the public schools was not very regular as their parents made them stay home and help with the farm work. However, it was imperative that they attend Swedish school on Saturday. These Saturday classes were held at the Wannenburg school house (situated across the road from Friends Home). The instruction consisted mainly of reading and writing the Swedish language. [More important still was the catechism and Bible history in Swedish/T 49]. This Swedish school was discontinued around 1915 for reasons that are not specifically known."/N 2.

There were parochial schools at Odense, Wannenburg and Elsmore. Early the length of the term at the parochial and public schools was in each case four months. "As the length of the public school term increased, the length of the parochial school decreased"/T 48.

Swedish as the language of tombstone inscriptions was never dominant. Even in the 1880's only about 30% of the inscriptions were Swedish. Except for a line of quotation from a hymn in 1929 the last Swedish stone was erected in 1893.

Through the first decade of the twentieth century, however, except for some children talking to each other, Swedish was the universal language of the settlement. In the next decade, although all children learned Swedish as the language of the home, the young came to use English very largely, and after 1918 most young parents made English the language of their home, though children knowing Swedish were common in 1925.

In the 1930's Swedish was still heard in most small social groups of the old or middle aged, but the young spoke English. The Nystrom family may serve as a case history/co 5:2436. August Numan Nystrom (1846-1919) was born in Sweden and came to Chicago in 1868. He married Anna C. Ekelund (1852-1928), born in Sweden, to U.S. 1869. After a period of residence in Kansas City, they came to Savonburg in 1879 or a little later. When they were well established there, August senior came to live with them for the rest of his life. Thus his son Carl Arthur, b. 1886, who, with his brother Elmer was to remain in the Savonburg settlement, was surrounded by conservative linguistic forces. Carl A. married Hedvig Marie, b. 1894, the daughter of J. Alfred Johnson mentioned above. She learned English at the age of eight. Despite this conservative background, Carl and Marie used Swedish in the home irregularly -- as time went on only for secrecy. Their eldest child, a daughter born in 1920, spoke Swedish when five years old. The younger children learned no Swedish.

In 1950 those born before 1915 or 1917 who were still resident in the community could still speak Swedish passably, but aside from a few immigrants still alive only one couple was known to use Swedish habitually at home.

Those born later had forgotten Swedish if they ever knew it, and those born after 1925 were ignorant of the language. Swedish was during the 1940's used principally as a means of keeping secrets from children or from listeners on telephone lines. In 1962 on festive occasions or when old friends met in town, a little Swedish was produced, but it was usually "just for practice."

48.02 ANDERSON COUNTY EL8

See Settlement Histories for Scipio Greeley Germans(Mid-1, Area A).

Westphalia Germans (Mid-1, Area B).

Special Bibliography:

F - Emil Flusche - "Early History of Westphalia and of St. Theresa's Parish" Translated from the German by A. Redeker - in Westphalia Times, Jan. 25, Feb. 1, Feb. 8, 1917

The town of Westphalia lies in the center of the most heavily populated portion of a German settlement. This portion has a radius of about two miles, and is bordered by a less heavily held region extending an additional three or four miles except to the west and northwest. Toward the west and southwest it is in contact with another German group, Lutheran, Missouri Synod, but this fact is linguistically unimportant, for the contacts have been casual and mostly after the time when German was used publicly.

Though in the center of heavily German territory and said in 1883 to be "peopled principally by Germans"/a 1333, the village of Westphalia itself had at one time large non-German elements in it. The maximum number of German speakers in the whole settlement was between three and four hundred, more or less constant during the nineties and the first decade of this century.

The first Germans in the neighborhood arrived before Westphalia was founded, but do not seem to have been responsible for the establishment of a real settlement. For instance, P. Hartman, b. 1835 in Germany, appears in the 1875 and 1885 censuses of the area with a child born in Kansas in 1870. He is mentioned by the Andreas-Cutler history as connected with the town, but does not figure in later accounts.

The village came into being in 1880/a 1333. It had been laid out as Cornell in 1879 by a subsidiary company of the Missouri Pacific railroad that had just been built through the area. The Flusche brothers were responsible for the change of name. Emil (b. 1849) had come to this country in 1872 and had done much for a settlement at a spot in Iowa forty miles northeast of Council Bluffs, called Westphalia after his native province, where there had been Germans since 1866 at least. To it came also his brother Anton (b. 1847) who had preceded him to America; and had been living in St. Louis, and another brother, August, F. A. The Flusches were colonizers; they brought settlers not only to Iowa but also to Westphalia, Kansas and to Olpe, Kansas, where "F. A." lived after 1884. (See Lyon County Survey, #48.53), and to Muenster and Electra, Texas near the Red River on the northern border. All the Flusches had left Westphalia, Kansas, by 1895, but in 1890 Emil wrote a circumstantial account of the first decade/F, reflecting pride in the town and much zeal for Catholicism. Early in 1880 Emil prospected Anderson County. When he and his followers arrived a little later with prospects of attracting many more Germans they had no difficulty in getting Westphalia accepted as the name of the new town. The prospects of 1880 were never quite fulfilled. Though both stores in the town were in 1881 owned by Germans, the Flusche Brothers and Hendricks, in 1883 most of the merchants were not German. Emil maintained that the prohibitory law of 1881 "kept many German settlers from coming here." He had good means of knowing, for through the extensive advertising that he did abroad he was in correspondence with prospective immigrants. From the beginning there was a mixture of immigrants directly from Germany

with those who had, like the Flusches, spent some time in other states or in other settlements in Kansas (Seneca, Scipio). Direct from Germany in June, 1880, came three families that were to have permanent connection with Westphalia, Kansas, those of Wm. Blaufuss (1848-1924), Matthew Rath (1849-1907) and Theodore Kleinsorge (1852-after 1925). The Blaufusses kept up their contacts with Germany. Frank Falke (b. 1909), a cousin, came to join them in 1923. A number of settlers came from Illinois, but many more came from Iowa, some from Westphalia, and many from Baden in Keokuk County (61, 54). The people from Baden began arriving in the spring of 1881. Among them were the Heubergers and Highbergers (branches of a single family), who became an important, numerous part of the community. At the time of immigration, a sort of agent was Joseph Highberger (1841-1910); there were also his brothers Vincent Heuberger (1844-1909) and Theodore Highberger (1850-1915), and eventually their parents Wendel (1810-1888) and Agnes (1810-1887). The sons all had wives born in the United States (2 in Indiana, 1 in Iowa). The oldest child of each was born in Iowa (1868, 1872, 1875). They then represented a stock that had spent many years in this country before arriving in Kansas. The starting point of another family, John Hermann (1841-1919), who arrived in 1883 from Iowa was himself born in Indiana, but his wife Elizabeth (1846-1895) and his mother Ann (1810-1890), who also came to live in Kansas, were German-born. Aside from Frank Falke the latest arrival from Germany recorded in 1925 was 1907 and the next preceding that 1892. In other words after the initial influx the linguistic stimulus of newcomers from Germany was lacking.

In 1887 there were in the Westphalia Catholic parish 72 families "nearly all German" according to Flusche/F, 80 families in 1901/re. Many were Westphalians, but south Germans, Luxemburgers, Austrians and Poles were to be found among them.

The Flusches were responsible for strengthening the Catholic influence in the community. They had even before undertaking promotion secured the promise of Carmelite cooperation from Prior Anastasius Peters of Scipio. Mass in the new town was first said in Emil's house. Father Alphons, later prior of the Carmelites at Scipio, established the first church in 1880/re. Soon a school in German was established too. In 1883 the parish was assigned to secular priests; until the middle of the twentieth century they were of German extraction. Like preceding teachers the sisters who took over the parochial school in 1887 were German. Carruth in 1892 records school and preaching as being carried on in German. In 1885 Bishop Fink of Leavenworth had begged the people of Westphalia "always to remain loyal to their German mother tongue"/F.

Teaching and preaching in German continued until 1917. About 1912, preaching, until then exclusively in German, began to be twice a month in English. In 1916-17 German was heard only once a month. The pastor from 1888 till his death was the Rev. John Redeker (1854-1916). He was born in Borgholz, Westphalia, Germany. He came to the United States in 1880, and from 1881 to 1888 he had been pastor at the German settlement at Wea, Kansas. He was prominent in the Leavenworth diocese. The flare of anti-German feeling that accompanied the First World War put an end to preaching in German, which was already a dying practice.

Hostility to German was, however, high in Westphalia; diatribes in the Times were sometimes very bitter, particularly that of July 5, 1917 which declared that "in the United States the German will soon be a dead language. The fact is it is losing out right along." The next week the Times announced: "Some of our Germans are much displeased with the Times," but their influence was not enough to bring about change of policy or suspension of publication.

Despite the outcry against their ancestry, the sons of immigrants, as elsewhere, served in the army in 1917-18, and like others found that the German that they had learned at home ~~was~~ of use overseas. These young Germans were acquainted with their ancestral tongue, but the use of German was certainly waning everywhere in the community. Doubtless in 1890 Emil Flusche recalled Bishop Fink's exhortation to be loyal to German because he felt such adjurations were needed.

The latest tombstone in German at Westphalia is that of Elizabeth Rath who died in 1906 at the age of 24. Thresia Rath who died in 1908 (aged 22) has a tombstone in English.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions for all born before 1880 and buried in the Catholic Cemetery at Westphalia, Kansas

	English	German	% of German
1880-89	11	5	31%
1890-99	10	10	50%
1900-09	17	7	29%
		No later German	

In 1948 a few old women were talking German together over their dominoes, but the use of that language had reached the vestigial stage. An old woman who talked to a son under 30 in German was an object of remark. High school students were hardly aware of the varying ancestry of their fellows, though, their parents, if they were German in ancestry, associated mainly with those

of like background. Even the memory that in 1917 their high school teams were called the Germans had disappeared. In 1953 pastoral work for a few old people still went on in German.

Effective German usage endured about thirty-five years. The brevity of this period may be ascribed (1) to the smallness of the groups, (2) to the large admixture among the Germans of immigrants who had spent some time in other states, (3) to the presence of a large non-German element in the village, and (4) to the general hostility to German during the First World War.

I. (Immigrant) Ferdinand Schulte (1862-1931) emigrated from Germany to Wisconsin by himself. His parents Franz (1831-1890) and Odelia (1839-1908) Hofschulte here directly from Germany in Sept. 1880. Ferd. here soon after; married Agnes, born 1870 [possibly dau. of Vincent Highberger]. Agnes continued to use German in ordinary social intercourse after her husband's death. Their son, Jake, born 1893, renounced German. His wife Stella, born 1900, is of half-German extraction, did not hear German in her girlhood home and did not learn to speak it. Agnes's grandson, Lester, born 1925, listened to her talk German as she played dominoes with her sisters during his high school years, 1940-1943, but learned none. The game and the accompanying dialogue were not of his world.

II. John Hermann, born here in 1906, speaks no German. His parents did not use it with each other. They were: Joseph, born Ia. 1877; Agatha, born Wisc. same year. Agatha's parents were Luxemburgers, and her mother spoke no English though she understood it. Joseph's paternal grandparents were German born; his grandmother Ann (1810-1890) died in Kansas. His father, John (1841-1919) born in Indiana, married German born Elizabeth (1846-1895). The family came here 1883. Tombstones of Ann and Elizabeth and of Ann's German born son-in-law, John Klipping (1820-1896) are in German. John Hermann Senior's stone is in English. This family seem to have largely abandoned German by 1898.

III. (Late immigrant.) Elizabeth Buck, born Austria 1879, married there Nicholas Buck, born 1877; both to Ill. with daughter 1907; here 1913-1914; husband died after 1925, leaving her with numerous family, including Nick, born 1921, who continued to live with her. She used German to her children all her life; they answered her in English (her and Nick's habit in 1948.).

Colony-Welda Germans (Low-y, Area C). There is here no unity. For instance the Brecheisens are a branch of the Clearfield Germans (Ev. Assn.) and came from Douglas County, and the Hunzickers were Swiss, first at Eudora in Douglas County. On the other hand John and Balbina Mazur, born in Germany, came to Kansas about 1884 after residence in Illinois and Indiana; they are buried in the Catholic cemetery at Westphalia. German was never more than a family language here. In the 1920's a daughter of the Mazurs, born about 1870 who married John P., was using German to her children. They answered in English. A daughter born 1898, of Hans and Mary J., who were born in Germany and came from Iowa between 1905 and 1915, used low German with her parents so well that she was proficient in 1954; she passed on no knowledge of Low German to her own daughter. The German background of certain other immigrants was so well hidden that fellow townsmen of the 1920's were surprised to learn that the census recorded them as born in Germany.

Garnett Amish (see 83, IV). This settlement is focussed five miles west of Garnett. The first settlers of 1903 were from the Yoder, Kansas, Group. They were joined the next year by others from Gibson, Mississippi, and in the 1950's families who had come from Custer, Oklahoma, were important. There were also some from Virginia. In 1953 the congregation had 49 members (15 families). In 1968 "Dutch" was still the language of the home. In the early 1940's children arrived at school not proficient in English. Until that time the Amish used "Dutch" to each other when in town as well as at home. The Second World War made them abandon the practice, which became regarded as "impolite". (/me treats under Anderson County.)

48.03 ATCHISON COUNTY

Rural Atchison County was in the 1950's noteworthy for flow of forling population within its borders and from Everest to the north and Nortonville and Mooney Creek to the south. This was partly displacement of Irish descendants by others, mainly Germans. A good example of displacement took place at St. Patrick's Church south of Atchison on 1-7-20.

Atchison Germans (Hi-A, Area G)

For Atchison Mexicans see # 47.72. On German newspapers see # 41.50.

The city of Atchison was founded in 1854. For three years it was a slave-state center, and Germans avoided it, though even before 1854, they began settling on farms near by/ch 16:854. Of the foreign-born Germans recorded as residents of the city in 1860 only one had a child as old as four years born in Kansas Territory. Most of their other children born in Kansas were one year old, two were two, and three were three. Among the foreign-born Germans whose biographies are to be found in subscription histories only one is recorded as reaching Atchison as early as 1856. He was Charles Maage, a carpenter and millwright, who did not definitely settle because there were mills to be constructed in many places. With the change in the political climate in 1857, brought on by economic necessity, Germans immediately appeared, and by 1859 were so numerous as to allow the organization of a Turnverein. The subscription histories record that John Belz (1833-1895) born in Stuttgart, Jacob Leu (b. Switzerland 1833), Frederick Koester (b. Minden 1835) and Frank Young (b. Germany 1828) all arrived in 1857, and Robert Forbriger (b. Saxony 1825) in that year or the next/a 384-402, ch 16:551, 658, 884). Belz and Forbriger under the presidency of George Storch (1835-1908 b. Poppenhausen, Bavaria), a legislator in 1864 and 1876, organized the German Savings Bank in 1873. In 1886 this German Bank became the United States National Bank which "passed out of existence" in 1892/co 3:1469. A German American State Bank was organized in 1912/ch 16:240. Its cashier was F. A. Mangelsdorf. At the same time August Mangelsdorf (b. 1848 in Armin, Prussia) was a director of the First National Bank. He came first to Atchison from Missouri

in 1868, worked in John Belz's store and bought it when Belz became a banker. With his brother William, he was after 1885 owner of a seed company. The Mangelsdorfs became important in Atchison's affairs. In 1947 they had six residence telephones and four business telephones. Names of German origin, indeed, accompanied approximately half the entries in the yellow pages of the 1947 telephone directory. Neglecting company names that do not reveal nationality, we find German names in the following proportions of these categories:

	German name in entry	Total entries	
Agricultural			
Implements	3	6	The last four entries
Attorneys	4	8	bearing identifiable
Coal	3	6	names were:
Dentists	4	11	Window cleaning - Griffith
Drugs	3	11	Wood - Bennett
Furnaces	2	4	Woodworking - Frantz
Groceries	17	29	Wool - Baumann
Physicians	4	14	That is German 2 out of 4.
Total	40	89	

In the general directory in a column of eighty names beginning with L where German names would be of no higher frequency than those from other stocks thirty-five were German. In 1947, however, almost none of those of German stock had been born in Europe. Indeed, in 1925 the immigrating stock was small; three-fourths of it had arrived before 1890 as the following table shows:

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born
in Germany Resident in Atchison in 1925

Before 1860	- 9
1860-1869	- 33
1870-1874	- 16
1875-1879	- 20
1880-1884	- 64
1885-1889	- 47
1890-1894	- 21
1895-1899	- 9
1900-1904	- 9
1905-1909	- 4
1910-1914	- 12
1915-1919	- 1
1920-1925	- 35

The character of the churches reflect the large proportion of Germans in the population.

Though the Catholic Church was neutral on the question of the extension of slavery, Atchison, during the three years of slave-state domination did not attract Catholic activity. Immediately afterward, however, the city did. In 1859 the Benedictine priory, later abbey, which had been established somewhat upstream at Doniphan was transferred to Atchison. Thereby Atchison became the radiating point for mission activity that stretched to the north border of the state and far to the west. These early Benedictines were Germans; they attracted Germans and secured financial aid from Germany/b 34. By 1864 their parish at Atchison contained 124 families, and a school was founded. Though the monks were German, they could not preach in German because many Irish came to Atchison, and until 1880 there was only one parish. Therefore, while the Catholic clergy attracted Germans to Atchison, their church became an Englishing agent. Not without an element of struggle, however; when Prior Moosmüller organized a society to maintain a free parochial school in 1876, after four months "the Germans of the parish withdrew from the society"/b 145.

Quite the contrary was true of the Trinity Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, though the language question was already tormenting it at the turn of the century. Trinity Church was organized in 1866. After a period of changing pastors it had the advantage of two long pastorates, those of W. Zschoche (1873-ca. 1883) and C. Vetter (ca. 1883-ca. 1908). The Reverend Mr. Vetter was, it seems, somewhat too faithful to German, for the membership fell off from 475 to 420 between 1900 and 1906, and the Statistical Yearbook of 1910 announces that the services were "Rglm e.", i.e., regularly English. This was an exaggeration. In 1917 the Atchison Globe criticized the church

because on half of the Sundays only German was preached. In response to the pressure thus manifested the pastor began preaching "double-headers" and reported to the newspaper that now there was English every Sunday. The "double-headers" continued until at least 1923. As late as 1940 there was a 9:30 service in German every Sunday.

Another purely German church was that of the Evangelical Synod (later E-R). It was organized in 1893, backed by August Mangelsdorf for one; he was then 45 years old, and the membership seems never to have emphasized youth. It was active in 1916/ch 16:254, disbanded in 1926. When it disbanded a part of the members transferred to the Trinity Lutheran, Missouri Synod; a part of them, either members of lodges or hostile to the further use of German still continuing at Trinity, joined St. Mark's English Lutheran, officially labeled English at the time of its definitive organization in 1884. Previously the membership there had been largely of Penn-German extraction.

The Evangelical Association (later EUB) began activities in Atchison in 1859 when Brother M. J. Miller wrote as he outlined his preaching schedule, "There are many Germans there, and I am informed there has been no German preacher there yet"/pz 24. The effort bore little fruit, nor did those of 1866-1868 and 1873. In 1880 a foothold was obtained, and in 1884 Salem Church was organized with 47 members and a church built. "For many years the congregation struggled along under a heavy church debt... During those years, as well as later, the congregation failed to develop... gradual decline set in... in 1913 the city congregation was left without a pastor"/pz 351. There was revival in 1920 and a period of some prosperity, but the congregation perished at some time between 1937 and 1948. The account of the church written

for the Ingalls history (1916) said that the language originally used was German but that it was gradually superseded by English, and that for the last few years the services had been in English/ch 16:254.

The German Methodist congregation competed even less time with English; organized after 1882, it sold its church in 1897/ch 16:255.

Many indications show that by 1900 there were a great many of German origin who had become disaffected toward the use of German. The Turnverein records extend only to 1903. The church histories indicate that German services were losing their popularity. German in business houses was not exclusively used even by immigrants in their private records. For instance, the cooper, A Weinman, born in 1831 in Guttenburg, Bavaria, who came to America in 1853 and to Atchison in 1859/a 402, kept his day book in English, and did not habitually use German in his home after his children were well started in school in the 1880's. His daughter-in-law (born in Switzerland 1883, to the United States 1887, to Atchison 1891) was brought up in the family of her uncle who was an immigrant. Later she claimed to know only one German word. To be sure her husband Louis (b. 1870) joined the Schiller Lodge (German) of the Odd Fellows, which was founded in 1882 (Andreas Cutler incorrectly labels it colored, 382) and he and his sister Dorothy learned German. John Belz, the cashier in the German bank and married to a wife born near Magdeburg in Germany (Sophia b. 1836), had as good reason as anyone for clinging to the use of German, but he came to using English habitually, although he was self-conscious about his accent when he spoke in public. His daughter, Ida, born 1875, learned German, but her playmates

declared that she talked "funny" and she abandoned it, though phrases remained in her memory till old age. About 1890 her father's sister from Iowa visited, and Ida was embarrassed at church when her aunt yielded to a request to pray in German. Both the request and the embarrassment must be regarded as typical of the period. The more conservative and the more lately arrived from Europe were faithful to German. When Fred (b. 1867) and Marie (b. 1868) Salinger arrived in Atchison from Silesia in 1908 with their daughter Clara (b. 1890), they were advised to join the Trinity Lutheran Church because they would find German used there, although they had been Catholics in Europe. They all three continued to use German enough so that Clara's daughter Gladys Callabresi (b. ca. 1919) learned to speak German by listening to them. But Clara more usually spoke English at home.

Pressures against German during the First World War were very severe. German usage in the Lutheran church represents by far the most conservative section of the German population, which usually sought to disengage itself from German ties while the 20th century was very young.

South Everest Scandinavians (Low-y, Area A) are in some sense an outgrowth of the Everest-Willis Norwegians of Brown County separated from them by the Everest Czechs. For more details, see Settlement History of Everest-Willis.

Lancaster-St. Louis Germans (Mid-l, Area B). At Catholic St. Louis's there was preaching in German till about 1909. The Protestants of Lancaster had a Union Church from 1858 until 1905. Then the Rev. C. Krueger, who was also a professor at Midland College, organized an English Lutheran and a German Lutheran congregation, both in the Kansas Synod of what became the United Lutheran Church, finally L. C. A. The German Church collapsed about 1914. In both Lancaster Cemetery and St. Louis Cemetery the German inscriptions are few; 2 (1889-1890) at St. Louis; 5 (1901-1933) at Lancaster. In 1950 a few old people still knew German. There was a post office, Good Intent, near the St. Louis Church from 1872 to 1900. The foreign-born Germans in Lancaster Township in 1925 numbered seven; two had arrived in the United States in 1889, the others between 1893 and 1903.

Shannon Township Germans (Mid-m, Area C). Part of this group more accurately should be counted with the Germans of the city of Atchison, for the census of 1875 shows a great many artisans and some merchants among them; part might well also be assigned to St. Louis Church (see above). A very early farmer was Charles Walz, born in Germany in 1931. He appears in the census of 1860 with a child a year old born in Kansas and another two, born in Missouri. There was in this area a tincture of blood from Southern Holland which persisted among the farmers of this area. M. Wolters,

born in Holland in 1824, appears in the census of 1860 with a wife who was also Dutch. In 1875 the wife was Catherine, a German. One of their children married a Vander Loo, born on the German side of the frontier. These people were Catholic. They had come up the river a short distance from Weston. Their Dutch dialect was still in use in the first decades of this century.

Lancaster Scandinavians (Lowest, Area D). Settlers arrived mainly 1875-1885. Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish used in the home of immigrants, not later. Some later infiltrants from the Everest-Willis were able to speak Norwegian as late as 1954.

Effingham-Monrovia Germans (Low-x, Area E). The Effingham neighborhood is the best example of movement into this area from others. German families from the Mooney Creek District to the south, from the St. Patrick parish to the east (south of Atchison), from near Huron and the St. Louis parish to the northeast, and (Czechs) from Everest were present in the Catholic parish in the mid-1950's. There were individuals there then who had known no English on starting to school, but German was by then a passive asset of those who knew it. The dates of arrival in the United States of those born in Germany and living in Benton Township (where Effingham is) were in 1925:

1864-7	3	1896	1
1882-4	5	1901-3	3
1890-3	6		

Camp Creek Germans (Low-v, Area F) The settlement was begun by Swiss families arriving ca. 1860. The Rev. Pardee Butler was in the neighborhood by 1856/a 371-2. The census of 1860 shows no name

identifiable with this group and nobody from Switzerland. That of 1865 shows Rudolph Meyer (1834-1870 in Pardee cem.); he became exhorter at Camp Creek Evangelical Church (later EUB) in 1866/pz 243. In 1865 he had a child three years old born in Kansas. He was born in Switzerland.

By the 1865 census five Swiss families in Center Twp. and three in Mt. Pleasant Township. John Myers had child, 9, born Switzerland, another, 5, b. Kansas. Henry Myers had child, 5, b. Switzerland. John Schmidt, born Switzerland, class-leader at church in 1866/pz 243, had child, 6, born Missouri and another, 4, born Kansas. In Mt. Pleasant Township Jacob Meyer born Switzerland had child, 6, born Kansas.

Ulrich Laufer, born Switzerland, superintendent of Sunday School in 1866, had by the 1865 census, Mt. Pleasant Township, child 3, born Switzerland.

In 1865 besides the Swiss, there were other German families in the neighborhood from Baden and Wurtemberg.

The chief social institution of the Camp Creek Germans has been the Evangelical Association Church. Evangelical preachers were active by 1865, a church was built in 1883/pz; the congregation was influential. About 1902 there was a sudden shift from the use of German in services with a violent reaction. In 1949; "A few old timers like to use it [German], but seldom do."

Arrington Germans (Low-x, Area H)

Seven German families appearing in the 1860 census in Muscotah Township (then the western part of Atchison County) appear also in 1875 in Kapioma Township. Two children born in Kansas, Mary, daughter of Matthew and Mary

Glemm, and Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Juliana Eckert, were one year old in 1860. Matthew Glemm had apparently just been joined by his parents John and Christina, for they appear in 1860 without children and in 1875 they appear with four children born in Iowa between 1852 and 1860. John and Mary Wagner also had children born in Iowa, others born in Germany as late as 1849. Mary Glemm, in 1860, recorded that she was born in France and in 1875 in Prussia; she was thus probably Alsatian. Eliza Ernst was Norwegian, all other adults in this group record that they were born in Germany or Prussia. A Swiss of the 1860 and 1865 census who does not appear in 1875, Henry Weber, had in 1860 a child, aged six, born in Iowa and another, aged four, born in Kansas. He was thus the earliest Ger-ling settler. There is evidence that most of these families remained in the neighborhood long after 1875; Jacob (1848-1925), son of John Wagner, for instance, lies in the local cemetery. The Germans were or became Methodists, and the hysteria of 1917 ended their use of German.

Oak Mills Germans (Low-y, Area I). An early settler was Henry Sacks (1827-1914); born Prussia, to Galveston 1854, where he married another Prussian. To Leavenworth 1855/a 415; to Oak Mills 1857, where son George was still resident in 1956. Second wife (wedded 1867) was of native stock from Buchanan County across the river. Family, at least from this date, did not use German, nor did other German families in the neighborhood.

48.04 BARBER COUNTY N28e

Sharon Germans (Lowest, Area A) are an example of a secondary settlement made up of a diversity of Catholic German elements. As a Catholic parish it

-988-

did not come into existence until 1904. There were, however, earlier a few Catholic Germans served by the priest at Danville. There was some preaching in German as late as 1927. J. Bauer was among the first comers. He was from Olpe (Lyon H), soon there were others from there and from Flush, (Pottawatomie B), from the major settlement in Sedgwick County (Area A), and from Willowdale (Kingman C). An important element arrived later beginning about 1914 from among the Volgans in Ellis County (Area B). The dialects of the Reich Germans were all close to each other and for a few years there was some use of German among them. But children of Reich German stock born early in the century did not acquire even much understanding. Even the Volgans, if born after about 1920, did not acquire proficiency. Their dialect was enough different from that of the Reich Germans to cause difficulties in communication. In the 1950's there were still a few confessing in German. By 1966 German was not heard except occasionally from old Volgans.

Hardtner Germans (Lowest, Area B) were there largely because of Jacob Achenbach who with the doctor for whom the town was named, in 1885 founded the community. "Uncle Jake" was wealthy, philanthropic, and locally patriotic. He became the patron of the Evangelical (and Reformed) Church, and attracted other Germans some from Illinois-Pana and neighborhood (60 north of 102)--some from Europe. The strip next to Oklahoma where Hardtner is located was part of the Osage lands, not open until 1885. German families were using German in the home at the beginning of the 20th century and preaching at the church went on in German until 1917. In the early 1920's a family arriving from Germany found many people who could converse with them, but their child

found none among his school fellows. By 1953 those who had formerly been adept in German said that it was then an effort to speak in it. In 1966 no trace of German usage was left, though between the families of German background and the rest of the community there was a gap; the Germans here represented old aristocracy.

Hazelton Germans (Lowest, Area C) are mainly south of that city in the Osage strip opened in 1885. Oscar Haberlein born in Germany in 1847 or 1848, settled at Hazelton then. He came to Kansas before 1860. He was of some importance in the community, but as an adult apparently completely Englished.

48.05 BARTON COUNTY N 17

The center of Barton County is occupied by the Cheyenne Flats, usually marsh land. Around these flats there are uninterrupted series of settlements, all German except for the Czechs forming part of the Olmitz community. Few of these German colonies had close relations with others because of differences in land of origin (Germany, Russia, Poland, Moravia), or religion (Catholic, Lutheran, Mennonite), or because of separation by the flats.

Beaver - Dubuque Germans and Slavs (Low-w, Area A)

Dubuque post office was established in 1879 with Nicholas Weber as postmaster. Mathias Weber, (1850-1928), from Luxemburg (by the 1895 census) is buried in the Catholic cemetery at Dubuque. The St. Catherine's Church at Dubuque was built in 1885. The Catholic group was of varied origin. There were other Luxemburgers (Feldes, Huberty), 15 families by 1889 says Gonner/go 314. There were Czechs, notably the Dolecheks, several of them buried in the cemetery. There were Prussians, several Schaufs buried there, and the Woydziaks from Germany, but Polish in origin, speaking both Polish and German. These families came from Iowa and the name chosen for their post office properly identifies the corner of that state where they had resided. They seem to have secured a post office very soon after they arrived, for the birthdates of children indicate that the Woydziaks came between 1877 and 1879, the Dolecheks by 1878, and another family, the Redetzkes, between 1876 and 1878. There were also Irish in the parish from early times. The inscription to Mary Rieck (1833-1885) says that she was born in Ireland and Joseph her husband (1823-1905), in Wurtemberg.

The polyglot conditions that resulted are perhaps best expressed by the monument to Leopold Dolechek (1866-1894). It has inscriptions to him on

three faces, one in German, one in Czech, and one in English. There are no later inscriptions in Flang. English as a lingua franca triumphed early, and the community evolved toward exclusive use of English more rapidly than neighboring groups, particularly Odin. At Beaver, where Joseph Feyerabend became the first postmaster in 1919, the people from Odin, who had spread northward during the early years of the 20th century, made the Catholic population sufficiently numerous to allow building a church, St. Joseph's. There was also at one time a German Methodist church at Beaver. The linguistic habits of the people at St. Joseph's closely resembled those at Odin.

Odin Moravian Germans (Area B, High-C)

There were no Moravian Germans, or Austrians as they usually call themselves, in eastern Barton County in 1875. In 1880 their settlement at Odin was flourishing; there were then 136 Moravian born in Cheyenne Township, of whom 62 were adults; they had six children born in Kansas, none born in other states in America. The youngest of the children born abroad in most families was three years old or less. Five of the children born in Kansas were less than two years old; the sixth was three. The birth of this child, Herman Goetzel, is the best available evidence that the Austrian settlement began in 1877, though Frank Steffan and Anthony Linsner are reported as first comers from Moravia. The settlement was well under way by 1878, for the Catholic Directory of that year records service to the "Austrian settlement in Barton County"; the 1878 Agricultural Report shows "Odin" on its map of Barton County, and Moeder's History says of 1878, "Odin was established and attended to monthly from Ellinwood"/ mo 44. The settlers of 1878 considered themselves pioneers (Laudick Monument in cemetery).

The "Austrians" emigrated from an area not far from Brno or Brünn. The Hitschmans and others were born in the village of Forstendorf. Local testimony says, "Odin was named for a town in Illinois." Odin, Illinois, is 60 miles east of St. Louis in Marion County (60:112). The name for the Kansas Community was not chosen by the Austrians, but by other Germans in the community, for from the beginning there were others there; some of them were Catholics like these Moravians, for example, Gerritzen from Westphalia, Seus from Bavaria, Tochert from Luxemburg. These three families came to Kansas from Missouri, Pennsylvania and Michigan; only the Tocherts had had children born in Illinois (Maggie T. b. Ill. '62, Joseph T. b. Michigan '66). Herman Hasset and Jacob Klein, born in Prussia, came out from Illinois; seven Klein children were born there between 1862 and 1875. Anna Hasset and George Klein, both born in Kansas, were three years old in 1880. The Austrians, however, have been sufficiently numerous so that the prevailing dialect has been that of South Germany, from where they emigrated to Moravia. The Holy Family Parish, established in 1878, received its first resident pastor, the Rev. Werner Emmerich (1879-1932) in 1881. For years, he was a missionary in much territory to the west, but Odin was home; he remained till 1895, and is buried at Odin. Afterward priests changed frequently until 1909, year of arrival of the Rev. T. C. Niederpruem (born 1876 at Ryllburg in the Rhineland 20 miles north of Trier). Father Niederpruem stayed until his death in 1941, generally preaching and doing his pastoral work in German. He advised his people to stay at home; there was trouble elsewhere. And throughout this period Odin remained isolated, though the population overflowed, and families came to have many relatives

elsewhere. The First World War had the minimum of effect, but doubtless because of it half of the masses during the 1920's were in English. Outside relations were particularly with the St. Mark and St. Leo settlements. The death of Father Niederpruem and the crisis of the Second World War wrenched the people of Odin from their established ways. The new priest refused to preach in German, and when the Reverend Alexander Stremel arrived in 1946 innovations rained upon the community. The demand for German by the parishioners remained strong; in the late 1940's one third of the confessions were in German. In the 1950's an occasional sermon in German on a feast day was considered a treat. Father Stremel was succeeded by the Reverend Cornelius Leunissen (b. 1899) who arrived in 1949 and remained until 1961; in the cemetery a monument bearing his name without a death date declares that Odin is his permanent home. Thus Odin has had three long pastorates with shifting interludes. Only the interlude of the 1940's had any important linguistic effect. Until 1941 the oral use of German was universal. Recruits from Odin entering the army during the Second World War thought more easily in German than in English. The population born in this country learned to speak English but imperfectly. Even while the exclusive use of spoken German went on, English as the language of record became known through the school and in the decade after the First World War became regularly used for that purpose. The school was parochial from as early as 1881 (established in Seus home then). Typical of the community is the English speech of a woman born ca. 1912 observed in 1953. It contained back vowels that were all higher and with more marked lip rounding than in usual Kansas English; none of the usual diphthongization of long vowels; frequent high pitch accents; reduction of w to bilabial f and a tendency to pronounce voiced th like d; specifically in the frequently repeated phrase "do that", the initial consonant of the two words was identical.

In the late 1940's and early 1950's boys of high school age were able to speak German and sometimes did so among themselves; by 1950, however, though German was still the language of the beer hall, habitual use of it in the home was limited to older families, and children born later than 1940 were seldom using it, although those born in the war years learned to understand it.

In 1964 men in their forties still usually conversed together in German. Those born after 1949 knew none at all, and those of intermediate age usually understood. There were exceptions of all ages who were more Engl-ized.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions at Odin

Decade	English	German	% of German
1880-89	6	22	78%
1890-99	26	25	48%
1900-09	26	20	43%
1910-19	47	27	37%
1920-29	57	11	16%
1930-39	58	1	2%

no later inscriptions in German

Hitschman Germans (Mid-n, Area C) are classified as of "mid" importance because of the number of Germans in the area, but they developed no cultural or religious center. Hitschman was a railroad stop which never achieved a post office. There were post offices within the area at State Center (1879-1894) and at Brooklyn (1883-1887); the first postmasters were respectively John Ulshoefer and Francis Herthel. The latter was born in Germany, his wife [#]also (1837 and 1835). Two sons living with them in 1895 had been born in Massachusetts in 1870 and 1873. The southern part of the area was inhabited by Reich Germans, the northern, by Volgans mingled with Czechs. The Reich Germans resident in 1925 had come between 1883 and 1893 except for two of 1853.

Olmütz Moravian Germans and Czechs (Hi-d, Area D), as the name indicates both Germans and Czechs, came from near Olmütz in Moravia, and settled beginning in 1876 on Santa Fe lands. The two stocks had been able to get along with each other in the part of Moravia whence they came and continued to do so in Kansas, though the Czechs settled north of town and the Germans south. The dates of arrival of those born in Moravia resident in the Olmütz townships of Barton County in 1925 were

Grant Twp. (Czechs)	Walnut Twp. (Germans)
1875-8 13	1876-8 8
	1879-81 3
1882-5 16	1884-6 9
1891-3 9	1890-1 2
1899-1908 8	1904-11 8

Under Father John Huna, pastor from 1912 to 1924, preaching or at least announcements were in three languages. Father A. L. Meyers, who came in 1937 and remained till 1958, preached sometimes in German until 1941. Confessions in German were still going on in the 1950's and there were those who would have preferred to "go" in Czech. By 1950 those born after 1935 seldom knew German or Czech, but those only a few years older were proficient. Tombstone inscriptions are eloquent of the shift in the language of record, though there was a small Irish element in the community to affect the proportions.

Language of Inscriptions in the Cemetery at Olmitz					
	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>% of Czech</u>
1880-9	2	4	67%	0	0%
1890-9	11	8	32%	6	24%
1900-9	22	10	28%	4	11%
1910-9	36	14	25%	6	11%
1920-9	45	11	19%	1	2%
1930-9	62	3	5%	1	1.5%

No later German or Czech

Albert Germans (Mid-k, Area E)

Subdivisions: Heizer Germans (East) and Peace Lutherans (West).

First of the Heizer Germans (Reinecke/a 763/ch 12, Schulz/a 763/ch 12, Meyer /ch 12) settled near Walnut Creek 1870; Hanoverians; came by way of Ellsworth/a. Group became larger, but developed no strong community feeling nor cultural center.

Western group began 1871(J.Both from Linde, Germany/ch 12); received by 1875 the first increment of East Frisian stock that was to dominate it (John and Thomas Tammen); East Frisians still in 1950 nearly half of Peace Church; many came by way of Golden, Adams Co. (61, 160), Ill. St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Mo. Synod, organized 1876, prosperous for a time, but 12 members 1953. Peace American Lutheran Church organized 1889, a time of doctrinal dissension bringing schism among German Lutherans; Peace Church 400 souls 1950. Interesting inscriptions Peace Cemetery:

John Henry Dirks 1873-1908

Saleg send dea de gaestlech arm send [Standard Ger.: Selig sind die die geistlich arm sind, Matt. v, 3]
Laszt dea Kendlaen zu mer kommen und wahret ehnan necht [Lasset die Kindlein zu mir kommen und wehret ihnen nicht, Mark x, 14]

John Tammen 1901-1902

Diesen Abtritt den ich thue

In die Erde nieder

Schaul die Sonne geht zur Ruhe

Kömmat [sic] doch morgen wieder.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions
for Albert Germans

	Peace Cemetery			Mo. Luth. Cem.		
	Eng.	Ger.	% Ger.	Eng.	Ger.	% Ger.
Before 1900	2	8	80%	5	0	0%
1900-9	11	7	39%	6	3	33%
1910-9	14	7	33%	6	1	17%
1920-9	33	4	11%	10	1	10%
One later German--1935				No later German		

First English services at Peace Church 1923, half Eng.-half Ger. began ca. 1939, last regular German 1945, two communions a year 1950, much German talk at Ladies Aid 1953. Many born ca. 1930 could then speak German. Strong community feeling, at first conservative clinging to East Frisian origins, but latterly ardently anxious to contrast with more conservative neighbors. Critical date 1920, perhaps later; recession of German slow for two decades afterward, but rapid from 1940 -- war and oil prosperity contributing factors.

Pawnee Rock Russian Germans (Mid-k, Area F)

This is a Mennonite settlement composed of persons who came from Russia but not from the great Mennonite settlements on the Black Sea. The majority came from the Russian Polish province of Volhynia where for a comparatively short period (fifty to sixty years) they had been living in villages just south of Ostrog. They had come from Graddenz on the Vistula River above the delta settlements in 1791 to Michalin near Kiev and moved from there between 1801 and 1812. They were desperately poor on arriving in the United States late in 1874. A large part of their group was settled by the other Mennonites south of Canton (see the Concentrated Mennonite District). The portion that came to this district lived for some time in boxcars on a siding at Dundee between Pawnee Rock and Great Bend. They were joined by a number of Volga Mennonites. The Mennonite settlements on the Volga first began in 1853, settled from the Vistula area. Peter Eckert's congregation, however, was largely made up of converts from the other Volgan villages and were therefore "Swabian" in dialect. They were in general prosperous, but the Eckert congregation that emigrated to America was nearly as poor as the "Poles". In 1882 the Santa Fe immigration pamphlet recorded: "These people were in the old country weavers and most of them first held plow handles here. Still

105 FGA
this colony too is making remarkable progress"/kq 28:316. They were not, however, able to build a church until 1897 partly because some of them turned Swedenborgian. The Bergthal Church was founded in 1875 - 223 members in 1953. Ultimately they were as prosperous as any of their neighbors. The group from Ostrog was regarded by other Mennonites as having given way to Polish influences. With this history we might expect a community such as this, even though isolated, to yield to Engl-izing forces rather rapidly compared to the other Mennonite settlements. This is true. Very few of those born after 1918 learned German. Although the preceding generation were skilled, they and even some of the immigrants fell out of the habit of using German as their every day language. By 1935 all church services were in English. This phenomenon may be ascribed in part to the influence of the First World War, but the use of English was rather well advanced before.

Great Bend and Vicinity Germans (Low-v, Area G) were not well enough organized to develop German institutions. Many people of German stock moved (and are still moving) into Great Bend, but linguistically this element of the population has not been important. On German newspapers see # 41.50.

St. Peter and Paul Germans (Mid-m, Area H) have always had a close connection with Ellinwood, but they have been somewhat more conservative linguistically. The area is named for its Catholic Church established in 1877. The dominant Catholic population is mingled with Protestants (E-R belonging

at Ellinwood, other groups at Bushton). After 1925 German was mainly for grandparents. People of child-bearing age in the 1930's used German to the next older generation, but not to each other or their children. The Catholics were supported in their conservation of German by their pastor. From 1912 to 1935 they were served by the Rev. John Bast who came from and returned to Willowdale (Kingman Co).

Language of Inscriptions in Cemetery of St. Peter's
and Paul's Catholic Church North of Ellinwood.

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1870-9	5	2	29%
1880-9	12	15	56%
1890-9	14	13	48%
1900-9	19	11	37%
1910-9	19	2	10%
1920-9	26	1	4%
1930-9	26	2	8%
1940-9	21	2	9%

The last five inscriptions in German were for spouses of persons who had died before 1915 leaving a vacant place for their mate's inscription to be placed later.

Ellinwood Germans (Hi-b, Area I) were the nucleus "of the 'Germania' colony, founded in the year 1873 by the German general agent of the Santa Fe, Mr. C. B. Schmidt. It consists of about 500 families of every religious denomination from all parts of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland." So said Schmidt in 1881 /kq28:315. The Germans in town and near it were largely from South Germany and included some Luxemburgers. The dates of arrival in the United States of persons born in Germany and living in Ellinwood in

1925 indicate both early coming and persistent residence.

1856-1869	17	1884-1896	12
1870-1879	22	1903-1913	12
1880-1883	26		

German was the cultural language here through the nineteenth century. Englishing went on but slowly until the discovery of oil in the neighborhood in 1932 when an influx of people of other stocks occurred. Till then German in commerce was common. Though they were subject to ridicule from others of their age, children still arrived at school in that year innocent of English. Half of those in confirmation classes in that year were able not only to speak but to read and write German. The later shift was rapid for young people but not for the old, who clung to their ways. Services in the Evangelical (and Reformed) church were in German half of the time until then. An early service in German every Sunday went on until 1939; in 1943 there were still services in German but the attenders were reduced to about 10 persons. At the Catholic Church Father Werner Emmerich, pastor from 1896 to 1924 was more adept in German than in English, and his successors have been proficient in German -- necessarily. Confessions by the old in German were still occurring in 1964. The Missouri Lutherans were using German more frequently than the Evangelicals in 1930, and were reputed to be "very German" in 1964, though in 1948 they had no German services.

Comanche Township Germans (Mid-k, Area J) in large part spoke Low German. They have as their cultural center the North American Baptist Church, organized in 1879. English services were first introduced into it in 1921 and German was abandoned by 1938. Before the First World War German was generally used, but children born after 1915 did not learn it.

48.06 BOURBON COUNTY

See Volume I, 312.

48.07 BROWN COUNTY E1

There are two Indian reservations in the county, in the southwest the Kickapoo, part of whom spoke Kickapoo, part Pottawatomie, and the Iowa-Sac and Fox in the northeast. On language usage among the Indians see 93.

A great many Penn-Germans settled in the county, particularly in the northwest (93, IV); Dunkards organized in 1871. River Brethren came a little later (before 1882); they spoke "Dutch" for some time, some till 1918, the very old till 1935. All formerly adept had forgotten in 1957. Dunkards abandoned a little earlier.

See Settlement Histories for Everest Willis Norwegians (Mid-1, Area F).

Padonia Welsh (Low-x, Area A). First arrived 1869 (see Andreas Cutler history for biographies of Evans, Jones, Morgan, /a740). In the early 1880's there were 10 families; no one resident in 1925 came later than 1888. Most of these Welsh came directly from Carmathenshire to Padonia. Only the immigrants spoke Welsh, though habitually enough so that some children born as late as 1895 learned to understand and to count. There were still speakers living in 1951. The cultural center of this group was the Welsh Baptist Church, organized by 1881 (building about 1890) and active till about 1925.

Hiawatha Germans (Low-x, Area B). There were Germans living very close to the site of Hiawatha before it was founded in 1857 (1855, Maglott /a720, Moser [Swiss] /a722, see further /tkl85). There were also, early, many Ohioans and Pennsylvanians with German names. Some of the Germans became prominent citizens of the town, and therefore spoke English more often than German. Those faithful to German were however, part of the

population. An Evangelical Synod body of 1869 went over to a Reformed Church in 1876, which had 38 members in 1882/a 715. The Lutherans, Missouri Synod, date their church only from 1895. In it some English was used from the beginning, but German was not completely abandoned until about 1940. Dropping German was not popular then, but the old were using English to each other.

Fairview Germans (Low-v, Area C). Though the inhabitants of Fairview and vicinity were by 1925 practically all of German stock the immigrant citizens of Walnut Township who at that time recorded the year of their coming from Germany to the United States numbered only 12 -- 1863 (2), 1887 (2), 1888 (4), 1891 (1), 1897 (1), 1922 (2). First settlement went back to 1857, but the German churches were organized much later -- Reformed (E-R) 1873, Missouri Lutheran 1882, Ohio Lutheran (American) 1887. The founders of the Reformed Congregation were Swiss who Engl-ized rapidly. Children born about 1900 learned no German. Ohio Lutherans were dissidents who abandoned German early; at least, only one tombstone in their cemetery bears a German inscription, 1884. The Missouri Lutherans held on much longer. Announcements in English were being made in 1916; German services were abandoned about 1940. In 1949 in this congregation one old couple was using German at home, but young adults knew it only as the language that had been used when their grandmothers assembled.

Language of Inscriptions in the Cemetery of the
Lutherans, Missouri Synod, at Fairview

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1880-9	4	4	50%
1890-9	1	8	89%
1900-9	10	5	33%
1910-9	9	1	10%

No later German

Fidelity Germans (Lowest, Area D). This settlement was originally Irish, though one of the families served by the Benedictines in 1860 had a German mother. They were later displaced beginning in the 1860's but gradually and over a long period, almost entirely by Germans, but German did not figure linguistically as of importance.

Powhattan-Mercier Germans (Mid-m, Area E). There are, more strictly speaking, two German settlements here treated in a unit in Volume I because of the difficulties of separating them statistically. The Powhattan Germans are Protestants, and include many Swiss. The Mercier Germans are Catholics, almost exclusively Reich South Germans. There is a strip of country between them where neither group predominates. All this area was part of the Kickapoo Reservation until it was diminished in 1865. Actual settlement began a few years later.

In the Powhattan neighborhood the Evangelical Association (EUB) in 1861 organized a class of persons active since 1859. It formed a union with the Methodists in 1885 /pz 289, indicating low loyalty to German. A more determined German group was organized by the Evangelical Synod (E-R) which had a membership of 50 in 1906 /ot. The membership was largely Swiss, but the reverence for standard German was such that a school teaching it went on until 1924. There were also German services every Sunday until that date; they ceased completely in 1926. The church dissolved about 1940. Its members became either Methodists or Missouri Lutherans. The Missouri Lutherans claim 1900 as their date of organization in their yearbook of 1948 (168 souls), but yearbooks preceding the First World War do not record the name nor that of any place close. German services were dominant until 1922 and ceased there about 1924. In 1950 the very old in their families

or when gathered together still conversed in German, but younger people had never been proficient. These people were mostly from South Germany.

Mercier received its present name in 1918, when public opinion made the name Germantown abhorrent. Germantown was its official name beginning in 1897 after the post office of the same name in Smith County had been suppressed. Its basic families arrived between 1869 and 1874, in part from near Peru, Illinois. They were all southern Germans. They did not build a church until 1883 nor receive a resident pastor until 1908, but they were firmly Catholic. The last preaching in German was during the pastorate of the Rev. F. C. Elast (1912-1921). Engl-izing through school attendance was common by 1900, but children learned German until the time of the First World War. After that time German was little used, though in 1950 those born before 1918 retained the ability at least to understand German.

Everest Czechs (Low-v, Area G). The early post office for this group was Marak (1870-1882). For its early history beginning in 1857 see /tk172, #43.10 For a small settlement Marak resisted Engl-izing well. Those born as late as 1920 learned a few words of Czech. There were a few left truly proficient in Czech in 1951.

Language of Inscriptions of Those Bearing
Czech Names in Marak Cemetery (Catholic)

	<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>% Czech</u>
1865-9	1	1	50%
1870-9	0	6	100%
1880-9	5	4	44%
1890-9	8	7	47%
1900-9	8	6	43%

No later Czech except one of 1931 on same stone as spouse's of 1894.

Wolf River Germans (Mid-n, Area H) were not a unified group. The only cultural center was an Evangelical Association Church (EUB) which existed as an appointment from 1869. There was a building from 1876 to 1947. The area was soon penetrated by Catholic Germans from the east (church at St. Benedict's Mission) and Lutherans, who were mixed Germans and Norwegians, from the church near Robinson. Those born shortly after 1890 did not learn German, though older brothers and sisters did.

Horton Germans (Low-x, Area I). Horton was a creation of the Rock Island Railroad, end of 1886. Shops were established there which suffered from the shop strike of 1922. They were moved to Moline, Illinois by 1940. Railroad employment brought in Germans, but they were not strong enough for any of the specifically German Protestant churches to gain a ~~foot~~ foothold. The Catholic Church, flourishing by 1900, had German pastors for some time and some of the membership were railroad employees, but in 1950 the people had a large element who had retired from Mercier. No German was being used by them. For Horton Mexicans see #47.82

48.08 BUTLER COUNTY P21

The county throughout had a scattering of German settlers, sufficiently numerous in the southern part to bring the Evangelical Association to form a Butler circuit /pz297. Swedes appear to have settled near Chelsea in 1858, but none of their landholdings persisted till the Second World War. There were in the township seven persons born in Sweden in 1895.

Elbing--Whitewater Prussians (High-d, Area A)

These Prussians from the Vistula Delta arrived first in 1876, 20 families were here in 1877. They had been well-to-do, and once adjusted prospered again as cattlemen. Their primary and original focus is the Emmaus (General Conference) Mennonite Church (Point 4 on map) 376 members in 1958. The Zion Church (also G. C.) at Elbing (Point 3) was established in 1883, 143 members in 1953 with originally the same stock in membership. In 1885 four families of Prussians who had formerly been at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, joined their compatriots. Since it is very near the border of the settlement, Mennonites spreading from the Concentrated Settlement have bought farms in the neighborhood so that the membership is heterogeneous. A third Mennonite Church (it too G. C., 2 miles west of Emmaus, established 1884) is the Swiss (132 members in 1948). It contains a stock that came directly to Kansas from Canton Bern. The Swiss had no German services in 1935; Zion dropped them in 1942. Emmaus had every Sunday one service in each language till about 1949, when German services were reduced to once a month. In the community as a whole, those born before 1920 were proficient in German in 1950 and had not given up its use. There was no public display, but young members of the settlement were toward 1948 capable of receiving army interpreter assignments. The Swiss were long to some degree separate, although there are cases of early intermarriages (Claassen-Thierstein 1890), but socially this cleavage disappeared.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Elbing--Whitewater Cemeteries

Emmaus			Swiss			Zion at Elbing		
<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% Ger.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% Ger.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% Ger.</u>
1870-9	6	1	14%			0	5	100%
1880-9	11	15	58%			0	4	100%
1890-9	10	21	68%	4	100%	0	7	100%
1900-9	5	12	71%	5	50%	2	4	67%
1910-9	11	19	63%	6	0%	2	8	80%
1920-9	10	15	60%	7	22%	3	3	50%
1930-9	19	5	21%	No later German		No later German		
1940-9	17	2	11%					

Burns Germans (Low-v, Area B) include four groups, different in geographical origins, in religion, and in location. Germans in the neighborhood can be found as early as 1869, but the coming of the Franciscans' colony from Cincinnati occurred in 1879/hq 28:312. The parish then established endured. The people in it used German almost universally in their families until about 1905, and children born within the next few years learned to understand German. In 1957 a few knew German, but it was so seldom heard that sons of immigrants were frequently not identified as German by their fellow townsmen.

The group centered around the rural Ebenezer German Methodist Church was half Swiss in origin, the rest South German. Although in 1873 members of the family of persons buried in the Ebenezer cemetery were already present (Brunn/a 1450), the founding nucleus became strong only in 1888 and a congregation was organized in 1889. No church was built until 1899.

Many of the members were of Swiss origin. English services were not introduced until 1925, and German was abandoned completely when the church entered the English conference in 1931. Parochial schooling preserved standard German. Those born before 1915 still knew German in 1953, or at least understood.

A Holdeman Mennonite group arrived in 1937-9. They were of the Polish German group in eastern McPherson County (Lone Tree Church). In 1953 almost everyone could speak Low German and frequently did, though children just entering school might be able only to understand. In 1966 children still were so conversant with "Dutch" that using it for a language of secrecy was impossible in families where there were teenagers, but English had gained ground.

A General Conference Mennonite Church was organized in 1944 and built a church a mile north and a mile west ^{of town}. Its members were largely of the Swiss group in southern McPherson County (Eden Church). Some of those born in the mid-1930's still spoke their dialect in 1953.

Cassoday Germans and Pontiac-Rosalia Germans (both Low-x, Areas C and D) are in Flint Hills grazing country. The German settlements have been unstable because wheat farming in the area has been hazardous. The Germans near Pontiac were never clustered, and in 1955 residents of Rosalia were not aware of German stock in the neighborhood. The element near Cassoday was strong enough for Lutheran and Catholic attempts at mission work, which ultimately failed. German families were however sufficiently isolated so that German was used in families for ^awhile, though German-speaking parents were often answered in English.

48.09 CHASE COUNTY P18

Except for the Cottonwood Valley and narrow creek valleys running into it, Chase County is lightly populated pasture land. Therefore, for-lings, who usually chose arable country, did not become numerous in the county.

Elk-Immanuel Germans (Low-v, Chase A)

Like most of Chase County the northwest section is grazing country except for the creek valleys. The two important streams here are Diamond Creek and Middle Creek. Diamond Creek Valley is narrow but it was accessible very early by means of the Santa Fe Trail. Middle Creek has a broader valley with more affluents. German settlement at first favored the Diamond, and the Lutheran missionary of 1861, Lange, served a Diamond Creek station from Clark's Creek (q.v.) The group was flourishing in 1882, for the Santa Fe immigration booklet speaks of it as "a North-German settlement of the Lutheran confession. The settlers most successfully occupy themselves with cattle raising and dairying, for which that neighborhood is particularly adapted on account of its richness in running water"/kq 28:315. Their success was presumably not so great as here pictured, for in 1910 the Lutherans claimed only six members at Hymer on Diamond Creek, and in 1916 nine members. In the same years Immanuel Church, located (Point 3) on the highland $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Middle Creek, had 152 and 142 members. Before the church was built, "Middle Creek", served from Lincolnville in 1895, had 94 members (Hymer and two other points totaled 62 members). The Santa Fe book refers to this settlement when it speaks of a settlement between Martins Creek (in Marion County) and Middle Creek; but the promoter Henry Stassen, did not succeed in establishing a German Baptist congregation as was his ambition. The booklet says settlers were coming from near Chicago, and the census does show they were from Illinois. They began arriving about 1877 or 1878 and the persistent families (Koegeboehn, Weichhold, Piper) were there by 1885. In Immanuel Church English was first introduced into services in 1913. Among the old, use of German has persisted. No one born since the First World War is able to speak German, but those born almost as late as 1930 can still understand if they listen "real close".

Strong-Cottonwood Germans (Low-y, Chase B)

Strong City and Cottonwood Falls are not two miles apart. As the county seat, Cottonwood Falls, containing about 1,000 persons, has mostly a "court-house" population, hence not of a settlement character. The urban center for the Germans is thus Strong City. The town originated with the building of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1872. German population still present in the neighborhood in 1885 began about 1870. A Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, was established in 1884, and the census of 1885 shows no great population to back it up. The Lutheran Statistical Yearbook of 1895 assigns 160 members to it, and remarks that many had moved away. By 1916, when most German Lutheran churches were prosperous, the number dwindled to 73. It amounted to 84 in 1948. This diminution in German population did not cause rapid abandonment of German. About 1950 there were still people using the language by preference. They were not among the young, those born after 1912 were not proficient, but German among those older was commoner than usual, possibly because the young had departed and were exerting no pressure on their elders.

Bazaar Germans (Low-x, Area C)

The history of the German population in the Bazaar-Matfield Green area is expressed by the history of the Brandley/a and Rogler families/a. Charles Rogler, born 1836 in Saxony, came to Huron County, Ohio (62-234) 1853, to Iowa, first Johnson County (61-45) 1856, then Cass County (in the southwest), here in 1859. Henry Brandley, born Grisons Canton, Switzerland 1839, to Cincinnati 1853, to Randolph County Indiana (62-56) 1856, Cass County, Iowa Spring 1859, here in fall. Both accumulated land in this cattle area. Brandley was more prominent, and Rogler left more heirs to absorb more land. In the early days their hired help was often German. John Reigel and his future wife are examples; they came to jobs here. There seems never to have been a German church or other cultural center. The landowners' children learned German from the late-arriving hands, but the importation ceased soon, and everyone gave up using German rather early, the young by 1900. Those still capable of using German in 1953 did not do so, but those who moved into the community in 1936 found them with a "brogue".

48.10 CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY P26. See Vol. I, 311.

48.11 CHEROKEE COUNTY E28. See Vol. I, 311 and Crawford County below.

48.12 CHEYENNE COUNTY F1.

See Settlement Histories for St. Francis Russian Germans (Mid-k, Area A).

Other Germans had frequently lived in Nebraska before coming to this county.

Bird City-MacDonald Germans (Low-w, Area B). In 1880, when the population of Cheyenne County was made up of 11 farmers, 3 ranch owners, and their ranchhands, Kepferle post office was established. It was in the northeast part of the county and lasted till 1883. There was also a Kepferle school in 1881; subscribers to it included Quistorff and Hoffman (Blackmar). The postmaster was named Dunn, but a succeeding post office which lasted a year nearby, 1886-7, had Wm. H. Levering for a postmaster, and the first postmaster of Bird City, established in 1885 was Charles J. Kerndt. The German population which gathered in this area led to the organization of an Ohio Synod (American Lutheran) Church at Bird City in 1911. Its membership was originally of people of North and Central German stock. In 1949 there were two families left where the parents used German, but not their progeny. German was abandoned for church services about 1935.

South St. Francis Germans (Lowest, Area C) and Jaqua Germans (Low-x, Area D). The original stock of Reich Germans and Swiss in these centers have been nearly overwhelmed by the spread of the Blackseamen who hold most of the land marked as German on the landholder's map (I) of Volume I. The survivors form part of the membership of the Lawn Ridge Methodist Church. There were in 1964 grandmothers who could still speak German, but active use had long been abandoned.

Jaqua Swedes. In the 1960's these Swedes had disappeared. In 1917, Strodda Drag, prepared by the Mission Covenanters, contained this passage

under the heading St. Francis, Kansas: "Around this community in western Kansas there lived at one time quite a lot of Swedes, and the circuit riders were well received when they came. Now ten miles out in the country there are four families of Mission Friends and a few families who gather together when some one comes. They have a small meeting house there"/sd 252.

48.13 CLARK COUNTY N28w. See Vol. I., 310.

48.14 CLAY COUNTY P7

The landholdings of the foreign settlements in Clay County are usually not solid. The Republican River made the county easily accessible to settlers of all types in the 1860's who might seek land after arriving at Junction City. There was little railroad land requiring payment. "Americans" chose lands freely.

Mulberry Creek Germans (Low-x, Area A) were a group of quite varied origins, largely Swiss but with North Germans, Danes, Thuringians, and others also. The result was early abandonment of German. The German Presbyterian Church seems to have had its beginnings before 1875. It ceased all services about 1948. No German inscriptions are found in its cemetery. There were no German services after 1910, perhaps none much earlier. An informant of 1956 born there in 1906 of German parentage (one grandfather was a minister in the church) affirmed there were no Swiss in the church, although a number of persons buried in the cemetery and resident in the township in 1885 were born in Switzerland. Adults were not speaking German to children by 1900, but until the First World War those born before 1890 were still using it with each other. Adolph Roenigkh author of the Pioneer History of Kansas is buried in this cemetery and his extended family are bound up with its history/r 159ff.

Swedesburg Swedes (Hi-c, Area B). The Swedish landholdings and the original sites of the Swedish churches were as Volume I (100) shows in the north central part of the county; as time went on, Clay Center developed as an urban center of the Swedes. The Swedish Mission church was moved into town in 1949; no Swedish services occurred later. The Augustana Lutheran Church still had its services in the country in 1964; the membership had sunk from 224 in 1906 to 153 in 1950. The Swedish Baptists, first organized

in 1881 built their church in town in 1884; it was in its last struggles in 1925. Lovene records: "As so many of our people have united with the American Baptists, the Swedish work has been greatly hindered. . . . The older people get discouraged when their children identify themselves with American Churches" lv166. In 1950 young men of Swedish background with Baptist relatives had never heard of a Swedish Baptist Church. In the Lutheran Church the linguistic trends are indicated by certain items in the church library. An English hymnal of 1901 has notes in Swedish in it. For 1904 English supplementary teacher's lessons had been used. In 1909 a bilingual Sunday School Book showed wear only in the English half. Notes were in English. The cemetery had no inscriptions in Swedish later than 1913, there was one for 1912, six in the decade 1900-9, four in the 1890's, one of 1876. English appeared in 1877 and was always dominant. But regular weekly services in Swedish continued until about 1938; they ceased altogether in 1944. The older generation in the country were reported as still speaking Swedish in 1949. The young were deserting Swedish by 1900, though children a few years earlier went to school ignorant of English. Young parents shifted from using Swedish to their children by 1909. In 1964 Swedish Mission classes for old people used English, but an occasional word in Swedish was introduced for emphasis.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Those Born in
Sweden and Resident in Garfield Township in 1925

1864-9	8	1887-91	5
1870-2	8	1899	1
1877	1	1910	1
1880-5	20	1923	1

East Border Germans (Mid-1, Area C) are reported to have been quite loyal to German throughout the length of their domain. The most important cultural center was the Ebenezer German Methodist church, organized in 1876. Their 75th anniversary booklet said: "For forty years the German language was used exclusively in all services. Then for a number of years half of the services were conducted in the German and half in the English language. And finally only the English language was used." A long-time member dated the abandonment of German as 1943. A Sunday School opened in 1902 was in German. The church was one of the few remaining when the German conference was liquidated after 1927. The percentage of German inscriptions in the cemetery is low for early dates but long persistent.

Language of Inscriptions in Ebenezer Cemetery

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1874-9	4	1	20%
1880-9	17	5	23%
1890-9	19	4	18%
1900-9	22	8	27%
1910-9	28	1	4%
1920-9	18	2	10%
1930-9	19	4	18%

None later.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Those Born in
Germany and Resident in Highland Township in 1925

1863-5	2	1893	4
1874	6	1898-1903	5
1880-7	18	1923	1

1901
151

Clay Center Germans (Mid-m, Area D), though scattered in town and country, these Germans were quite conservative of their language. The Lutheran Church (Mo. Synod) organized a congregation in 1884 south of Clay Center. Between 1910 and 1915 a town congregation was established. The two were combined in 1947. Because the old retired to town, the members of the town congregation were then more conservative of German than those in the country. German persisted in services until 1941 and in 1949 devotions in German were still going on. Family use of German had then disappeared even among the old, but occasional use of German as a means of announcing kindred spirit had existed shortly before. Both the Germans of Clay Center and other stocks there and in the neighborhood considered certain members of this group the most linguistically conservative in the county .

Clay South Border Germans (Low-w, Area E) were not all conservative of German. Free-thinkers were in this area numerous and active /pz 236. The Evangelical Association (EUB) which was active in this area was also split by schism. Social unity was limited, but the group at Industry, while rarely knowing German in 1953, began as a group that was quite German in the late 1880's, and the "language was German there for a long time."

48.15 CLOUD COUNTY P7

See Settlement Histories for Aurora-Clyde Canadian French (Ultra Hi, Area E).

Jamestown Danes (Mid-l, Area A) among the first in the area and ultimately displacing most others, developed two cultural institutions, the Saron Danish Baptist Church and a Danish Lutheran organization. In 1905 the latter had no church building, but had a cemetery; the census then assigned to the Lutherans 75 members. A building was soon erected but regular

services ended about 1914; there were special services as late as 1933. The census recorded the Saron Baptists as having 55 members in 1915 and did not show earlier memberships. Preaching in Danish at the Baptist church ended in 1905 by the will of the minister. Children born about 1900 learned a little Danish, but only from their grandparents; their parents were addressing each other in English. Old ladies who had not taken the trouble to learn English were the objects of mild scorn in the 1920's, but some use of Danish among the old continued for a time.

Sibley Swedes (Mid-m, Area B) included among pioneers of 1869-70 many Swedish Baptists "who hailed from Hafdhem, Gottland"/lv25. They had become Baptists in Gotland. Their pastor from 1898 to 1909 was one of their own number, J. A. Huggerth. They therefore had more unity and tendency to conserve Swedish than others. They had a Swedish School for some time. They built churches both in town and north of the river in 1878. Union with the American Baptists in 1924 was a merger of equals, but use of Swedish in services thereafter was precluded. There was also a Lutheran Church organized in 1881 /ot271, built in 1888 near the north county line, in which confirmations in Swedish went on until 1912 or 1913. The state censuses assigned it a membership of 63 in 1895, of 25 in 1905, and recorded only the existence of a building in 1915. The Augustana parochial report of 1906 /ot 296 recorded 43 communicant members and 60 souls. These reports differ, but no great strength appears in either. Governor (later Senator) Frank Carlson was one of the Concordia Swedes. A newspaper story of 1949 made much of his knowledge of Swedish (K.C. Star, 1Apr.1949).

Concordia French (Mid-n, Area C), Summit Township French (Low-x, Area D) have been treated in the Settlement History of the Aurora-Clyde French.

French from France were part of these two groups, but their behavior in Concordia is inseparable from that of the Canadians, and south of Jamestown except as supported by the Canadians they were not numerous enough to resist Eng-lizing pressure.

Rice Belgian French (Mid-n, Area F). Protestant Belgians are rare whether French or Flemish. The Rice settlers were mainly from a small group of Protestants near Liege; at least one was ^{from} Tirlemont (Tienen), midway between Brussels and Liege. Some had been earlier at Braidwood, Illinois, (61, 156) about 15 air miles northwest of Kankakee, definitely outside the Canadian area there. The immigrants spoke French with each other, but their children while growing up began using English to each other. They "did not care for French." See also Aurora-Clyde Settlement History.

Huscher Germans (Low-x, Area G). The cultural center is an Evangelical (EUB) Church. German had disappeared from its services at least by the time of the First World War. The original stock was reinforced by a number of families from Leonardville who arrived about 1920. The older members of this latter group spoke German with each other sometimes, but their children learned none. The children of families of the original stock born about 1930 never heard German in the community.

Ames Germans (Low-x, Area H). In 1860/ch03 William Czapansky from Wisconsin (b. Germany, gf. Russian) settled at the focus, Moses Heller and sons lived across river with a post office/ag78. The Czapanskys are among the first permanent settlers in the county. They have remained an important family. In 1864 besides two Czapansky families, the families of Z. Swerengen and Fenski were there/kcl6:590. In 1870 there were 8 families including as

permanent residents Goerings and Urbans and Summerfeld. Lachenmaiers soon arrived, probably late in the year. At this point the growth of the settlement was throttled by the influx of

other settlers into the river valley and of the French to the South. Later arrivals were the Mittelstaedts (1882) and the Goernandts. Only the Urbans were Catholics and the others were separated from most of their neighbors by religion as well as language. No unifying social institution has existed, but nearly all deceased are in the same cemetery (Pleasant View). German was never used enough to attract public attention but children in the Goernandt family b. ca. 1920 learned German.

Glasco Germans (Low-x, Area I). The most important German institution has been St. Paul's Church. Germans met for worship before 1876, became organized after a year as a Lutheran group and entered the Kansas Synod (ULC, later LCA) in 1893. In 1907 the services were alternately in German and English /ot88, and German services continued till the First World War. As shown by the censuses membership was

1895	75
1905	120
1925	125

The shift in the church records from German to English occurred as follows: Baptismal 1907, marriage 1908, burial 1917, Young People's 1907, accounts 1907. In the 1940's individuals with births recorded in German found consulting the record difficult. On Swedes in this area see Ottawa County.

Gridley-Lamont Swiss Germans (Mid-k, Area A)

In 1875 there were no persons born on the continent of Europe living in the area occupied by the Gridley-Lamont Swiss Germans. They appeared the next year. In August and September of 1876 the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad issued deeds to a number of those whose surnames appear on tombstones in the Apostolic Christian cemeteries (examples Christian Bahr, see below, Friedrich Moser, 1826-1904, Daniel Riggenschach--only female Riggenschachs have inscriptions). "Rev. Phillip Wenger, farmer, Section 25 [-22-12], P.O. Shell Rock, is a native of Baden, Germany, and came to the United States in 1854, locating upon a farm in Tazewell county, Illinois [61,153], from whence he removed to his present location in 1877. . . . He was one of the organizers and is pastor of the Apostolic Christian Church. The society numbers about 100 members, and in 1881 a church was built in this township . . . In addition Elder Joseph Huber has another charge ten miles east of this." So says the Andreas-Cutler History in 1883. Wenger's church in the west was in Shell Rock Township in northeastern Greenwood County, and Huber's church in the east was in southwestern Coffey County (Liberty Township). Here were two nuclei of Apostolic Christian settlement which were already parts of one colony, then somewhat scattered, soon to become solid by taking over most of the intervening farms. Phillip Wenger disappeared from the colony shortly, for he is not in the 1885 census of the area, nor buried in its cemeteries, but the notice above furnishes the only documentary testimony as to the foundation of the churches in question. Evidence of the presence of a third nucleus of settlers is provided by the 1878 Coffey County Platbook. In the four farther southwestern sections of land in that county there was a knot of Apostolic Christians most of whom are buried in the western cemetery,^{fn}

^{fn}The two early church buildings were about equi-distant from this group, one was to the north, the other to the northwest. Besides Bahr the 1878 landowners were S. Burkhard, A. Demler, H. Jager, F. Moser, D. Rickenback, G. Suter, C. Wagler. These people were Swiss, except that Bahr and Jager were Germans, Wagler an Alsatian. The predominance of the Swiss probably explains adherence to the west.

but also C. Bahr mentioned below as identified with the east. This south-east group held services but did not build a church. Wenger was among the early arrivals. Other early comers were: In the West: Andrew Imthurn, Swiss, (1837-1916) here 1876 (d22) with 4 children from Ohio. Jacob Schneider, Swiss, (1837-1907) here 1878 (d22) with 3 children from Illinois. Michael Sauder, German, (1834-1896) here 1878 (d22) with 8 children from Illinois. George Storrer, Swiss, (1847-1925) here by 1878 with one child born 1874 in Ohio, 6 by 1885. John Fankhauser, Swiss, (1818-1884) here 1879 (d22) with 7 children from Ohio. Gottlieb Ott, wife Anna Storrer, Swiss, (1849-1932; 1854-1938) here by 1879 with 2 children from Ohio. In the east, Joseph Huber, German, (1838-1917) here 1878 had 4 children by 1885, oldest born Germany 1873. Christian Bahr, German, (1849-1922) here 1876 had 3 children by 1885, two oldest born in Illinois in 1875 and 1876. Nicholas Isch, Swiss, (1836-1915) here by 1879 had 9 children by 1885, 7 oldest born in Illinois between 1864 and 1877. Mathias Ott, Alsatian German, (1849-1929) here probably by 1876, at least by 1879, had 5 children by 1885 all born in Kansas of Mary, born in Ohio.

These ten immigrants have left many descendants in the community among whom are men of influence. They were not the first arrivals in the district. There were settlers from other stocks along the Verdigris River as early as 1857, and Solomon Phenix took a farm on the section where Wenger later located in 1863, but settlement was in general confined to the river valley until about the time the Apostolic Christians arrived,^{fn}

^{fn}It is possible the Apostolic Christians were attracted to this area by Penn-Germans who settled in Liberty Township somewhat earlier. The 1875 census shows four families from Ohio with typical Penn-German names (Shobe, Stucky, Provenmire, Metsler). The Shobes had arrived by 1876. The stock was sufficiently important to found in 1889 a Brethren church (Gravel Hill) very near the Apostolic Christian east focus. Intermarriage with this group seems to have begun late. The Knapps, here by 1873 were also probably of this stock, and in their case must have intermarried early, for George (1867-1943) and Chris (1869-1939) are buried in the Apostolic cemetery. There were also four families with names of similar origin in Madison Township just to the west. Three of their heads have left biographies in the Andreas-Cutler history. Samuel Brumbaugh who came to Kansas in 1870 proclaims himself to be "a descendant of the old Pennsylvania Dutch settlers" born and reared in Ohio, but in Miami County--not an Apostolic center. Jacob Holderman was also born in the wrong part of Ohio (Montgomery County). He spent many years in Illinois without saying where. He came to Greenwood County in 1867. Amos Milner was from Hancock County, Indiana, arrived here 1868. James Lipsey born in Michigan, wife born in Pennsylvania, came after 1872.

largely because the area was solidly railway land belonging to the M. K. and T., but also doubtless because it was cattle country with little appeal to farmers not interested in beef or dairying.

The immigrants listed above show a preponderance of Germans in the east and of Swiss in the west. This continued to be the case as the statistics for 1885, 1895 and 1925 quoted below for the two most important townships make clear:

In East

	German		Swiss		French		Russian	
Liberty Twp (Coffey Co)	fb	stock at home	fb	stock at home	fb	stock at home	fb	stock at home
1885	46	69	16	29	4	12		
1895	61	110	25	61	1	1	10	13
1925	27		4		0		21	

In West

Shell Rock Twp (Greenwood Co.)								
1885	22	43	37	76	4			
1895	17	54	60	145	5	10	2	
1925	4		13		1		0	

By 1892, probably several years after 1885^{fn}

^{fn}The 1885 census shows no Russians. For the Krafts, who arrived in the US in 1876 as small children and here in 1885, see below. Henry Reisbig (1848-1892) is buried in the Apostolic Christian Cemetery, and was therefore at Gridley by 1892. Another Henry Reisbig (1872-1951) and wife Anna (1877-1949) arrived in the US according to the 1925 census in 1892. Jacob Neu was in Nebraska from 1891 till ca. 1921. John and Mary Strauch may have come here directly in 1891, but George Strauch did not reach the US till 1901.

there appeared a new element in the population, which grew for some time, Russian Germans. They were from the Volga area. The Germans were from the South, Wurtembergers and Alsatians mostly, and since the Volgans had come in the eighteenth century mostly from that part of Germany, the dialects of all these people were near enough akin to make possible communication in German between the speakers, but enough different so that the tendency to use English as lingua franca, particularly when parents were of different origins, was great.

The quoted census data show that German immigration in the west was complete by 1885 and continued in the east for some time afterward. Swiss immigration in the east continued in the same manner, while in the west a very considerable Swiss element was added later.

The years of arrival recorded for the 1925 immigrants bear out what is said above. Arrivals before 1880 are not considered here because the immigrants did not then come directly to Kansas.

In Shell Rock township in the west four of these people had arrived from Switzerland, in 1884, one each in 1887, 1890, 1893. None of the Germans there arrived after 1880. In Liberty township in the east, there was one arrival each in 1884, 1886, 1888 from Switzerland. Eleven persons arrived from Germany between 1880 and 1885, one each in 1886, 1887, 1897, and 1899. Among immigrants from Russia were two persons, John and Henry Kraft (see below), who arrived in 1876, i.e., with the first great wave of

immigration from the Volga. Four persons had arrived from Russia in 1891 and 1892, two in 1902 and 1903, 15 between 1910 and 1913 mostly in 1912, and four in 1921 and 1922, that is, in harmony with other waves of immigration of Germans from Russia. They seem to have been readily accepted from very early, for in 1899 John Kraft married Lydia Bahr, born 1881, a daughter of Christian. John Kraft (1875-1951) and Henry Kraft (1871-1950) "no relations" were born on the Volga, and were brought to Kansas in 1876. Their families lived first in Rush County and at Marion. They came to Gridley in 1885. Whether or not the Russians were Apostolic Christians before reaching Gridley, representatives of most of the Russian families who are recorded in the 1925 census are buried in the church's cemetery. This late arriving element was undoubtedly an important force for linguistic conservatism.

The two states in this country from which the Apostolic Christians came to the area were, especially for the west, Ohio, and, most important for the east, Illinois. In Illinois Wenger came from near Peoria in Tazewell County (61,153) and Bahr originally from Cissna Park in Iroquois County (61,156). He too was later in Tazewell County at Tremont where he married. Others were from the county next north, Woodford Co. These counties all remain important Apostolic Christian districts, and presumably the other Illinois families came from there too. The Fankhausers came from Sardis in Monroe County (62-279) on the Ohio River, 40 miles downstream from Wheeling. It is comparatively small among Ohio settlements, and the only one in the south; the others are strung across northern Ohio. Since the oldest Apostolic Christian Church in the United States was founded in New York state in 1847, none of the source settlements had very old churches when the Gridley-Lamont settlement was founded, and the churches were founded by newly arrived immigrants. If wives were of the same stock as their husbands, which in the

1880's was almost certain, the parent settlements in Ohio were older than the churches (born in Ohio were Susan Kutzli, 1835-1912; Mary Leu, 1840-1904; Lydia Winzeler 1848-1918; Elizabeth Storrer, George's wife, 1853-1927).

Within the State of Kansas the relationships with the other important Apostolic Christian settlement at Bern and Sabetha have been close. Relatives live in both communities, and the ties that bind them to more eastern groups, particularly those in Illinois are identical. Lawrence Strahm, for instance, reared at Sabetha, is a minister and lumberman at Gridley. Lewis Bahr, Christian's son, is important at Sabetha.

Though the hamlet of Lamont was from its earliest days closely identified with the Apostolic Christian settlement, it never had anything approaching status as an urban center for these people. The town was not founded until the Missouri Pacific Railway built its line through in 1887 or 1888. Its antecedent was the Shell Rock post office (on 36-22-12) on the Verdigris River some 2 miles southwest of Lamont. The Apostolic Christian Church is at neither point, but somewhat east and south. Lamont's population in 1920 was 65, in 1940 it was 50. Henry Ott, of Apostolic Christian stock, was the merchant and postmaster, in 1949.

Gridley was a post office by 1885, superseding Bangor which had existed a decade before.

^{fn} A letter in Conway's Welsh in America, p. 142, mentions Bangor, Kansas, as a Welsh community. In 1895 the number of those born in Wales in this township was 4. The land here was owned solidly, not every other section, by the MK&T Railroad, and the name Bangor (derived from Bangor in northwest Wales) indicates that this railroad was attempting to establish a settlement here to compete with the Santa Fe's Arvonia and the Kansas Pacific's Bala. In 1895 there were more immigrants from the British Isles here (27) than would usually be expected. Bangor existed as a post office from 1871 to 1886. The name of the first postmaster, Williams, implies a nascent Welsh settlement.

When a Santa Fe Railroad branch from Ottawa was built in 1887 the town was moved two miles north to the railway terminus. The Missouri Pacific line that created Lamont also had a station at Gridley. The move brought the town nearer the Apostolic Christian east focus, which is now represented by a cemetery located at about 3 air miles northwest of town (18-22-14). At first no Germans or Swiss lived in the town. It contained no foreign-born in 1895 when its population was 106. The spreading of the Apostolic landholdings was mostly to the east so that the town became engulfed, more and more a center for the group, and roughly half of its population is of this stock. In 1940 it had 418 inhabitants, 321 in 1960--not an important center, but since 1910 the east church has been in town.

From the beginning within the limits which their modest wealth allowed the Germans and Swiss were live stock raisers. The whole economy of the region is now keyed to cattle production. Such an occupation requires more contacts with the rest of the world than crop growing, and thus we may explain the fact that this Apostolic Christian community has been somewhat less conservative than the other important one in Kansas at Bern.

The Apostolic Christian Church has no professional pastors; instead each congregation has two or three local ministers. Preaching is therefore in the language of every day usage rather than that of literature, and reflects accurately the linguistic habits of the older members of the community. The ministers have come in part from the families already mentioned--Wenger, Huber, Fankhauser, Ott, Bahr, also Somerhalder, and others. In 1962 Samuel Anlicker had long been a minister at Lamont; Strahm at Gridley was a more recent comer. His colleague, Samuel Huber, was Joseph's grandson. Preaching in both

churches was always in German until the First World War, when the group suffered from much hostility with threats of church burning. Some preaching in German went on until about 1927. The group did not find the pressures of the Second World War disagreeable, but beginning in 1942 there was a relaxation of the old standards that ^{had} led to group isolation. Intermarriage with others had become common in the 1920's, but for some time the spouses were assimilated or the dissidents rejected. Beginning in 1942, however, the Apostolic Christians accepted others and were accepted, and the mores of the group became generally indistinguishable from those of their neighbors.

Use of German in the home varied considerably, but in Gridley and other frontier districts it was not much used in homes with growing children after 1918. In one Swiss family toward the edge of the west a son born in 1904 learned German, another born in 1921 never knew any, a third born between the two learned a little. In a family in the east where the father was Swiss and the mother German, German was little used. Their children born in the first decade of this century learned Swiss from others, however. In another family of the east with a Volgan father the children born before 1913 learned to read and write German.^{fn} The youngest born 1916 learned to speak German somewhat, but only because she was in frequent contact with grandparents. In general those born between 1914 and 1919 had linguistic accomplishments like hers. The habit of using German persisted a decade longer in the center of the area. When there were no children, German was not abandoned.

In 1942 three students with Welsh and English names, then aged twenty, reported from Madison that German was used habitually among the Apostolic Christian families. One specified: "Older members of family use mother

tongue, but not younger generation." In 1949 another student with a father who belonged to one of the Swiss German families and a mother of more varied origin also reported from Madison that German "has influenced the rural communities more than the town. A quite significant 'cultural lag' is evident in some farmers partly as a result of the foreign languages in the isolated families." The hostility toward the habits of the past here manifested is characteristic of a settlement where the use of foreign language has not receded far enough to become the object of nostalgia.

In the same year another student from Gridley, of Lyon County French background, said that occasionally there were young men his age who knew German, but that the language was never used in his hearing. Older informants then made similar reports, namely that only the older people spoke German, and then only when alone together. By 1962 German at Gridley had become so rare that no one used it habitually. Only the very old exchanged a few expressions.

^{fn}Among the Apostolic Christians the evidence of the cemetery inscriptions as to the identity of the language of record is of no value. Their evolution from no inscriptions at all to those as elaborate as their neighbors' was so slow that names and numerals only are the rule at least till English had become dominant.

the Hampden Colony, included Denecke and Dagenkal /a646. Father Paul Ponziglione served Catholics here in 1857 at the house of "Mr. Wiseler" /mo54. A Catholic parish was organized in 1871. The priests had German names through 1948. Two of the four natives of Germany recording their biographies in the Andreas Cutler History were Catholics. The Protestants tended toward Methodism. Bi-lingualism persisted long in certain German families. George and Mary Herr, born in 1844 and 1841 in Indiana, came to a farm some 4 air miles northeast of Burlington about 1880. They had a son Elmer, born in 1868, and he a son Walter, born in 1895. Walter understood German, but his son Elmer, born about 1920 did not. This family was Methodist through the four generations.

Aliceville Germans (Low-x, Area C). Settlement by Germans on Crooked Creek began 1856 (Stoltzing /a663, ag78, earliest others 1855). Wm. Grobenguesser, a Lutheran, came 1857 /a664; by 1884 he gave a cemetery on s31-21-17 where most of the Germans are buried. The Germans increased (among others Hildebrand possibly by 1867, Volland by 1879); these but not all others were Lutherans (non-Lutheran ex.: Isenberger, here 1867). No cultural center developed till St. John's Lutheran Church, Mo. Synod was organized in 1906. Lutheran, Mo. Synod, circuit preaching had begun by 1895; preaching in early years partly English. By 1906 young men from the Bremen-Horseshoe Hanoverians (Marshall A) had moved in, notably Herman Stohs, b. 1884; the immigration from there continued (among others True, 1913, Krueger 1917, Crome, Gleue, Schotte). Church became strong toward 1914; German school and exclusively German preaching from this period till 1918; in 1920 English preaching there was once a month; church records in German through twenties; church constitution translated into English in early thirties; services half-English 1938-1941; German services abandoned December, 1941; in 1948 260 souls. There were a half-dozen families using German in 1949.

Star Township French (Lowest). ^{Area D} See /tk170.

48.17 COMANCHE COUNTY N28s. See Vol. I, 310.

48.18 COWLEY COUNTY P24. See Vol. I, 311; for Mexicans see #47.71 and #47.99.

48.19 CRAWFORD COUNTY E25

See Settlement Histories for Crawford-Cherokee Mining District (Super, Area D)

Farlington Swedes (Low-x, Area A). The landholdings shown in Volume I should be extended very materially to the northeast to include the holdings of the descendants of Nels Smith (1840-1916). He arrived in this area 1868 about five years after emigration from Sweden. His landholdings here and elsewhere became immense and wealth in cattle so great that he was reputed a millionaire by the beginning of the twentieth century. Neither he nor any of the other immigrants transmitted their language to the next generation. They maintained some connection with the Savonsburg Swedes. Ott /ot211 and Strödda Drag /st252 speak of Lutheran and Mission Covenant activities there, but no church developed.

Hepler-Brazilton Germans (Mid-1, Area B). This is a Lutheran, Missouri Synod, settlement, which became strong with the coming of a group of Hanoverians from the Cole Camp area in Missouri (60-32). The year of arrival in the United States of persons born in Germany and resident in Walnut Township in 1925 was as follows:

1855-1861	4	1885-8	7
1872	3	1890	1
1875-6	2	1896-8	3
1880	1	1908	1
		1913	1

In 1906 the erection of a new Hepler rural church was commemorated with a cornerstone in German. Confirmations in German went on till 1918. The last regular service in German at the rural church, following a twice-a-month régime lasting at least seven years, was preached in 1948, in the

1952

church in Brazilton in 1941. The rural church shifted its records from German to English as follows: baptismal between 1919 and 1925, communicant 1923-6, death 1922-3. A cause of death was recorded in English in 1905. After 1920 there are no inscriptions in German in the Hepler Missouri Lutheran Cemetery. For those buried before 1920 the statistics for inscriptions are:

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1890-99	9	5	36%
1900-09	4	3	43%
1910-19	21	3	13%
1920-29	21	2 (both 1920)	8%
later			0%

Three tombstones are noteworthy:

1. Mixed English and German: "Gabriel Henry son of Peter and Kathrina Wintjen Geboren 10 June 1872 Gestorben den 16 Dec. 1882 10 yr. 6 mo. Gd."

This is followed by some verse in German. The date is early for a mixed inscription. Furthermore, this is the only stone containing German where the names are largely non-German.

2. Mixed English and German: "Gustav E. son of G. and A. Steffan Aug. 26, 1888 May 16, 1913." There follows the first verse of Psalm 23 in German. Here, again, the date is significant, for the years following 1913 generally show a decided attempt to break more and more away from German. The reasons are obvious.

3. All German: "Jagels Heinrich A. Jagels Geb. 18 Aug. 1852 Gest. 9 Jan. 1920 Rebecca Jagels Geb. 31 Jan. 1852 Gest. 17 Feb. 1920." There follows the quotation of a verse from the Bible. This is a good

example of the persistence of German in certain regions until rather advanced dates.

The need for pastoral services in German with the old ended for both town and country in 1948.

All the linguistic data cited above apply to the use of standard German. In 1964 there were a few still using Low German in communicating with each other.

Greenbush French (Lowest, Area C), belong to a parish that is only partly of French stock. After the initial start of 1868, the primary settlement (Laforge, Lalleman) was by a group of 35 who came here in 1876 from Lee Center, Ill. in Dixon County (61-111) near the Rock River 90 miles west of Chicago. They came originally from Fresse not far from the Swiss border. In 1952 there were two or three sons of immigrants still able to speak French, sometimes talking together after church. There were also two French Canadian brothers who behaved similarly; they had come to Kansas from Assumption in Central Illinois.

Pittsburg Rural Germans (Mid, Crawford E)

Special Bibliog:

H - Pittsburg Headlight - articles in celebration of the semi-centennial of Pittsburg - 1926 (On a German newspaper in 1892 see #41.50)

The Pittsburg Rural Germans were not completely agricultural, but their occupational connection with coal mining was minor, and their cultural isolation from the great mass of continental Europeans in the adjacent mining district was great; thus they deserve separate consideration. "In 1866, three German Lutheran families from Lafayette County, Missouri, settled on Cow Creek one mile east and three miles south of the present city of Pittsburg. They were joined the next year by four families from the same place"/cp38. This statement is essentially accurate. The census of 1870 lists fourteen families with heads born in Germany in Baker Township. The birthplaces of children or spouses indicate that 5 came from Missouri, 4 from Illinois, one each from three other states, and a family and a single man from Hanover. Only those from Missouri, Hanover, and Ohio have members of their families buried in the German Lutheran cemetery. Most of the others were probably in parts of the township outside the settlement. Biographies in the Andreas-Cutler history/all44-1146 say that the Lutherans, John Kahrs, (b. 1836), John Meyer (1841-1907), and John Schnackenberg (b. 1839) arrived in 1868, and William Minecey (b. 1834), in 1869. Henry L. (b. 1810) and Henry G. (b. 1833) Koopman could have arrived by 1866. Their youngest children born outside of Kansas were three years old, one born in Missouri, the other in Hanover. The youngest child of Andrew Michels (1820-1898) was born in Ohio and was seven. He, though a Bavarian unlike the others, is buried with the Missouri Lutherans.

In Missouri Lafayette County (60,11) with its important Missouri Lutheran center, Concordia, furnished part of the early contingent of settlers,

but some of them came from Concordia's parent settlement in the neighborhood of Cole Camp (in Benton County, 60-32). By their origins the Pittsburg Rural Germans are closely linked with the Block Germans in Miami County and with the Brazilton-Hepler Germans, also in Crawford County. These people were almost all Hanoverians; from very early the settlement was not solidly Lutheran,

fnJ. H. Rodenburg, a Hanoverian b. 1843, was a Baptist, probably because of his wife, Mary Jane Robb, whom he married in 1873, five years after settling in the neighborhood. He became a county commissioner/all46. Mrs. Minecey was a Rodenburg/all46. Louis Butzer b. 1837 in the U.S., married in Illinois Clara Light, Prussian born; they came to Baker Township in 1870.

but so nearly so that we shall follow its fortunes by means of the Lutherans.

The first of the German group settled on Cherokee neutral lands that were being disputed between the railroads and the "Leaguers." The bitterness was such that the Leaguers were still resistant when in 1876 the little railroad that was to create Pittsburg, the Girard-Joplin line, was built through.

J. H. Rodenburg and John Schnackenberg cooperated with the promoters.

The fortunes of the Germans were, though most remained rural, closely bound up with the industries of the new town. Schnackenberg laid out east Pittsburg and was a partner in a brick business/all48. By 1880 Henry Alterman, b. 1851 in Prussia, a son-in-law of Kahrs, was working in Lanyon's smelter; an older Henry, b. 1814, was a retired farmer living in town. Nine other Germans (out of 11 German families) in the village of Pittsburg were then smeltermen; these men cannot definitely be connected with the Lutherans, they came to Pittsburg from Illinois and originated in various parts of Germany. The Germans in Baker Township at that time had no connection with the coal mines. Connections with brick making and smelting and with railroad work went on along with the agricultural interests. Eventually a number of mining families

were in the group. The industrial occupations grew and waned, but the agricultural element with its essentially Hanoverian background remained constant.

Immigration by way of Missouri continued in the rural area and was reinforced by a number of arrivals directly from Hanover. The early 1880's saw the greatest number of German immigrants arrive.

Year of Arrival in the United States from Germany of Persons Living
in Baker Township in 1925

Before 1880	7	1890-1901	8
1880-1884	24	After 1901	0
1885-1889	11		

The Lutherans organized Zion Lutheran Church in 1876, doubtless after a period of services in homes. The organizing minister was Henry Luecker, and he remained the pastor of the congregation until after 1890. His successor was H. Hansen, who served until 1910. Otto Matuschka, the third pastor, was the incumbent until 1940 or 1941. These long pastorates bespeak steadiness and solidity in contrast to the seething character of the mining community surrounding the Hanoverians. The size of the church membership indicates the same conservative qualities.

Zion Lutheran Church, Pittsburg
~~Church Membership of the Rural Germans~~

1884 - 255	1900 - 315	1916 - 299
1890 - 280	1906 - 335	1948 - 270
1895 - 334	1910 - 350	

The first church building was constructed just to the southeast of Pittsburg where the cemetery is located (see maps of Vol. I). In 1889 the congregation began to worship a half mile farther north /H., presumably because part of the membership lived near their industrial employment in East Town. In the 1940's Zion Church was in a more fashionable location on South Broadway, Pittsburg's north-south artery. All services were in German until 1910 when Pastor Matuschka introduced some English. German did not disappear completely from services until 1942 when his pastorate had closed.

Zion Lutheran instituted a school as soon as the congregation was organized in 1876. Instruction was conducted in German till the first World

1955

War. In the 1890's it was large enough to require two teachers including the pastor. In 1916 there were 50 pupils and the pastor was the only teacher.

Zion School Attendance

1890 - 54

1900 - 58

1910 - 55

1895 - 70

1906 - 38

1916 - 50

As in most communities the course of Lutheranism was disturbed by doctrinal divisions, and in 1885 St. John's Church of the Iowa Synod, later the American Lutheran Church, was organized. John Ahrens, born 1835, and John Jacobs, born 1855, were prominent early members. /cpl41 They belonged to the rural community but the church locations indicate a larger proportion of urban members than in Zion Church. Services in German went on until about 1930. In 1950 there were 167 members, almost none of them lived in the country. The church maintained a school from 1885 to 1895 /cpl14 with an attendance of from 15 to 29.

In both churches in 1950 some pastoral work among the very old was done in German, less at St. John's than at Zion. None except the very old used German, and few born after 1905 were capable of using it. Usage in cemetery inscriptions shows the same zeal for German up until 1910 but a much more sudden falling away thereafter.

1926
20

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Zion Cemetery, Pittsburg, Kansas

	English	German	% of German
1870-9	1	0	0%
1880-9	4	7	64%
1890-9	2	20	91%
1900-9	9	15	63%
1910-9	15	7	32%

one German later, in 1935

In the first decade of a settlement English is frequent; here it is somewhat more frequent than usual, probably because the first arrivals had been long in Missouri.

48.20 DECATUR COUNTY F3

Oberlin and Vicinity Polyglot (Lowest, Area A). Oberlin early received representatives of all the stocks establishing settlements in the county, Reich Catholic Germans, Hungarian Protestant Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, and Czechs. There were also in town a group of Danes. Both by retirements and by transfer of active men from rural to town life it received additional increments from the established settlements and from the kindred settlements in eastern Rawlins County. The result promoted Engl-izing, though among the retired use of their particular f-lang sometimes persisted in their homes.

Kanona Norwegians (Lowest, Area B). A statement by a close neighbor (aged 20) of 1947 reads: "This settlement, always very small, can properly be called non-existent now, as far as language goes. There were about five or six families which originally settled south of Kanona. Evidently Norwegian was no longer spoken after the first generation died."

Jennings Czechs (Mid-n, Area C). The settlement developed between 1873 and 1879* (Gilek, Rohan 1873; Steffen 1876; Tacha, Machart, Kump, Kolsky 1878, Kaspar 1879). Some came from Humboldt in southeastern Nebraska, some from near Winona, Minnesota, one at least from Iowa, one from Franklin, Nebraska, not far from the border above Athol, Kansas. There was Catholic preaching for a while, but a parish was never established; the devout were among those poorly regarded for other reasons. The ZCBI lodge was strong, and constructed a hall by the late 1890's. The weekly dances of the early days had been much reduced in number by the 1950's in response to a general opinion that they were sometimes too tumultuous. But the spirit for social enterprises involving the whole group persisted. One manifestation thriving in 1967 was a July Bohemian celebration attracting visitors in great numbers. In 1949 few people under fifty retained any real proficiency in Bohemian. Children unable to speak English in 1910 were then so rusty in Czech as to avoid it. However, the ZCBI transacted its business in Czech until almost that date. By 1967 with the revival of pride in the whole Czech heritage, the language was looked on with respect. At rehearsals for the Kolacy Festival "they were kidding each other in Bohemian," said an outsider called in as a musical expert. For that celebration Joe Flaska told a story in Czech, which his wife translated "for the general public."

**"A Bohemian colony arrived in Decatur County from near Omaha, Nebraska, in the spring of 1873" /wyy, citing Oberlin Times, 14 October 1909. The Jennings settlement must be meant.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Czech National (Big Timber) Cemetery,
Jennings, Kans.

	<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>% of Czech</u>
1888-1899	11	3	21%
1900-09	13	2	15%
1910-19	13	2	15%
1920-29	24	4	14%
1930-39	11	2	15%

None later except one of 1950

Lund Swedes (Mid-n, Area D) arrived by about 1874 (Jaderborg). Some Swedes here are related to those at Enterprise (Dickinson E). The Mission Covenant church was organized in 1880. Preaching in English began about 1920 and complete transfer to English took place by 1930. The last confirmation in Swedish was about 1918. In 1952 there were still two persons born about 1932 able to speak Swedish, but in general the young only understood, often vaguely.

Leoville-Dresden Germans (Mid-m, Area E). The Leoville community is Catholic and it has spread so as to possess most of the land originally belonging to the small and rather unorganized Dresden group. Intermarriage has been common with absorption into the Catholic group. The observations on Leoville therefore apply to Dresden also. Leoville has spread as much in other directions. An early group came from the neighborhood of Bellevue, Iowa (61-37), south of Dubuque. This was a Luxemburger community, and there were many Luxemburgers at Leoville beginning in 1885. Other increments of population came from all directions, a number from some one community in Nebraska (early), a number from some place in eastern Kansas (one name in this category is Kleinsorge, and a Kleinsorge lived first at Scipio, Anderson A, and then at Westphalia), Geo Robben, who had 17

children, came from Walker (Ellis C) by way of Angelus (Sheridan D),
1915, a number of families were early at Goodland (Sherman B), 1900-1902.
Until the First World War there was a sermon in English only once a month,
afterward no German. In 1952 the parents of children in school used no German.
These adults were able to speak German, but seldom did. The last living who
were barely able to understand English were the Ritters (he died ca. 1951
aged 92).

48.21 DICKINSON COUNTY P12

Abilene (no rating, Dickinson I, 5 and IV)

(Laid out 1860; cow town period 1867-1872. Favored retirement spot for all, including for-lings)

Important center for Penn-German settlements nearby. All such settlements in Dickinson County are here discussed. First Dunkard settler (2 mi. se) Humbarger 1861; Dunkard Church (officially Church of the Brethren) organized 1869. Eventually the most important center of the Abilene church was at Navarre (something more than a township west of Point 9 on Map I, shown on Map IV about 2 miles south of its real position). In 1889 a church house was built there, and at present the congregation is named Navarre, 147 members in 1955. In 1890 Holland church house (near Point 10) was built; 60 attended there in 1922, and 25 in Abilene. In 1880 the Buckeye or Chapman Creek church was founded for the territory north of Abilene (building northeast of Point A); 60 members in 1955, about 100 in 1890.

The River Brethren, officially Brethren in Christ, were geographically split in the same way by the Smoky Hill Valley which was taken up very early by other settlers. The River Brethren (an important leader Jacob Engel) came as a body: "On Friday, March 28, 1879, the first company arrived in Abilene, which consisted of thirty persons from Frederick County, Md., and on Saturday morning upward of 200 arrived from Lancaster, Cumberland, Dauphin, Lebanon and Franklin counties, Pa. 63, 33, 28, 31, 32, 27 " /a686. Those who settled to the south built a church at Belle Springs (on Map IV) which flourished, and a smaller one at Newburn near Point 10, but their former attenders now worship in Abilene, 86 in Sunday School in 1954. A

group much farther south built the church at Rosebank (point d), 98 in Sunday School in 1954. They were talking German with their neighbors as late as 1907. North of Abilene church houses were built called Bethel (59 in Sunday School in 1954, near Point 4) and Zion (113, Point a). All these groups were nearly the same in characteristics, interchanged population readily, and enough youths escaped to the "world" so that their numbers did not increase and influences from outside became even more pressing. The history of the family of Dwight Eisenhower, born 1890, will illustrate. His grandfather Jacob came with the migration of 1879. He preached regularly in Penn-German up into the childhood of Dwight. Dwight's father, David, who learned "Dutch", moved repeatedly until he permanently attached his very modest fortunes to the Belle Springs Creamery Company in 1892. The Creamery, closely connected with the River Brethren in origin, was early established in the town of Abilene, where Dwight grew up. He worked for the company himself almost until he entered West Point. But Abilene was homogeneously English speaking; thus while his connections with his ancestral culture were not severed, they were attenuated. There is no evidence that he knew any Penn-German, but his cousins did. To the south of the Smoky Hill Penn-German seems not to have persisted quite so long as to the north, but for the Penn-Germans as a whole, whether Dunkard or River Brethren, the critical date can be fixed at 1904. A resident of Navarre, Bishop R. I. Witter, born 1891, the son of Dwight's aunt, Mary Ann Eisenhower, "learned a little Dutch as a boy." This seems to be a minimal attainment for those his age, for the Bishop's daughter learned enough about the oldtimers' speech to recognize kindred dialects in Germany. To the north of the Smoky Hill evidence from several

21643
21A

-1048-

informants shows that Penn German was almost universally used until 1904 and that it was not abruptly dropped. Indeed, children born as late as 1935 have acquired a little in listening to conversations of their parents with old people or in absorbing the dialectal words mixed into English. As a retirement center, Abilene held old people of this stock capable of using Penn-German in 1953/f216.

Evangelical Association members, largely using English already and of Pennsylvania background, came into the Abilene neighborhood by 1883, church organized 1884. Five miles south there was a Lutheran group from Gettysburg, Pa., about 1885. In town C. H. Lebold, an ardent Lutheran, became a town promoter in 1869. Trinity (United) Lutheran Church organized 1870. There was also in 1908 a German Methodist congregation. See further/cr100; /ot 51, 122;/p2163.

Alida Germans (Mid-1, Dickinson A)

Special Bibliog.:

Various compositions by G. A. Read celebrating Gfeller family, 1853-1953, one in Junction City Union, 12 May 1953.

Settlement originally Swiss. First Swiss settler (also first for-ling and one of first in area) N. Schmutz, 1864/a, eight Swiss families in 1870 in Dickinson Co. portion of area (no other Ger-lings). In 1870 Evangelical Association (now EUB) activities began, center N. Schmutz (that year there was opposition from "another German church"); church organized 1872; eight charter members including two Stammers. About this time (at least by 1874) preachers more typically Swiss began to minister, Reformed from New Basel Swiss, and Presbyterian probably from Leonardville-Riley Germans. St. John's Reformed (now ER) organized 1875; 38 charter members including 5 Gfellers. More Swiss came, notably the Gfellers in 1872 (at Bensonville near Chicago

1853-1872; on this family see also Burns). But Germans began arriving; in 1895 the two elements were about equal in the community. Immigration, some direct from Europe, active till late 1880's, example Winteroth/ch93, from Hesse to Illinois 1850, Kansas 1883. Keen church rivalry; St. John's had more of the Swiss element and was more linguistically conservative. The Evangelical (EUB) Church (92 members in 1948) introduced English into services about 1900 and abandoned German in 1918; only three tombstone inscriptions in German -- last Lichtenhahn 1899; church records in English by 1899. At St. John's (96 members in 1950) not much English before 1918, German abandoned ca. 1930. Very early records in English, written by Schmidt, the supplying Presbyterian preacher. Constitution of 1881 in German, church building of that date. Vital records German till 1918, transitional till 1922, then English. A first history of congregation in German 1903, revised in German between 1914-1918. Tombstone record by decades:

	1870-9	1880-9	1890-9	1900-09	1910-9	1920-9	1930-9	
German	2	8	13	4	7	1	2	
English	1	2	2	9	12	40	21	none since
<hr/>								
% of Ger.	67%	80%	87%	31%	36%	2%	9%	

Last German inscription 1936, Albert Luthi to match wife Elisabeth's of 1902, shows desuetude of German by its ending: "Beg. (sic for Geb(oren) in Switzerland (sic, not Schweiz)."

Community tended to become English-speaking by 1900; conservatives delayed critical year till 1918; then German collapsed and regained no status despite early post-war efforts.

Upland Swedes (Low-y, Dickinson B) Swedish settlers by 1870 (Flodin, Olson/ch01.

For a small settlement, arrivals continued over a long period, ca. 20 yrs.

(example, Dahlstrom 1876, Peterson '87). No Swedish church. As a cultural institution there has been the Upland Mutual Insurance Company founded by Chas. Olson, but its Swedish character, never emphasized, has disappeared.

It served as an employment center, tending to keep the small group intact.

Mixed marriages early, but the few all Swedish families kept Swedish in use.

Critical year 1905.

20
Moonlight Germans (Lowest, Area C) Foreign-born Germans in this area have been present since 1872, and as individual families used German as late as 1950, but they have had no social cohesion. The neighborhood is to a large extent socially organized around church memberships, and the Germans have belonged to various denominations.

One church element of importance is that of the River Brethren; see Abilene. A critical date for the use of Penn German, 1904.

Enterprise Germans (Mid-m, Area D)

Special Bibliog.:

- Pe - Peterson, Ellen, A Kansan's Enterprise, Enterprise, 1957.
- Ne - Nelson, Edward G., The Company and the Community
- H - Havighurst, F. C., Social Development of Enterprise, Kansas.
Unpublished master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1919.

Enterprise did not officially come into being until 1873. Five years earlier C. Hoffman built a mill there, attracted by Loudon Falls on the Smoky Hill. In 1869, Senn and Ehram opened a store. These three Swiss were the only speakers of German in the area which had for some time been settled. Hoffman had arrived in the New Basel Swiss settlement a few miles to the southwest in 1860, and his brother-in-law Senn between 1862 and 1865; Ehram, who became another brother-in-law, came from Junction City to Enterprise in 1868. These names remained important in Enterprise, basing a period of prosperity on mills and machinery for mills/a 693 Pe, Ne. There is a certain amount of German in the correspondence dealing with them in the nineteenth century. About 1885 the town stabilized economically, did not lose its industrial and commercial establishments, but remained static enough so that it is a town of nostalgias. Most of the permanent inhabitants who came into the town after its organization were German and Swiss. One merchant, J. F. Staatz, from the Lower Lyon Creek Germans, came in 1873 after having lived among the Lyons Methodists since 1857/Pe, ch93. German Methodist services began at Hoffman's in 1868/Pe 85. A congregation was organized in 1873; it became the important church in Enterprise, important also in the West German Conference, which established there in the late 1890's the Enterprise Normal Academy and Business College. It was the successor to similar attempts of older origin. The academy sponsored Bible conferences from 1907 with delegates from German Methodists in Kansas. The Academy died within a score of years; the buildings were sold to the Seventh Day Adventists

(many of German origin in this sect too), who still maintain their own Academy there. In 1919 Havighurst said of the German Methodists who arrived early from Ohio (Hillscher, Willer, Dietrich, Erich) that they had been in the United States for some time. "They still spoke the German largely out of force of habit. They might even get the meaning of an English sermon, but...to pray to God in the English tongue was like speaking to a different God"/H 8. C. Hoffman's son, C. B., led a faction in the town hostile to churches, but the English Methodists too were irritated by the Germans. "Many of their members have felt that the German church should abandon the use of the German language and membership in a German Conference...The German Congregation [Havighurst says elsewhere (p. 52), in order to combat enticement of the young by the English Methodists] has had to allow English in its Epworth League and Sunday evening services and in most of the Sunday school classes"/H 28. Services at the German Methodist Church in German were not abandoned till it merged with the English Methodists in 1922. Feeling against the Germans, the Swiss included, ran high during the First World War, there were threats of dynamite and fire, and the German Methodist Church was painted yellow. "A Federal Detective called on the pastor of the German Methodist Church and said that he had been informed that the Germans had hidden arms and wireless in the Academy buildings...A petition was started among the mill employees stating that the German pastor was preaching German propaganda...All this was done in spite of the fact that the pastor was conducting all his services in English except his prayer meeting and a twenty-minute sermon for old German people"/H 53. The English Methodists organized in 1876, built in 1884 a church so small that it became a residence at the time of the amalgamation. The other churches attempting to compete

with the German Methodists were German (except Congregationalists for some time after 1889) and unsuccessful--Lutherans 1880-1889; Reformed 1890-1902/Pe. The town had its non-German element from very early. In the first ten years of the high school's existence, 1891-1900, three-eighths of the graduates of the high school bore non-German names/Pe. Even before the First World War the use of German was declining. Its use in the cemetery, the general community cemetery, is limited at all periods. No children learned it at Enterprise after 1917, but the language was not rejected by those who had been brought up to speak it. In 1942 the young heard small groups using it, and in 1950 its nostalgic use on festive occasions was proper.

The Enterprise Swedes (Mid-k, Dickinson E)Special Bibliog.:

Pe- Peterson, Ellen A Kansan's Enterprise 1957.

Jno. P. Swenson was on Swenson's Creek by 1858; L. O. Jaderborg in 1859. Jaderborg became "the ideal of all the early settlers"/Pe 174. He was constantly in movement for years, however, and only Swenson was in the 1860 census. Neither he nor any other Swede appeared in the census of 1865, but that year Jaderborg returned from the War, and permanently settled. Peter Calene arrived with 15 persons from Jarbo Sweden in 1869/Pe 183. By 1870 there were 36 Swedes in what was to be Center Township and a few outside. Somewhat separated from the others, southwest of Enterprise, 3 families of "Gotlanders" settled. Their speech as well as their location differentiated them from the others. M. Pearson arrived in 1867. Immigration continued until the turn of the century. The Swedes in the palmy days usually thought of their number as 300/Pe. They erected even more stone buildings than is usual among Swedes. A religious association embracing the whole community was begun in 1874, built a church in 1878/Pe. Visiting ministers of various sects preached, and presumably they worked up denominationalism until separate churches were necessary. The Lutherans kept the building, the Mission Covenanters had one in 1888/Pe, sd 55. The Baptists had to be content with an organization from 1880 till they built in 1905. The Lutherans, who have from the beginning been served from Salina, had 75 members in 1906/ot, and 23 in 1948. The Mission Covenant Church never had more than 60 members, in 1917 they had 28/sd and became so few in 1934 that services ceased/Pe. In 1903 the Baptists had 23 members/lv, about 60 in 1953. The high point was

in 1929/Pe. "The settlement which came into bud about 1870, and reached its fullest bloom in the early decades of this century, has now lost many of its residents"/Pe 244, writes Mrs. Ellen Welander Peterson, born in the community in 1889. For the size of their settlement the Enterprise Swedes have been linguistically conservative. Many of those born as late as 1918 can speak Swedish; and in 1953 certain children could say grace at table in Swedish. This is largely to be explained by the close social life in the community throughout its days of prosperity. Until about 1900 the Swedes and the Germans at Enterprise rarely saw each other except in business. Clean-up day in the Mission cemetery is still a community (not merely a Mission-Covenanter) festival. Evening programs in the district school building were largely in Swedish at the beginning of the century/Pe. Church services were in Swedish till the First World War and in 1950 there were still such services occasionally. Critical year 1925.

The cemeteries contain few Swedish inscriptions; the Lutherans only 4 out of 98, none early, the latest in the forties; the Mission 12 out of 72; of these 7 before 1890. There are in both cemeteries late inscriptions in Swedish combined on one stone with that of a member of the family buried much earlier. In the city cemetery there is one in-Swedish inscription for a person with no mate, Harry Ronsbron 1883-1949.

Lower Lyon Creek Germans (Hi-d, Dickinson F)

Earliest settler Oesterreich 1856. In 1857 J. G. Rekken brought 6 families from Watertown, Jefferson Co. (61, 253), Wisc., principal family Staatz/tk 191. More from Watertown 1859, some of them into Cary Creek Valley/kc 14:154. The community early ceased to be all from Wisconsin (Biegert from Ohio 1857, Gugler from Indiana 1859). German Methodist services began in 1859. Organization of Lyons church 1859 (31 members); log building 1863; stone 1871; 224 members in 1949. "Early very prosperous and young Germans from other settlements came there to work as hired hands "/tk 192. Lyons never became a town, no railroad ever and Junction City close, but a real cultural center. The Methodist church dominated, but Mt. Zion German (now North American) Baptist Church was organized in 1881 (services probably began shortly after 1860--see Banner Township Germans). The Church persisted, 53 members in 1953, but by 1961 it was not in use. The valley of Lyon Creek marks the western limit of the Flint Hills pasture lands; consequently the homes are concentrated in the fertile valley. Stock-raising, however, became part of the economy, example Ruhnke, came ca. 69 (George, b. 61 published memoirs in 1953). At the southern edge of the Lower Lyon Creek group Woodbine post office was established in 1872; at this point there was a small break in German ownership of land (townsite first owned by Nimrod Ridley from New Orleans, then J. A. Gillett)/kc 14:167. The town was from the beginning, however, more German than anything else; the German Methodist Church was the important church there. Seven-eighths of the names in the town cemetery are German. Very few German inscriptions are to be found, however, and except in church, English dominated linguistically from very early, partly doubtless because of Gillett influence. At Lyons German persisted in the services until 1927 when this

church, together with all the remaining German Methodist churches, joined the English Conference. However, perhaps because the settlement was old without many late accretions in its center, German was rather early a secondary language. In the cemetery the tendency can be best illustrated by the inscriptions on the tombs of two children of Fred and Emily Staatz. They put a German inscription on Enoch's stone in 1881 and an English on F. W. G.'s in 1885. The cemetery as a whole shows a typical linguistic development with a weak proportion of German.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Lyona Cemetery

	English	German	% of German
1860-9	9	2	18%
1870-9	38	3	7%
1880-9	45	13	22%
1890-9	33	11	33%
1900-9	25	6	19%
1910-9	29	1	3%
1920-9	21	2	9%

Upper Lyon Creek Germans (Hi-A, Dickinson G)

First settlement by Germans (Kandt, Krause, Poereich, Ziebell/kc 14:153), from Watertown, Jefferson County (61, 253), Wisconsin in 1859, the same town that furnished the first settlers to Lyona. Known as Pomeranians, they came from northern Germany to Watertown a few years before. By about 1870 all Lyon Creek land was taken up and immigration direct or nearly direct from Germany became uncommon. Replacements when land was vacated often came from Illinois. Lutheran services, Missouri Synod, began 1861/ we, St. John's (Lyons Creek, I, Point 13) organized 1871, present building 1889, 444 members in 1906, 313 in 1948. A second parish, Immanuel (Shady Brook, I, Point 12), 4 miles from St. John's, began to hear preaching about 1878 and was organized in 1887, 380 members in 1906, 200 in 1948. As more people moved into town, a church at Herington became necessary. Our Redeemer founded 1927, 335 members in 1948. The schismatic debates that led to the establishment of Iowa Synod-- now American Lutheran--churches raged hotly in this settlement. By 1906 the Iowa Synod claimed two stations in the area, total membership 100. In the city of Herington St. Paul's Church was founded in 1908, became prosperous in 1911 with the advent of H. Koester as pastor. Under him it flourished for thirty years--491 members in 1950. At about the time of Koester's coming the schism at Shady Brook led to separation and in 1915 to the erection of the "South Church", another St. Paul's, never as strong as "Koester's Church", 161 members in 1950. About 1950 it moved into Woodbine. Among the Reich Germans of Upper Lyon Creek these Lutheran churches had no real rivals. The people were as Lutheran as those at Woodbine and Lyona were Methodist. Linguistically they have been conservative. In general no English was used

in church services till the First World War. Its introduction was a shock. People conversant with English in everyday life did not understand it as preached. St. John's, the Lyons Creek Church, introduced English into the Church records in 1923; in 1931 German services were held twice a month--in 1950 once a month. Immanuel Church at Shadybrook was having "special services" in German about as frequently in 1950. Our Redeemer Church in Herington gave up German services about 1940. "Every one could understand English." "Koester's Church", St. Paul's in Herington, maintained use of German till he left just before the Second World War. His records show, however, English creeping into them. The confirmation record is in German through 1928, bilingual records begin in 1932. "Erwachsene" is however used to identify confirmations of adults through 1938. In the death record new phenomena are recorded in English. "Influenza-pneumonia" with English spelling occurs during the epidemic of 1918. Otherwise the causes of death have German names till 1931 when this note appears: "Tractor accident, fell on him in creek", but the next entry is "Alterschwaeche", i.e., senility; so on till 1939 when for the first time instead of "Herzschlag", we find "Heart failure". English exclusively thereafter. The "South Church" at Shadybrook, although it began having English services in 1926 only, abandoned German about 1935 sooner than Koester and the Missouri churches. These churches all established schools where German was the language of instruction until 1917. English was taught after recess in the afternoons. In the rural public schools English was the language of instruction and the teachers were of older American stock, ignorant of German. They had to communicate with their first-graders through older

children. Speech on the playground was bilingual. Many non-Germans learned German thus. The anti-German hysteria was so great that the Shadybrook and the Koester schools were burned in 1918. The transfer to English was complete immediately.

Acquisition of English began early, though in 1887 there were a great many persons not able to speak English; in 1900 such people were the exceptions-- usually old people or the women on the farms. Commercially a person could get along without English until the First World War. German merchants born in the area, as early as 1908, seldom needed to use German in their business, however, in certain establishments, German-speaking clerks began to function again after the war hysteria had subsided. It was advantageous, however, to learn English. Children buying candy, for instance, learned the necessary phrases as soon as they could make purchases. Rural families with growing children in the heart of the settlement continued to use German in many instances until the Second World War. After church conversations at St. John's tended to be in German language until about the same time; that is, speakers of German assumed that anyone they addressed knew German. Those born in the decade after the First World War or before continued using German with their parents till the death of the old. Therefore, in 1961 there were still habitual users of German in the Lyon Creek valley. In the outlying parts of the settlement and in Herington after the First World War family use was restricted to those beyond the child-bearing age and to those habitually with them. Persons born about 1900 even objected to their children being taught German in the home. Still those trained to read German in the parochial schools before 1918 retained the ability. In the late 1960's the exchange of a few words of German marked fellow feeling between individuals aged forty or above.

The witness of the cemeteries is one of conservatism. St. John's is one of the cemeteries in which until the 1920's the graves were dug in chronological order side by side without reference to family relationship, a series for adults and a series for the unconfirmed.

Language of Inscriptions in the Upper Lyon Creek Area

	<u>St. John's Lutheran</u>			<u>Immanuel Lutheran</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1870-79	--	24	100%	--	1	100%
1880-89	3	40	93%	1	9	90%
1890-99	2	25	93%	5	31	86%
1900-09	2	23	92%	3	20	87%
1910-19	11	17	61%	6	7	54%
1920-29	9	9	50%	4	7	63%
1930-39	27	5	16%	16	1	6%
1940-49	27	6	18%	15	1	6%

On the east, the Lyon Creek Germans extend into Morris County. At the northern end in this county they are near the Lower Lyon Creek group; they form an Upper Clark's Creek subdivision which dates back to 1857 when J. Warneke came there/kc 14:156. Like the Upper Lyon Creek people, however, they have been primarily Lutheran and organized a church, St. John's, in 1875 (108 members in 1906, 232 in 1910, 134 in 1948). They built 2 miles east of the south end of Dickinson County's jog into Morris County. When the church burned in 1952, it was not rebuilt. Services here were half German, half English at the beginning of the Second World War when German

was discarded. It appears to have been an anachronism then, for people of German extraction born after 1900 were not using German to each other.

Farther south in the eastern extension the Germans were still largely Lutheran, in the early years belonging to the Shadybrook and Lyons Creek Churches, until the churches which were organized at Herington and Latimer absorbed them. The Latimer church, Zion, organized in 1910 with 53 members, had 80 in 1948, but since has prospered. It used German up until the First World War. Later than that growing children learned German in this area only in homes where grandparents lived.

West of the Lyon Creek Germans in the territory around Hope there is an area where people of German-speaking extraction are more numerous than older stocks. Among them the most interesting, because rare in Kansas, are a group of Poles (Lorson, Schumer, Stroda, Polak) in part truly Polish rather than German. They are Catholics, forming an important minority in an Irish parish, but because they have been a minority having no important linguistic effect. They occupy territory west and north of Hope in a comparatively narrow band running some six miles. A little after the beginning of this century they came here from Nebraska, near Tecumseh, Johnson County (2d county from Kansas and from the Millouri River), where they had been for nearly a generation. There was an Upper Lyon Creek German Baptist station on the circuit that existed 1860-1880 (see Banner Township Germans). The Baptists were presumably in this western area; also in this area the Methodists were strong among the Germans. There were River Brethren and Dunkards south of Hope. The development of German speech in such a cultural mass is not easy to trace, but in the 1880's teen-age loafers were using German in Hope, and at the outbreak of the First World War, in the mill, in the bank and in the office of the physician, German was often the language of business.

Herington Russian Germans (Mid-1, Area G)

For Herington Mexicans see #47.81.

Herington was named for its promoter and the owner of its land at the time it was created in 1884 in anticipation of the railroads soon to come. The Missouri Pacific was built through in 1886 and the Rock Island the next year, and the town was made the Rock Island division point for the state of Kansas. It was provided with a full complement of train crewmen, office personnel, and shop and maintenance workers. The population increased steadily for thirty years, reaching 5000 during the railroad boom of the First World War. It then fell off as the railroad diminished in importance to stabilize near 4000.

The neighboring German farmers (Upper Lyon Creek Germans) did not at first furnish many of these employees, nor of the commercial group that assembled to minister to them. Gradually they did come into its active life as the organization of churches for them in town has shown us. There was, however, a German-speaking element of importance in the town from the time the railroads were built. Volgan Russian Germans in Marion to the south furnished much of the construction labor, and this group settled in Herington, rapidly increasing through new immigration from the Volga settlements (138 foreign-born in 1895, 176 in 1905). They were mostly from Norka, and were almost always without money on their arrival. They were aided by relatives and their community leaders, Conrad Burback for example. They lived in a section of the city called Russia Town (so marked on map of city) running in a narrow strip from Herington's only street crossing the Rock Island (Walnut St.) south between the creek and the tracks out beyond the south edge of town, also in the southern part of town west of the tracks

where their churches were built (on map points 3, 4, 5). They were Protestants but not Lutherans, and the German element already established in the region had no more sympathy for them than did the railroad brakemen and the storekeepers. Their social development was upward at a rate similar to that of immigrant labor elsewhere. By the time of the First World War Mexicans were taking over the unskilled work on the tracks and the Volgans (193 foreign-born in 1915) were furnishing much of the junior element among the skilled shop workers. A few had entered the commercial life of the town even as entrepreneurs. Adam Haas, for example, already had the ice plant. In 1922 there was a prolonged strike of shop men which changed the fortunes of many Volgans all over the United States. Some of the Russians in Herington were forced into the general economy, more sympathetically received than they would have been before the strike, for organized labor was strong in the town. Many more of them departed for Milwaukee or Chicago (103 foreign-born in 1925). Still others left when the Rock Island consolidated its shops in the 1930's. An element of some size was left in town, no longer thought of as "Rooshn" by most of the townspeople, but its members were in the 1960's still largely among those who were less likely to have social acceptance, for the more ambitious had found it easier to make progress elsewhere.

Linguistically this group acquired English rapidly and lost the use of German slowly up until the time of the First World War. Work on the railroad promoted speedy learning of English, for except in the gangs of track laborers, the men worked with people impatient with those who could not understand English, and the women furnished the town's washerwomen, its restaurant

workers, including waitresses as soon as the girls spoke English naturally, and many of its household servants, though in this capacity German farm girls were preferred, who thus before their marriages became habituated to the use of English in dealing with household affairs. The force making for the preservation of German was the quasi-segregation of this element of the population to which until 1910 new members ignorant of English were being constantly added. The segregational tendency was strengthened by the religious inclinations of the Volgans. Many of them were Seventh Day Adventists and Congregationalists totally unrepresented otherwise in the religious life of the community. Some of them were Baptists; there was a small Baptist group among the Americans, but so weak, that even if it had been inclined to help the "Rooshns", it could have furnished but little support. These three denominations organized and built churches which eventually dwindled, though the Seventh Day Adventists and the Congregationalists, organized in 1909, 11 members in 1937, continued until the Second World War. None of them gave up German services completely. Inheriting churches, Nazarene, Assembly of God, Church of God did not become linguistically purely English at once. The Church of God at the time of the Second World War was holding services in German, oblivious to a general opinion that "they weren't modern." German devotions, not necessarily preaching, were going on in the Nazarene Church in 1955. Unless their parents were among the late comers, however, very few children born after 1918 received enough experience with German to use it themselves.

The Danish at Herington were never great in number and most of them soon left. They were, however, unique in character because they were Dunkards. The Dunkards began services in 1884 and organized in 1886. In 1887 C. Hope and his wife, Mary, both Danish born, came to a farm near

Herington that had been purchased for them by admiring Dunkards, who had sent them as missionaries to Denmark, the Dunkards' first foreign missionaries. Other Danes joined them. In 1888 there were 16, and Peter C. Peterson was made a minister to preach to them. This number did not greatly increase, however. In 1895 there were 28 foreign-born Danes in Herington including the Hopes, who had evidently left their farm. C. Hope died in 1899, and the church was disbanded in 1900. Most of the Danes, like other Dunkards, who never numbered more than 60, had left town.

Bonaccord Germans (Low-w, Area H) This area is primarily Pennsylvanian in background. Most of the foreign-born Germans were present in the township in 1885 (these came by 1876: Bucking, Koenig, Stein; also de Merseman, a Hollander, Miller 1879). They had resided for some time in Pennsylvania, and older Dunkard and River Brethren Penn-German strains built church houses in the area about this time (see Abilene). Those who were not of these denominations or its successor, the Plymouth Brethren, founded also in the 1880's the Mt. Pleasant Presbyterian Church (on 34-14-1 very near Point 10 on Map I). They probably chose this denomination because along with the Pennsylvanians there were a few Swiss of Reformed background like the New Basel Swiss hard by. The membership was largely German, but it was never the language of worship there. The critical date for all these elements was the same as for all the Penn-Germans in the county, 1904, but those already adept did not let it become completely rusty. They could communicate with DP immigrants after the Second World War, and old Penn-German women talked Dutch with each other at least till 1947.

New Basel Swiss Germans (Hi-d, Dickinson I)

Special Bibliog.:

Bo - Bolliger, Theo. P., History of the First Reformed Church of Canton, Ohio, ca. 1916.

First arrival, Leonard Hoffman and wife, nee Agatha Rohrer, 1860/a. Son Christian Hoffman, who later founded Enterprise (q.v.) soon with them; by 1865 Stephen Rohrer; a number more by 1870 (Barten, Bethe/ch 93, Meuli) furnishing many of the important names. Several of them came by way of Wisconsin. Those who were not from Switzerland took Swiss wives. New Basel Church, Reformed (nextER), organized 1867, church built 1873, 318 members in 1950. Services all German till 1918, half German half English till 1942, German once a month till 1947. Theodore Bolliger, son of Abraham who was pastor at New Basel from 1883 until after 1893, says (in Bo) that in the 1880's everybody was poor: "We lived twelve miles from the nearest railroad in a community largely of Swiss people, with conditions raw and primitive"/Bo. Theodore, who spent all his teens here, said that there were few English books in his father's library. He learned his school books by heart, then the German books. In spite of his poverty the Rev. Abraham Bolliger put his biography in Chapman's Album 1893. English was not acquired rapidly by this isolated country community, but those who went through school learned it, so that the enforced transfer in 1917 was not difficult for the community as a whole, only for older people. Everyone born before 1914 learned German, very few afterward.

Close against the Swiss Reformed on the east are the Ebenezer Baptists of the North American [German] Baptist General Conference, (102 members in 1953).

-1070-

These people are not Swiss, but Germans. The earliest of them was Martin Rubin, a Prussian, who arrived in 1859. Immigration went on at least until 1890 (ca. 1870 Scheufele, Schumacher; in '80's Eisele, Riekemann, Schmidt). Ebenezer Church was organized in 1880, but doubtless the Baptist minister H. Nottorf began services here on his arrival farther up Turkey Creek in 1860. From then until 1880 this area was served by the "First German Baptist Church of Dickinson County" (see Banner Twp. Germans). English was not introduced at all into services here until the First World War. In 1923 services are said to have become all English. Church records were in German later than that. They were regularly in German script. This style is partially abandoned in the treasurer's report of 1906, and is confused with standard American style in a report to the Lorraine Conference in 1918, but in the reports of annual meetings it and the German language continue unadulterated till 1930. In that year the election for the secretaryship was contested. The man who had been keeping the records so faithfully lost, and after him German was abandoned. Not remembering the identity of their secretary, his relatives, when told in 1954 of the German records of a quarter of a century before, said that they must have been kept by "some old German." He was still flourishing as they spoke. But their attitude is general; there is no nostalgia for German by anyone born after 1900, and by few older than that.

Banner Township Germans (Mid-n, Dickinson J)

Special Bibliog.:

Fi - History and Program of the 75th Anniversary of the First Baptist Church of Dickinson County, Elmo, Kansas, 1941 (author not named)

On upper Turkey Creek (Dickinson County's Turkey Creek) H. Nottorf settled in 1860/a. Baptist services began forthwith, and in 1866 the "First German Baptist Church of Dickinson County" was organized. The word "German" was not dropped from this title till 1939. Nottorf like his neighbors downstream both on Turkey Creek and Lyon Creek came from near Watertown, Wisconsin. He and M. Rubin journeyed to Kansas in 1859, but he spent a year in Bourbon County before coming here. Other early settlers were also from Wisconsin. Nottorf was a Hanoverian; other early settlers were also from north Germany. The census of 1865 records no near neighbors of Nottorf. The Methodist Bertschinger arrived the next year/ch 93, and the Sandows in 1871/ch 21, but the church at organization must have consisted mostly of people from down the creek. Officers for 1875 were half from the lower and half (Stagen [died in 1879], Frank, Hoffman [came 1873]) from the upper valley. Nottorf was a farmer (350 acres) as well as a preacher; he was titular pastor in four of the first ten years of the church's existence. Between 1877 and 1891 another farmer-pastor served three stints totaling seven years. In the years preceding 1880 there was a circuit of five stations with this area as headquarters: Upper Turkey Creek (this area), Lower Turkey Creek (see Ebenezer Church with New Basel Swiss), Lower Lyon Creek, Upper Lyon Creek, Mill Creek (see Volland-Alta Vista Sub-area of Great Wabaunsee Germans). In 1880 the "First" built in Banner Township (31 members in 1882, 129 members in 1953). The isolated character of the community seems to have permitted it to keep German even during the First World War. But the Sunday

-1072-

School records kept in German script till November 4, 1917 contain at that point a note in American script saying "Die Klassen [wurden] unterriiptet [sic]." A tombstone of 1918 indicates similar pressures. Usually when a husband or wife dies and has a for-ling inscription, the inscription for the spouse is in the same language, particularly if the inscriptions are on the same stone, but Caroline Gutsch's inscription, 1840-1918 is in English on the same stone with J. T.'s German, 1837-1890. In the next few years, English words occur here and there in the church records. Then October 19, 1924 the Baptist Young People's Union has minutes in English which read in part: "The following business was brought before the Union and carried, That we henceforth conduct our meeting in the English tongue, freedom in regard to language however being allowed in our programs. And that we resume our prayer meetings at 7:30 when English services are held." English was introduced into church services in 1920. "In the annual business session at the beginning of the year 1928 the decision was reached to conduct the Sunday School in the English language. In June 1929 action was taken providing for but two German services per month. These changes were made with due respect for those who had carried on the work in the German language, but with the knowledge that the church's future work must be carried on by the younger generation, who generally were unable to speak German fluently "/>Fi. The use of German in services expired with the re-writing of the constitution in 1939. In 1954 the pastor performed pastoral services in German at a few homes, but the accompanying conversations were in English. This is a phenomenon reported from numerous other communities where use of German is in its last stages.

48.22 DONIPHAN COUNTY E2

Settlement in Doniphan County was in intimate relation with settlement in Buchanan and Andrew County just across the Missouri River.

The following table is presented at this point because of the difficulty of separating northeast and southeast Doniphan Germans statistically in Marion Township. Burr Oak and Washington Townships and Wathena City belong to the northeast and Wayne and Independence Townships to the southeast.

Date of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Germany and Switzerland (Swiss in parentheses), Resident in the Indicated Divisions of Doniphan County in 1925

	<u>Wathena</u>	<u>Burr Oak</u>	<u>Washington</u>	<u>Marion</u>	<u>Independence</u>	<u>Wayne</u>
Before 1870	9 (1)	0	2	1	0	1
1870-4	4	0	1	5	3	6
1875-9	4	3	0	3	1	0
1880-4	4	2	2 (3)	9	1	6
1885-9	5	0	1 (3)	7	0	8
1890-4	1	1	2 (3)	1	2	1
1895-9	1	1	1 (1)	0	0	0
1900-4	0	0	0	0	0	0
1905-9	0	0	0	0	0	0
1910-4	1	0	0	0	0	1
1915-9	0	0	0	0	1	0
1920-4	1	0	0	2	2	1

N.E. Doniphan Germans (Mid-1, Area A) center upon Wathena, but there are rural centers of varying character. There are also bits of the forling stocks attracted to St. Joseph, Missouri, by industry -- railroads and meat packing. Sallet /sa29 says: "In 1886-'88 a number of people [Blackseamen] from the so called Old Colonies (Klein Liebenthal, Mariental, Josefstal, und Franzfeld) [#54.51.] came to St. Joseph, Mo., and settled on farms near

Wathena. Many went on to Texas later and today only a few people are to be found in and around Wathena." The Texas colony was founded in 1891, and the census of 1895 shows no one born in Russia in Wathena or Washington Township. In 1925 there were three in Washington Township who had arrived in the United States in 1904 and 1910. These people were from Catholic colonies, and there have also been a few Catholic Slovenians in the Wathena parish. There were Austrians in the appropriate townships in 1895. In 1925 five of them said they arrived in the United States between 1897 and 1902, 6 more in the next 6 years and 4 in 1913 and 1914. The Slovenians were using their language in 1949. In the year of Wathena's founding, 1854, Florian Leiber was a blacksmith there; ^{/ch05:25} Germans later multiplied. In 1857 Sidney Theriet opened a law office and there continued to be people of French names in town. The general influence of residence in town was to speed up Englishing, but compared with many towns Wathena seems to have been tolerant of f-lang. The country to the north of Wathena had its cultural center six miles from the town. (See /tk105.) Here close together a Reformed and a German Methodist Church were built. The Reformed Church was organized in 1866. The nucleus was Swiss, but there were other Germans. There was a connection with the group at Cosby, Mo., beyond St. Joseph some 12 air miles. A German Methodist Church was organized in Wathena and began to have a mission at this country center in 1882. Preaching in German had been abandoned by the time of the First World War, though the transition from German had lasted only 4 or 5 years. The behavior of the Reformed Church seems to have been similar. The use of German in ordinary communication ceased in the first years of the twentieth century. Inscriptions in German in the cemetery used by both groups appear only once after 1890; before that date 5 out of 17

inscriptions (30%) were in German. Christina Dubach who died in 1894 was commemorated in German; her husband Christian three years later in English. The Germans in the Wathena group to the south of the city were much less cohesive. The area marked as French in Volume I is made up of farms owned by the Cordonnier family. This family, despite its name and the fact that the immigrants who arrived here about 1856 were born in France, was German-speaking, presumably Alsatian. The Catholic cemetery shows that Anna Katharina Theissen was commemorated in 1900 in German and her husband Matt in 1935 in English. Preferences based on age are illustrated by the inscriptions for Peter Studer who died in 1879, aged 20 (English) and that for Peter J. Studer, 1825-1884, which is in German. The Catholics were served by the Benedictines beginning in 1856/lp B:307. A parish was organized in 1878. The parish was 90% German, and the priests, through 1915 at least, bore German names.

Southeast Doniphan Germans (Hi-c, Area B). The part of this area near the Missouri River was early of much the same character as the country just below Wathena. Vineyards occupied Germans early, notably three Brenner brothers from the Palatinate, Catholic in background. Adam, the earliest, arrived in 1857/ a 476. At the beginning of the twentieth century in Doniphan children in non-German families learned German from playmates, but Engl-izing set in immediately. Saint Benedict's Catholic parish on the western edge of the district was also partly German, but largely Irish, and the German element came from areas extending from Holland to Bohemia. German was little used publicly. The Protestants in the northern part of this district achieved steadier prosperity than the

wine growers but developed later. The German Methodist Mission four miles west of Wathena on the north edge of the district was established in 1882. Christ Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, on the eastern edge was organized in 1884. Kentzler (J. W. by/a478, Theodore by 1865 census) and wife and two children were Lutherans at Geary City in this district in 1857, but are not represented in the Christ Cemetery; in it are members of the Peuken family here in 1865, possibly by the end of 1860. German was discarded from services there at about the time of the First World War.

Language of Inscriptions in Cemetery of
Christ Lutheran Church near Wathena

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1890-9	0	2	100%
1900-9	4	12	75%
1910-9	9	3	25%
1920-9	13	1	7%
1930-9	13	1	7%

Only one German inscription later, 1947, spouse had died in 1905. In 1949 one woman, aged 86, was successful in making her family and pastor understand her habitual German.

Wathena French (Lowest, Area B). Though the Cordonniers were not French-speaking, there was a French-speaking group at Wathena /tk 170. Constant Poirier arrived in 1854. His son was a mail carrier, not particularly proficient in French, but on his route he spoke French with four families whose heads were then aged from 70 to 75. Constant's grandchildren were not proficient in French, nor were Theriet's.

Moray Norwegians and Danes (Low-v, Area C). On the early history of this group, see /tk 178. The settlement was almost exclusively Norwegian for a long time. Danes arrived late, some not until 1925. Norwegian additions also came as late as 1923. In the 1950's the immigrants still spoke Norwegian to each other, but their children understood very little unless they had been brought up in families where the late-arriving Danes worked. The Lutheran Church at Moray came to have members of all stocks. The Norwegian Lutheran Church to the southeast on Brush Creek collapsed, for the settlement in that neighborhood died out.

Date of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Norway
and Resident in Wolf River Township in 1925

1849	1	1906-1912	9
1876	1	1916	1
1898	1	1923	1

-1079-

48.23 DOUGLAS COUNTY Ell

See Settlement Histories for Lawrence Germans and Swedes (Mid-k, Area B), and Worden Germans (Mid-m, Area E).

Stull Germans (Mid-n, Area A). Germans began to appear in the Deer Creek region shortly after the opening of the territory of Kansas. On the Wakarusa side of the divide along which ran the "California Road", the earliest German born settler to become a permanent resident was Jacob Bidinger (1827-1910) and his wife Catherine (1826-ca. 1923); in 1856 their oldest child Catherine was born in Kansas. They had come to Kansas from Illinois. At about the same time on the Kaw side of the road George Bahnmaier (1829-1914) and his wife Caroline (1826-1899) made a pre-emption. Their oldest child, Henry, was born in Kansas in 1856. Francis Walter, a bachelor, also arrived that year. (see below)

By 1861 the adult Germans who became permanent residents of Kanwaka Township (the main group, south of the divide) were:

Bidinger, as above.
 Buchheim, Samuel (1809-1888), and wife, Anna M. (1809-1888) in 1860 census.
 Deister, Henry (1834--), and wife, Emilia (1832--). Henry (1863-1915).
 Hildenbrand, Jacob (1825-1904), and wife, Dorothea (1832-1911). Caroline born in Kansas in 1860. The family came from Ohio to Kansas.
 Houk, John (1831-1902), and wife, Catherine (1832-1916). George born in Kansas in 1857, Catherine born in Ohio in 1855.
 Koehler, Frank (1825-1904), and wife, Catherine (1836-1882). Frank was born in Kansas in 1858. The family came from Germany to Kansas.
 Roller, George (1830-1905) and wife, Catherine (1837-1910). Mary born in Kansas in 1861, Catherine in Ohio in 1857.
 Roller, Valentine (1825-1905) and wife, Catherine (1828-1887). John was born in Kansas in 1858, Valentine in Missouri in 1856, Sophia in Ohio in 1852.
 Wulfkuhle, August (1836-after 1899), and wife, Lena Dreves (1834--). Married and to Kansas in 1860.
 Wulfkuhle, Christian (1829-1908), and wife, Mary (1829-1903) to Kansas 1860.

In Lecompton Township similar data includes:

Bahnmaier, as above. Came from Germany to Kansas.
 Heise, John G. (1820-between 1875 and 1885), and wife, variously called
 Teresa and Johanna, born in 1835. Emma was born in Kansas in 1858.
 The family came from Germany to Kansas.
 Sulzen, Adolph (1829-1900), and wife, Suzanna (1836--). Robert was
 born in Kansas in 1858. The family came from Germany to Kansas.
 Walter, Francis (1831-1898), and wife, Catherine (1835-1901). See below.

These families were remarkably homogeneous in age. With two exceptions, 1809 and 1820, all the men were born between 1825 and 1836. In 1860 their average age was 32. In this district, all these family names appear on the landowner map of 1938 with the exception of Heise. (At his early death, John Heise left, with four daughters, only one son to perpetuate the name). In the census reports of the Deer Creek proper families Hildenbrands, Houks, and Rollers had a history of residence in Ohio: the Wulfkuhles, the Koehlers, and the census reports, certainly incorrectly for Francis Walter, all the Lecompton Township people came directly from Germany to Kansas. The Rollers were Alsatians and their wives Bavarians; Houk was Bavarian and his wife Alsatian. These families were related. The regions of origin of the others do not show in the census records; Koehlers were Hanoverians, and the Wulfkuhles were Westphalians, but the Walter family at least was South German like the Houks and the Rollers.

Francis (Frank, Franz) Walter was from Ellwangen in eastern Wurtemberg. In 1849, at 18, he came to the United States and landed in New Orleans; thence he went to Ohio, where he was naturalized at Lima in 1854. After establishing himself in Kansas in 1856, he returned to Ellwangen, married in February 1858, and immediately came back to Kansas. His oldest child Albert was born there in 1860.

^{fn}According to Walter, Jacob, A German Conscript with Napoleon (ed. Springer-Melvin) Lawrence, 1938, p. 186. The Walter memoirs were preserved by the family along with a letter of 1856 from the author, Jacob (1788-1864), father of Francis, to another immigrant son, Albert (b. 1835). Francis and a number of his descendants, though close neighbors of the Bahmainers, considered themselves primarily residents of Lecompton.

The Germans south of the California Road all settled within two miles of the focus. At the focus itself, Isaac Stull (1820-1903) and his wife Charlotte (1821-1905) established themselves before 1859 on land still owned by the family. They came from Pennsylvania, though Charlotte, of Scotch-Irish origins, was born in New Jersey. Isaac was Pennsylvania Dutch and the family joined the German community and were bound into it by marriage in the next generation. Isaac's son, Sylvester (1863--) married Mary _____ (1861--); their son, Henry, lives at Stull. There were other Pennsylvania Dutch eventually (Roths for instance), but the community was never completely German. As an example, the Irish-born Murphys, Michael (1827-1879) and Anna (1833-1914) arrived from Illinois about 1858 and pre-empted land near the focus. Most of these settlers were Protestants, but the Koehlers, Sulzens, and Walters were Catholics--also the Murphys. In 1862 a Catholic mission was set up at Big Springs, ^{but} Protestant activity had already begun.

The first printed reference to the community was made in April, 1860 in German by C. Berner, a missionary of the Evangelical Association in Kansas, who preached in the German language.

^{fn}Christian Berner (1828-1903), born in Wuertemberg at Rothenberg near Cannstadt. To New York City in 1853; in Kankakee, Ill., in 1856, where he was licensed to preach; to Kansas in 1858; left Kansas definitely in 1888 for California. His headquarters were at Franklin until 1861.

He wrote, as translated by Platz, in the Christliche Botschafter:

"We held two meetings during the winter at Deer Creek, 12 miles west of Franklin. Here was, until recently, a very dark community, where no one seemed to know anything about conversion. [One brother remarked in his testimony, probably referring to all Kansas rather than Deer Creek: 'When I came here there was nothing but robbing, murdering, drinking, cardplaying, stealing, swearing, and sinful abominations. Thank God, it is different now!'] We now have a class of 18 members. Oh, how happy those dear people are because of the work God has done for them! Oh, what blessed seasons we enjoyed! Hallelujah!!!/pz 25.

The Deer Creek Station of the Evangelical Association prospered sufficiently to allow in 1868 the construction of a stone church on the hill just northeast of the focus. Meantime the number of German families had increased greatly. Permanent adult members who came between 1860 and 1870 included people bearing these names: Busch, Damm, Eberhart, Gress, Hanselman, Lutz, Nuffer, Salverda, Zeeb. No significant elements were added to the Lecompton Township branch of the group during this decade. Indeed the landowner map of 1938 does not show that any early arriving German families persisted north of the California Road in Douglas County other than those already mentioned (Bahmaier, Sulzen, Walter).

On the other hand, the Deer Creek settlement proper continued to receive re-enforcements that became permanent for another quarter of a century (see text farther on).

The age characteristics of the families arriving between 1860 and 1870 were more varied than those of the 1860 group. Now that the first flush of

pioneering was over, the parents of those born about 1830 made up part of certain households (Bucheim, Lutz, Nuffer). Aside from these the average year of birth was not far different for this second contingent than for the first. It was 1831 for the men. The range however, was greater; with one exception, 1845, it was 1820 to 1836. The foreign born adults in 1870 averaged, counting the grandparents, more than a decade older than they did in 1860; they were in their forties. Their re-enforcement from abroad must have been great to keep them as the dominant power element for more than fifteen or twenty years more.

In this decade the settlement ceased to be dominated by people who had lived in Ohio. Several families came directly from Germany, and no group of any size from any one state in the United States. Little information appears in the census as to what part of Germany these new families came from; however, Salverda, from Holland, seems to have been one of the few northerners among South Germans; John Busch was Swiss, his wife Prussian; George Gress was Alsatian, his wife Bavarian (this combination, together with a period of residence in Ohio, puts the Gress family in the same group with the Rollers and the Houks).

Between 1870 and 1878 Deer Creek received little foreign born blood. Adam Scheer (b. 1840) and his Ohio born wife Rose (1847-1895) arrived before 1874 and did not become truly permanent residents.

During the period of the Kansas boom, 1878 to 1886, there was another infusion of foreign born blood at Deer Creek. Families bearing the following names were included; Dennewiler, Dravis, Hartman, Kampschroeder, Kupper, Kropf, Unger, Walrafern. Of the heads of these families Herman Dravis and

Ferdinand Kropf still belong with the generation that had already settled at Deer Creek; the others were younger, and two with wives born in the American west. These families were of diverse geographical origins.

The Kampschroeders came from Schlangen on the southernmost edge of the province of Lippe Detmold. The town is the only one of importance on the southwestern slopes of the range bearing the Teutoberger Wald. The new immigrants, following a common practice, settled in country typographically similar to their point of origin. At Stull the homestead lies $\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of the focus.

After the collapse of the boom, Deer Creek received little fresh blood, but one family arriving about the turn of the century may be mentioned:

Kraft, John (1852-1933) and wife, Louisa (1857-1939).

For a long time the Evangelical Association church at the focus remained the essential rallying point of the community; the census of 1885 records it as the only church in the township. For a while, members of the Evangelical Synod of North America (later Evangelical and Reformed), who were considered locally as "Lutherans", met in school houses but never achieved a full fledged organization. The census of 1895 records a United Brethren Church in Kanwaka township, and about 1925 a Christian Church became a permanent competitor of the Evangelical Association. Still the Evangelical Association church has been the important church. It remained part of the Lawrence and Eudora circuit till 1885. Then for two years it had independent status, but with the collapse of the boom it again became dependent on Eudora, and so remained until the end of the hard times of the nineties. From 1897 on it was again an independent unit. In 1922 the old stone building on the hill was replaced by a new much larger and in intention handsomer church at the crossroads. The Catholic Church at Big Springs on the fringe of the Stull settlement seems not to have exerted a very potent

influence on its Deer Creek members. Winifred Murphy, b. 1870, and Lena Koehler, b. 1873, married the Protestants Otto Bidinger (1869-1950) and Chas. Roller (1868-1948) and were attracted into their husbands' religious orbit.

At the beginning Deer Creek's economic allegiance tended to be divided. The California road provided access to Lawrence and Topeka, and Leocompton was not far to the north. In 1873, when the Union Pacific built a coaling branch to Carbondale from Lawrence up the Wakarusa valley, a station and post office were established under the name of Belvoir within half a mile of Deer Creek's lower course. But the attraction to the south (as well as the Carbondale branch) was short-lived. The Stulls had set up a store at the focus where the church was, and in 1899 the Federal government placed a post office in the store and christened the point Stull. It never grew into a town; still, though automobiles have made access to the shipping points on the Kaw Valley easy, Stull maintained its position as a rural center, a fate superior to that of most hamlets not on a highway.

The Stull community began to lose its peculiarly German character almost before the last settlers had arrived. The territory was not solidly held by Germans even close to the focus, and children of all origins attended the same district schools, though a few attended German school at Worden. Inter-marriage, as we have seen, began as soon as the children of the first comers had reached maturity (1885 or 1890). The older members of the German families thus allied to the general Kansas population sometimes fought to preserve their German characteristics. A section of the community remained quite consciously German until after the First World War. The war hysteria rooted out collective German feeling not so much by pressure from the outside as

through grudge venting among the Germans themselves, which the times made easy. The strain of that period was, however, without untoward incident in the district. Afterwards no portion of it considered itself essentially German.

Stull has maintained rather intimate relations with Worden. Church contacts have been close, and there are a number of interrelated families. The two communities are, however, completely separate; the Wakarusa valley, largely peopled by those of Colonial American origin, lies between. As in most rural communities, Stull's excess population has gone to the cities and larger towns. In Lawrence particularly there are representatives of most of the Stull families, often of very long standing. The Stull neighborhood has not been isolated in the last half century.

The Stull community still retains vestiges of German speech, but since the First World War, has used English almost entirely.

The testimony of the Stull cemetery is as follows:

<u>Years</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1860-1869	8	3	27%
1870-1879	15	4	21%
1880-1889	16	4	20%
1890-1899	34	2	6%
1900-1909	33	3	8%

Since 1910, only one grave stone, dated 1915, has an inscription in German. It is evident that German was never regarded as the real official language of the community, and that those using German for inscriptions were singular after 1890 (3 of the 6 inscriptions later than 1890 are in the Damm family, which began to use English in 1933). For the Nuffer family, typical and influential, the 1880's furnished the turning point; a monument of theirs bearing seven inscriptions has two faces in German and two in English. In

German are recorded 2 children's deaths in 1871, and, in 1879, the demise of their grandparents, Michael (1796-1879) and Johanna (1799-1879); the deaths recorded in English occurred in 1892, 1894, and 1899, including Peter and Caroline, the foreign born pater and materfamilias immigrating in the early sixties.

The history of the Evangelical Association church presents comparable phenomena. Regular preaching in English was introduced very early; in 1898 morning services on the first and third Sundays of each month were in German, and other morning services and the evening services were in English;

1898 was the last year in which church records were kept in German. (The records are stored in the E. U. B. church at Holton.) The minority that insisted upon German was very vigorous, however, and the bitter disputes over the language question were long remembered. In 1905 one German service a month was held. In 1912 the Rev. F. J. Schacht reported that he preached in "German on first Sunday of the month if certain German people are present." This was the end of the struggle; the next year preaching was in English only. German had been completely discarded before the First World War.

Intermarriage, as was said above, began early -- at a time when the patriarchal structure of the family was still largely intact. The German mothers did not readily accept the importation of English into their homes by their English speaking daughters-in-law. Catherine Bidinger had her way when Winifred Murphy came into the family. "Winnie," she said, "I am old, and you are young; you can learn more easily." So the Irish girl became proficient in German, and used it with her husband's parents until their death (1910 and 1923). Winifred Bidinger said in 1948, "Finally I had to

quit because I got mixed up." Catherine Roller was not so successful with the wives of her two sons. Even German-reared Lena Koehler did not yield to Catherine's pleas and reproaches; she had "not learned enough German at home to talk it."

Apostasy to German was not, however, universal in the second generation. The Buchheims kept up its use for a long time. The second generation parents of August Walter (b. 1888) both spoke German, though seldom at home, and August learned from his maternal grand-parents, the August Wulfkuhles. Similar conditions prevailed in the Damm family. The foreign-born family of Henry Kampschroeder which arrived in 1881 were all able to speak German; the family of Ernest (b. 1877) continued to use German a long time. His younger brother, August (b. 1880), had a somewhat different attitude. "I talked German," he says, "more to horses and cows than to my children." The feeling implied in these words, that German as he knew it was an inferior cultural instrument, must have played a considerable part in the abandonment of the language.

Another influence working in the same direction was the great variety of dialects. Because of them, German was for each household a "Heimssprache" of little use elsewhere, comical as spoken by other families. The Damms, born at the turn of the century, gave up teaching German to their son because each found the language of the other ridiculous. Charles Houk (b. ca. 90), the Stull storekeeper, said about 1950 that there were "too many kinds of German" to use it. Still during the 1920's it was not unusual to hear German at the Chris Kraft store.

The dissensions of the First World War developed this characteristic of the community to such a point that the only public manifestation of the

-1089-

use of the language in the second quarter of the century was to keep telephone conversations from becoming public property. By 1950, any knowledge of German had been reduced to a number of set phrases (formulae of politeness or insult) which the oldest may use and those really mature understand.

Eudora Germans (Hi-c, Area C)

From population statistics for Eudora Township, it is evident that the heaviest immigration of Germans was accomplished between Eudora's founding in 1857 and 1865, continuing at a reduced rate until 1875 and falling off sharply after that date. Statistics for the city of Eudora (not available in every census) show the percentage of Ger-lings declining steadily from 1860 when they were the dominant population factor until in 1925 they comprised only 15 percent of the total population of 591. In evaluating these statistics, however, one should take into account the fact that many second generation families, no longer residing with foreign-born parents, were more or less maintaining their f-lang tradition, and can be classified as Ger-lings.

Ger-lings Foreign-Born and Co-resident Children
as a Population Factor in the Township of Eudora

Year	<u>1860</u>	<u>1865</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1895</u>
Total Population	578	1400	1604	1423
Total Ger-lings	181	382	631	340
Percentage Ger-lings	31%	27%	39%	24%
Foreign Born Ger-lings	114	217	295	125
Percentage FB Ger-lings	19%	16%	19%	9%

-1091-

Ger-lings as a Population Factor in the City of Eudora

Year	<u>1860</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total Population	157	640	591
Total Ger-lings	139	234	88
Percentage Ger-lings	88%	37%	15%
Foreign Born Ger-lings	91	117	42
Percentage FB Ger-lings	58%	18%	7%

The Andreas-Cutler history says, "Eudora was settled and is surrounded by that class of citizens who are known the world over for their thrift and capacity in promoting a substantial growth in a new country - the Germans" 2 353. Their history in Eudora begins in Kansas Territorial days.

The tract of land now occupied by the city of Eudora was part of the Shawnee reservation, and came into the possession of the Shawnee chief, Pascal Fish by the treaty permitting ownership in severalty. This enterprising chief built a log house on the future townsite and it became known as the "Fish House", a hotel for travelers moving westward. It is the only building shown, in the area which was to become Eudora, on a map of Douglas County, Kansas Territory, dated July 4, 1857, drawn by J. Cooper Stuck.

In 1856, a group of Germans in Chicago organized the Neuer Ansiedlungsverein. (New Settlement Association) Early in the spring of 1857, a location committee consisting of H. Heimann, F. Barteldes, C. Schliefer and C. Dürr, was appointed to go west to seek a townsite. In March, 1857, they finally selected the site and purchased an 800 acre tract from Pascal Fish. The townsite was laid off and named Eudora in honor of the chief's daughter.

Colonization began immediately. Sixteen members, of different trades and professions, were selected by the Association to spearhead the settlement. The party left Chicago April 11, 1857 and arrived at Eudora April 17, 1857.

The original party, which was accompanied by others not sponsored by the Association, included the following, all Germans: Peter Hartig, J. Fischer, J. Scheiwald, J. Loederle, R. Herling, J. Schwartz, G. Buttner, A. Schirmer, M. Marthey, A. Deichmann, A. Veroh, C. Epple, J. Hers, C. Marfilius, Anton Getker, and Henry Basemann. The party was led by Peter Hartig.

On February 8, 1859, Eudora was incorporated as a city under Territorial Laws. A German, Fred Ferber, was elected mayor.

Evidences of the slow transition from German to English are manifest in all facets of community life and endeavor. Linguistic development in each facet (city records, family, social manifestations, churches, etc.) proceeded at a different rate.

Some of the proceedings of the early City Council meetings were recorded in German. The Book of Commission for the City of Eudora, opened in March, 1859 by C. F. Schowarte, City Clerk, was kept in English. The City Clerk's Record 1860-1864 shows the use of a mixture of German and English, during the tenure of City Clerk Julius Kernasolz. He recorded the dates of meetings and titles of City Officials in English and the proceedings in German. The first all English entry was recorded on July 6, 1861. Marcus Summerfield took over as City Clerk in December, 1861, and continued to use English exclusively. An entry on May 21, 1864, recording a special meeting, was made in German, however.

All other city records such as the Cemetery Records, Tax Rolls, Court Records, Lists of Ordinances and Justice of the Peace records were kept in English. By the Justice of the Peace records of 1874, Adolf Helig was sworn as interpreter in the case of George Gutsmitel, Pltf. vs. Jacob and Agatha Pfeiffer, Defts.

Family ties and discipline helped to maintain f-lang tradition, especially during the lifetime of first and second generation settlers. In Eudora, the influence of surviving second generation Ger-lings is nil and several of those interviewed in 1952 rued the fact that they had little or no opportunity to exercise a language skill that had become peculiarly their own, because of linguistic pressures upon those younger in the community.

All of the second generation and most of the third learned German at home and spoke only German before attending English grade school. Many, after exposure to English, spoke a mixture of both languages with no conscious effort to discriminate between them. Some families clung so tenaciously to German, that the parents never learned English and the children had to transact such official business as the payment of taxes.

Many grandparents would deign to understand English when it was spoken to them by grandchildren, but made a point of replying in German.

Parents were aided in the maintainance of the f-lang tradition by the attendance of their children at Sunday Schools, Confirmation Schools and Parochial schools which were taught in German (discussed in more detail under Churches). Youth's rejection of the "old-fashioned" was prevalent in Eudora and, even some of the representatives of the second generation manifested

a negative attitude toward the use of German. Church elders began to consider the introduction of English into the services as a measure to keep their children from straying from the congregation.

At length it became convenient for the parents to use whatever German they still knew as a sort of secret language, enabling them to speak openly of matters not meant for little ears. This practice, reduced to the use of a few remembered words and phrases, was still used during telephone conversations in 1952 by a few of the older female residents who felt that they could in this way achieve partial privacy on a party line.

Many families can still produce German Bibles and prayer books, but only a few residents (Mrs. Lena Eder and Mr. and Mrs. Chris Hammer) were still using them for devotional purposes in 1952. The Hammers still displayed, as visible evidence of their German background, a wall plaque with the following German inscription: "Auf allen meinen Wegen schenk Herr Deinen Segen" (Lord, send me Your blessings, wherever I may go).

Thus, the influence of the family on maintainance of f-lang, though strong in the early days of the settlement, diminished rapidly as death took the older residents of the community and as education and social contacts in English reached a larger and larger proportion of the children. Inter-marriage with non-f-lang speakers played a great part in nullifying the role of the family as a factor in maintainance of f-lang.

The penchant for social organization and Gemütlichkeit traditionally ascribed to the Germans was certainly in evidence in Eudora.

The first society organized in Eudora was the Deutsche Turnverein (German Gymnastic Society) in 1864. It lasted less than a year but was

-1095-

activated again in 1867, its officers being J. A. Seybold, H. Basemann and C. Marfilius. The organization again disbanded in 1876 and was reorganized in 1880, only to fight a losing battle with prohibition and die definitively in 1884. Its reorganizations coincided with gains made by the temperance movement in Kansas - 1867 - strengthening of the dram shop law; 1880 - adoption of the prohibition amendment to the Kansas constitution - and seemed to be defensive reactions to the activities of the Temperance Union which had organized a Temperance Tabernacle in Eudora in 1879. Older residents have fond memories of the good times they had at Turner meetings. Their statements led to the conclusion that much of the gymnastic work "was limited to elbow-bending and weight-lifting (heavy steins of beer)."

The shock of the demise of the Turnverein was softened by the existence of other fraternal organizations which fulfilled the Germans' need for organized social intercourse. Both the IOOF and the AF and AM organized lodges in Eudora in 1869. They were in no sense national or unilingual lodges (although some informants were sure that a few of the early records were kept in German) and the English contacts which the German speakers made there were certainly a factor in hastening linguistic development in the community.

The newspaper, the Eudora Weekly News, was begun in 1886 and never printed anything in German. English by that date had become the accepted norm for social and business communication, and linguistically Eudora had partially abandoned German. Those German residents wishing a newspaper in their own language had to rely upon Die Germania, published in Lawrence.

While there may have been some antagonisms concerning nationality and language differences during World War I, there were no unpleasant incidents nor demonstrations of violence like those which occurred in countless other communities which had German-American citizens. Several of the older Germans suddenly showed great interest in completing the naturalization process which they had not bothered about too much before. The News, with great alacrity, told the German-Americans what was expected of them.

It can be said that with the added social pressures of the First World War the linguistic development of Eudora had advanced to the stage where German was generally abandoned.

Perhaps the most universal exhibition of German influence in Eudora took place each year on October 6, when the Ger-lings and many of their non-Ger-ling friends celebrated German Day, the anniversary of the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania. It provided an "occasion for German merriment, conversation, dancing, singing, speech-making and the imbibing of beer and the eating of German-style food."

German Day, October 6, 1892, happened to coincide with the opening of the bridge at Eudora. The program for the day was printed in German with an advertisement in German by Weaver's Department Store in Lawrence, calling the attention of the participants to his wares and service by German speaking clerks. German Day usually started with speeches in Eudora and a parade to Lawrence, where a picnic and other festivities were held. The celebration was abandoned sometime after the turn of the century.

A sour note on the disappearance of German from the social habits of the community was sounded by Fred Schlegel (aged 84), a carpenter, who

still had a smattering of German in 1952. Lamenting the fact that his grandsons and their playmates know nothing of the language and remarking about the laziness and lack of discipline exhibited by the younger generation, he used a German proverb: "Arbeit macht das Leben süß" (Work makes life sweet)... He seemed to believe that there was a correlation between the linguistic tradition of the Germans and their reputed industriousness. When they lost one, they also lost the other.

Business in Eudora was early dominated by enterprising Germans. Three of them in particular, distinguished themselves in their line of business and encouraged and aided the growth of the town, serving it financially and politically. They, Charles Pilla, Charles Dürr and Charles Lotholz were indeed "pillars of the community" and they were referred to affectionately as the "Three Charlies".

Charles Dürr was born in Colbert, Prussia, 1821. Arrived in New York City in 1852, Chicago in 1854 and Eudora in 1857. He was a miller.

Charles Lotholz was born in Germany and stopped in Illinois before coming to Eudora sometime before 1861. He established a lumberyard.

Charles Pilla was born in Bavaria. His daughter Malvia claims the family is descended from the Huguenots on her father's side. He arrived in New York in 1849 and came to Eudora in 1865, following his brother, who had come earlier, about 1858 or 1859. He established a general store, trading with German farm families especially, which quickly prospered and grew into Eudora's biggest business enterprise. He served several years as postmaster and is remembered for his largess to church groups and struggling immigrant families.

For many years, linguistic proficiency in German was a definite business asset in Eudora. Carl Lotz, who worked for Charles Pilla for many years before setting up his own grocery business, said that the Pilla clerks had to speak German, especially to accomodate the huge volume of business brought in on Saturdays by the surrounding German farm families. A rival store with English-speaking personnel did a relatively poor business.

Just as German was advantageous to these merchants in dealing with their customers, so too was English an advantage in driving bargains with their wholesalers and suppliers in Kansas City, and they became bilingual much more quickly than their fellow Germans whose economic well-being did not depend so much upon English contacts outside the community.

As has been stated, the Eudora Weekly News did not print news or advertisements in German, but various artisans (paperhangers, painters, carpenters etc.) would be sure to include in their ads a statement about the number of years of experience they had in their craft back in Germany. Some advertising in a mixture of English and German was done by Weaver's Department Store on the back of the program for German Day in 1892. Since the turn of the century, business in Eudora, except in rare, isolated instances, has been transacted in English.

The role of the churches in maintaining f-lang in Eudora was a significant one. This is especially true of the Protestant churches. The Catholic congregation, although preponderantly German, had a few

-1099-

Irish-Catholic families (Sante-Fe section workers) whose unilingualism struggled to final success against the use of German for sermons and pastoral work.

In 1868, "St. Paul's Evangelical Church [later E-R] was founded through the efforts of Rev. Christian Haas, who while visiting relatives near Willow Springs because of his delicate health, became interested in the religious completion of Eudora and the surrounding country." / Eudora News, 50th anniversary edition. Most of the members came from southern Germany, Switzerland or neighboring parts of France.

The names of some of the pastors who have served St. Paul's give evidence of the German tradition of the Church: Haas, Toennies, Engelbach, Silbermann (reputed to be a converted Jew), Schaefer, Koelbing, Loew, Stoerker, Kicher, Hauck, Decker, Reifschneider and Bauer. There was a German school preparing children for confirmation.

Several older members of the congregation of 1952 [Chris Hammer, Carl Lotz, Malvia Pilla, Fred Schlegel] had attended German Confirmation School at St. Paul's. They also attended grade school in English but can recall no German parochial school designed to compete with or complete the public instruction available in English. Carl Lotz, who taught Sunday School in German, attests to the existence of a Jugendverein (Young People's Society) of which he was secretary from 1891 to 1898. This society met every Sunday, and its entire proceedings, business, religious and social, were conducted in German.

The pastor of 1952 used German only occasionally in pastoral work in the homes of the older people who often preferred the German prayers learned in their youth.

was
German used exclusively from organization in 1868 until 1916, when the first English service was held. Both German and English were used between 1916 and 1925. The last German service was held in 1928.

Loyalty to German was intense among the older people, but inter-marriage of the congregation with non-German speaking people, brought about a mounting pressure for the change to English. In the main, the failing attendance of younger members was responsible for the increased use of English in the services. The older members reluctantly accepted the realization that in youth was their future and that losing them by having their way in the language question would leave them with a very hollow victory.

The translation of a Short History of Eudora Parish of the Methodist Episcopal Church, written in September, 1884, by J. Ehrtam in the German language, states that the first preacher arrived in the summer of 1859 and preached in private homes and in the City Hall building. In 1870 thirteen German Methodists, led by Rev. August Meke, purchased an old stone dwelling, and used it as a place of divine worship until 1881, when a new frame edifice, known as the German Methodist Church was built under the direction of Brother Brugger. By that time the congregation had increased to fifty souls and a class had been instituted at the nearby Captain's Creek community. The German preachers serving the congregation were determined to maintain the German language in the services in spite of the objections of the English-speaking members. This inflexibility led in 1885 to the formation of an English Methodist congregation. The schism, directly caused by the language question, weakened the German Methodist congregation, for many of

its younger members who didn't understand the German services flocked to the English Methodist Church. These English services also attracted several of the younger members of St. Paul's Church.

The German and English Methodist churches united in 1917, while Rev. Oscar Zeidler (the last pastor who could preach in German) was pastor of the German church.

The first missionaries sent by the Evangelical Association to Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska, arrived in 1858 and by 1865 their work in Kansas resulted in the organization of the Kansas Conference.

In 1871, Rev. J. Wuerth, who was serving the Lawrence circuit, organized a class in Eudora, comprising six German families. A church was built during the same year and Eudora became one of the important congregations of the Kansas Conference. Its membership grew and embraced many of the prominent farmers in the vicinity of Eudora.

In keeping with Evangelical tradition, the majority of the pastors appointed to the Salem church were German-speaking and ministered to their flock in German. The congregation followed a pattern of slow transition from German to English.

German was used exclusively until about 1900; from that date until 1914 it alternated with English, and from 1914 on English was used exclusively for services at Eudora, with a small group of adults hanging on to German in a Sunday School class as late as 1922. There is no indication that the language question caused any hard feelings or bitterness between members of the congregation. Their linguistic assimilation seems to have been more or less painless.

At least two of the original sixteen townsiters, Peter Hartig and Joseph Herz, were of the Catholic faith. The 50th Anniversary Edition of the Eudora Weekly News states, "The first Catholic services conducted in Eudora were by a missionary, Father Lewis Guenther... For several years, he celebrated Mass one Sunday each month in a store building owned by two brothers, Jews, named George and John Andreas. On the Sunday the Missionary came, the counter in the storeroom was moved to one side and used as an altar and the faithful few attended the services."

Beckman's version differs somewhat. "Eudora, which had been attended by Father Kuhls from Leavenworth, was also given a resident pastor... In 1864, the Catholics among the settlers numbered fifteen families. With Father Kuhls' encouragement, a church was built, and Father Louis Gunther who had just been ordained, seems to have been installed as resident pastor immediately"/b 67.

Father Gunther was succeeded in 1865 by the Bavarian, Father Aloysius Mayer;"he wrote to the Ludwig-Missionsverein that his parish also needed a school. The society granted 750 gulden for the purpose, and the school was opened in 1870 by three Sisters of Charity"/b 99. Some sort of German parochial school had existed later, at latest, 1866/b 97.

Confirmation of German language education is given by the oldest parishioner, Mrs. Lena Eder (born 1865, nee Neustifter) who came to Eudora from Bavaria in 1871. She attended school and church in German in the Holy Family Parish and still had recourse to her German prayer book in 1952, because she did not read English well, her education being limited to the

instruction she received in German at the parochial school. John Schopper, in 1952 an active church committeeman, attended Holy Family Parochial School in 1901-1902. German was still being used a little then; a few children still recited their catechism in German.

In 1883, "The value of the German Catholic Church property is estimated at \$7500. Present membership, seventy families"/a 353.

The German-born pastor of 1952 and several of his older parishioners used German in praying privately, a habit nurtured since childhood. His only other use of the language at Eudora was for very infrequent usage in the Confessional.

Of the twenty-six pastors who served the parish from 1864 to 1952, twenty-two were either native Germans or of German extraction. The pattern of language usage in the church was as follows: All German until about 1898; half English, half German until 1918, with English being used exclusively after that year. The existence of animosity toward foreign language during World War I hastened the abandonment of German, which was accomplished quietly, with no language quarrel resulting.

German Tombstone Inscriptions at Eudora By Decades

	<u>Eudora Catholic</u>	<u>Eudora General</u>
1870-1879	2	17
1880-1889	7	18
1890-1899	12	8
1900-1909	13	9
1910-1919	1	4
1920-1929	3	5
1930-1936	3	0

None later

^{fn}There is an interesting Jewish Cemetery located one mile south and one mile west of Eudora. Nineteen people have been buried there between 1869 when the plot was purchased and 1928, when the latest interment was made. Three stones bear all Hebrew inscriptions while five are inscribed partly in Hebrew and partly in English. Most of the people interred there were not residents of Eudora, but had been brought there from other communities. An early Jewish element at Eudora left the town for other points in Kansas, Lawrence and St. Marys among others.

The foregoing pages are an abridgment of the report of Richard Mikulski, an investigator of 1952, who concluded that use of German was reaching the vestigial stage at Eudora. In 1949, however, a student of the University of Kansas from Eudora stated: "As far as I know, the whole community is influenced by the German language. Quite a few of the residents speak German. German was and still is spoken in my home. It was used quite a bit when I was small... Now, I know a few words of German and can usually figure out what is being said." "The German language isn't used much anymore."

In the mid-1960's there were still certain rural families capable of using German, and more inclined to exercise their ability because of a shift of public sentiment in respect to the use of foreign languages. In general, however, the vestigial stage was then nearly completed.

Lapeer Luxemburgers (Lowest, Area D) would have been completely swallowed up by their neighbors if they had come into a community of Catholic Germans. As it is, they form the majority of a Ger-ling group which make up about half of the people in the small St. Francis parish. The other Ger-ling Catholics were all from south Germany (Alsace, Baden, Wurtemberg) so that the dialects were mutually comprehensible. The date of origin (by 1861) given in Volume I is the date of arrival of a Catholic Wurtemberger. The first Luxemburger (Matthew Simon) arrived about 1872; arrivals continued into the 1890's. Immigrants were therefore alive in the 1950's and their children born as late as 1907 communicated with them in some cases in dialect. The next generation was scandalized by use of it over the telephone during the Second World War.

Biographical Data:

I. Immigrant: Joseph Simon (1878-) b. Jung-Linster, Luxembourg. To U.S. with father, Peter (1835-1908), directly to Lapeer 1891. Father had two brothers and a sister already settled at Lapeer, ca. 1871. Peter remarried Mrs. Steinberg of Lapeer. Spoke German at home during life time of father. Joseph married Victoria Doleshal (1878-) of Kansas City, Missouri, whose parents were Austrian born. Victoria's German very limited. Joseph speaks English with accent. Three children: Harlav, Albert, Francis. Children do not understand German.

II. Immigrant: Emil J. Schelbar (1887-1951) b. Luxembourg. To U.S., directly to Lapeer 1894. Son of Nicholas Charles (1842-1920) and Mary (1844-1913). Emil married Amanda Blankenship (1837-). Emil had to learn English at school as parents spoke German. Children: Mickey and Joe.

III. Joe Schelbar (1911) b. Lone Star. Son of II. School, Lawrence, Jeweler. Married Ruth Parsons (1918) in 1937. Joe learned German in Germany during second World War.

Clearfield-Captains Creek Germans (Mid-1, Area F) arrived in 1857. A number of families were Alsatian, most of the rest, south Germans, but there were Hanoverians. See further on early history /tk187-8. A class of the Evangelical Association (EUB) was organized the next year from seven families which became "for many years one of the strongest and most influential societies in the conference. Here was held one of the first two camp-meetings in Kansas during the summer of 1861. . . . The camp-meetings have been continued at this point every year since without omission." So wrote Platz (101) in 1914. The impending war seems to have abolished them. The Young People's Alliance in 1903 voted that they should have 8 English and 4 German copies

of their constitution. On Mar. 7, 1904: "Motion laid on the table till coming meeting night of having the Y.P.A. more English than we have been having the same." The motion was not discussed again. In 1905 the Y.P.A. lapsed till 1909; its later records were all in English. In 1904 the Sunday School record hesitated momentarily between English and German, but German was not abandoned until 1915. However, in the last years ~~the~~ the secretary simply filled in blanks in a form. In preaching, German predominated until 1912; from then at least through 1913 services were half German half English. English definitely prevailed in 1920. The Women's Missionary Society, with some hesitation during the last year, kept its records in German until 1921. The entry of the 3d of March 1921 contained the following: "Sister K . . . read German, Aphesiens (sic) 6 chapter 10 to 24 verse. Sister Meeder then read English lesson 22 Kings . . . English pulpit Bible was discussed and decided Bro. Huscher see about getting one. The lesson was studied in both languages." The Captain's Creek German Methodist Church was established in 1882. English in sermons began to be used about 1890. The membership was of the same stock as the Evangelical people. Use of German in the family fell away rapidly after 1910. In one family, the youngest child started to school in 1913 ignorant of English, but by 1917 the parents in that family were using English habitually at home. The experience was typical, though earlier in some families children had been replying in English to parents who addressed them in German. In the cemetery English inscriptions appeared by 1870; there appear to be no German inscriptions after 1897.

Prairie City French (Low-x, Area G). For the early history of this settlement, beginning in 1855, see /tkl70-1. The first group located very near the present Baldwin. The French there made up only about ~~half~~ half of the

Catholic families in the neighborhood, and the proportions in 1918 were recorded as the same, 40 families all told then. Founded among these people the Annunciation parish served as headquarters for missionaries of French background about 1870, but soon became dependent for pastors on other parishes, and these priests were not French. There was probably no French preaching after 1873, certainly not after 1880. Beginning in 1864 and continuing till about 1880, other families originating, like the early arrivals, Butels and Jardons, in the Belfort region (against both Switzerland and Germany), settled in the southeast portion of the strip. Some of these people had been at Frenchtown, Pennsylvania. The older generation of these late arrivals were particularly insistent on the use of French and their children were obliged to speak to them in it until their death in the first decade of this century. At least two of the second generation, sisters, daughters of Louis Philippe Cayot, remained faithful to the language in 1952. The families to the northwest lost habitual use of French much earlier, though proficiency was a memory to some of the old.

48.24 EDWARDS COUNTY N25

Saint Peter and Paul Germans (Low-w, Area A) are so named for the Catholic parish, but Protestants (1878, Krupp Leppoldt) were in the area as soon as Catholics (1879, Schmitt, Bernatski). However, judging by the number of burials before 1921 in the Catholic cemetery on the one hand and in the German Methodist and Lutheran cemeteries on the other, the Catholics were twice as numerous up to that time and before 1900 three times as numerous. The Protestant area is more to the north. The German Methodist cemetery contains only two German inscriptions, but late, 1911 and 1917. The Lutheran

cemetery contains none. The Lutheran church originated between 1910 and 1916. The preaching was half German, half English till the First World War.

Language of Inscriptions in the Sts. Peter and Paul
Catholic Cemetery North of Kinsley

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1880-9	3	1	25%
1890-9	3	4	57%
1900-9	8	2	20%

Only one later, 1920, commemorating a Russian German woman recently come into the area. The son of a Catholic from Lippe said that most of his neighbors and his own family communicated in Low German, but there were a few High Germans. Born ca. 1905, he spoke German with his parents till about 1940. His son born 1933 knew none. The soldiers who came from this area in the late 1940's had "to learn German over again" during the occupation of Germany. The situation was similar in 1956 among Lutherans: "Those 50 could talk if they needed to."

West Garfield Swedes (Low-y, Area B) dealt much with Garfield, but after the abatement of Swedish nationalistic feelings some turned toward Kinsley. In 1956, a family of five celibates (3 women, 2 men) were still proficient in Swedish, but most of those born after 1905 learned little Swedish.

Offerle Germans (Low-x, Area C). The Andreas-Cutler History contains this notice: "In 1876, Lawrence Offerle, a native of France, accompanied by a number of settlers from Geneseo, Illinois bought land at Offerle and vicinity. . . . Here is a church where there is preaching both in English and German" /a1368. Schmidt in his Santa Fe immigration pamphlet written at nearly the same ~~xx~~ time, after speaking of the three nearest colonies

beyond, treats the town of Offerle merely as their "post office and railroad station" without emphasizing its German character/ kq 28:316. This neglect is to be explained by the fact that Lawrence Offerle (1832-1906) and Simon Ott were his competitors in disposing of Santa Fe lands (Hutchinson News, 27 Aug. 1967). The church belonged to the Evangelical Association (EUB). Simon Ott and Edwin, not his father, Lawrence, Offerle are included in its first organization of 1878/pz 135, but Lawrence became its source of strength. He did not move to the town himself until 1882, but remained as a promoter for the Santa Fe in Illinois. Edwin and another son, Abner, became merchants at Offerle/a 1368. As Andreas-Cutler indicated, the services were partly in English from the beginning. German continued irregularly until the First World War; the irregularity was in part the result of difficulty in supplying the pulpit. The settlers had been in the United States long enough so that most men already knew English, but there were women unable to speak it until the First World War. Ability to read German lapsed early; at least the merchant Abner Offerle of 1967 was then quoted as saying of an old Bible in German "It has been three generations since anyone in the Offerle family could have read the German"(H. News as above). In the 1950's the inhabitants of Offerle included two other elements of Ger-ling stock, the retired Lutherans from south of town and Catholic Volgans attracted to the area by the St. Joseph settlement near by. In 1953 there were two Catholic families speaking "pure German." A retired Lutheran had in 1953 found one Evangelical with whom to talk a little German. His own son had a limited knowledge of German, his grown grandson, none.

-1111-

Kinsley Germans (Low-y, Area D). Farmers successful near Kinsley in 1873 before the grasshoppers arrived next year included three men with German names. The early prospects for German settlement were so good here that "July 13, 1878, Dr. L. Rick ventured on the Staats Zeitung, a German paper"/a1368. The paper endured for a full year. Thereafter Kinsley had no German institutions for many years. In 1882 "Father Loehrer began the erection of the first frame Catholic church at Kinsley"/mo46, but the pastor's names later were as likely to be Irish as German. However, the Rev. J. J. Steines preached sometimes in German at the St. Nicholas Church from 1916-1918. Eventually (1947) there was a Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, there, but the membership was largely made up of those who drove in from the northeast edge of the Saints Peter and Paul district. German in Kinsley has usually been spoken only in isolated families, rather late because of retirements in the town, a fact recognized by informants in 1941.

Belpre Germans (Lowest, Area E)

This community is of interest as an example of secondary settlement among Reich Germans with sources in Kansas. The first settlers came into the area of future Belpre in the late 1870's. The post office was established in 1879. In 1895, only two German-born, man and wife, lived in the township. In 1905 there were 18 persons born in German-speaking areas there. All children in these families had been born in Kansas except for two born in Indiana. The wives of four men from this group had been born in Illinois, one wife in Ohio. Along with the families with a foreign-born parent, there were many other families of German background in which all adults were born in the United States. The most usual place of residence before coming to Belpre was Ellinwood, Kansas, and the neighboring area. When the wave of settlement of the late 1890's began, Belpre was in languishing condition. A Methodist church that had existed in the 1880's had collapsed. In 1905, however, the Baptists built a church and in 1910 the Methodists. The Methodist roll of 1910 included only one family with a German name. In 1950 there were 28 members (including children) who bore German names. But most of the Germans were Catholics. In 1900 St. Bernard's was a mission of Kinsley, but a church was a-building. A new church was needed in 1906. Beginning in 1913 the Reverend G. Hachenbroich was a resident with a mission at Stafford. All his successors at least till 1937 bore German names. Preaching in German is reported to have occurred at St. Bernard's in the first decade of the century, but Father Hachenbroich's predecessor was Irish, the Reverend E. M. Collen /mo92. He had probably not been there long, for he moved often. The language persisted in use rather late. In 1950 it was

still the ordinary speech in a few homes of the old. At Belpre some time after the influx, "people would speak German on the streets as it was easier for them." The effect on the English of the younger generations was still evident in 1950.

In the southeastern part of the county Fellsburg was named for a German family arriving in the 1870's. By 1886 there were at least six German families that remained a permanent part of the community ^{and} in the 1950's there were a score of families, almost all Protestants, recognized as of German stock. The young of 1950 heard German occasionally from the old.

48.25 ELK COUNTY P25. See Vol. I, 311.

48.26 ELLIS COUNTY N12

See Settlement Histories for Primary Catholic Russian Germans (Super, Area B).

Ellis Bukovinan Germans (U-Hi, Ellis A)

The town of Ellis has been a railroad town throughout its existence. It has therefore possessed a population formed partly of the families of train crews, and these have not been German. The workers in the shops, however, early contained Reich and Volga German elements. The town is now 90 per cent German; this element includes most of the tradespeople.

German settlement in this area began by 1877, but the Bukovinans did not arrive till somewhat later, probably 1884. They were at first primarily a compact rural group with a focus where St. John's Lutheran Church was built, but they were at an early date also living in the town of Ellis (98 born in Austria in Hamilton Township in 1895; 24 in town). They later spread west and south from both of these centers so as to occupy much land in adjoining Trego County and practically everything between the two original focuses. The Duchy of Bukovina beyond the Carpathian Mountains on the eastern edge of the Austria-Hungarian empire was one of the last regions to receive Austrian crown colonies. There was little immigration into it before 1780 and much after the Napoleonic wars. Villages furnishing population to Kansas were founded as late as 1841. Kansans also came from some of the older villages that had been founded as colonies for other nationalities and had later received German elements. Among villages of this type were Illischestie and Tereblistie and probably Pojani and Nikoloi. Fuerstenthal, founded 1803, and Schwarzthal, 1841, were German villages. Because of the mixture of peoples there were Bukovinans in Kansas who could speak more or less Rumanian, Ukrainian (Ruthenian), Czech and Polish.

The Germans were mostly south Germans (Swabians), mostly directly from Germany, but some after a period in Galicia. There were also some Sudetenlanders (Böhmen-deutsch). Some of both came to Ellis, but primarily Swabians. The district in Austria-Hungary soon became overpopulated, and when the Austrian monarchy was forced to give some degree of autonomy to its trans-Carpathian provinces, the Germans were at a disadvantage as compared with the Poles. The earlier migration to Kansas was caused primarily by economic pressures and dislike of Austrian army service, but the political situation greatly increased the exodus in the first years of the twentieth century when many more immigrated to this settlement. In 1902 a trainload arrived at once. Linguistically the Bukovinan Germans were on arrival rather ferociously German because of the competition in Europe, but also because of it they were accustomed to the idea of bi- or multi-lingualism. Religiously the Bukovinans in Europe were both Catholics and Protestants who dwelt amicably together. In Kansas the early northern focus was almost all Lutheran, but in country as well as town Catholics and Protestants were mixed together in the spreading parts of the settlement. In the town of Ellis and in the country to the south and east of it, the Catholic Bukovinans found themselves working together with the Catholic Volgans who had early representatives in the town of Ellis and soon spread westward through the countryside too. In 1895 there were in the town of Ellis 10 persons born in Russia as compared with the 24 born in Austria; in 1915 Russia 70, Austria 28.

The Protestants probably worshiped without organization for a while, but the St. John Lutheran Church was founded in 1897 at the north focus.

The Christ Church in Ellis came into being ten years later. The country church has been steadily a member of the Iowa Synod, later the American Lutheran Church; the church in town vacillated between the same body and the Nebraska German Synod, later Midwest Synod, of the United Lutheran Church(eventually LCA). After about 1925, it was in the Midwest Synod. While it was American Lutheran for more than a decade before 1923, it formed one parish with St. John. Ott in 1907 reported the two congregations together as having 300 communicant members, about 500 souls. "In 1923 the language question divided the congregation and the pastor of St. John's elected to move to Ellis, when the parish split"/w. The present Christ Church, erected in 1925, is large enough to suggest that the congregation was prosperous and nearly as large as in 1948 when there were 353 souls, in 1958 there were 531. St. John's in the country had 225 souls in 1950.

Although the two churches split over the language question in 1923, which doubtless means that Christ Church then introduced English and St. John's remained all German, they were not far apart in 1949 in the use of German in services; both had German every other Sunday, but in town on German days there was also an English service. Religious instruction in German continued until 1941 at St. John's. The amount of German in town in 1949 was doubtless because of the large number of retired farmers there. The immigrants of the beginning of the century had reached the age of retirement.

In conservation of German the community then regarded the Protestant Bukovinans as the most persistent element in it, the Catholic Volgans as next, and the Catholic Bukovinans as most nearly anglicized.

The Catholic Church at Ellis, St. Mary's, was organized in 1886 from among the various elements in the railroad town. Its pastor was Father Fogarty until 1893, then the Capuchins from Victoria took over with their German background. In 1911 Laing reported 80 Volgan families in the parish; in 1926, Dreiling reported 175. In the Catholic cemetery which received no graves till 1906 (the city cemetery was used until then) 30 per cent of the graves belong to Bukovinans, another 10 per cent to others, Reich Germans, Czechs, Poles, Irish, and the rest are Volgan. Church usage then represents rather response to Volgan than Bukovinan needs. In 1949 a Catholic informant reported that there was no preaching in German; another, also Catholic, in 1950 said there was preaching in German once a month. The pastor who came in 1952 rarely used German, but when the "Hail Mary" was in German he received a vigorous response.

Near St. John's those born in 1920 or before still liked to use German in 1950; those born before 1930 were capable of using it, and those born after 1940 were inexpert. The English of many high school students revealed, however, that they were accustomed to hearing German. In 1964 the old "don't really have conversations in German. They just mix words in." The males born in the 1940's knew only "the words that they shouldn't know." There were then few people residing on the farms; men came out from town to farm. In Ellis in 1964 the old used German only for secrecy, but there were some young, usually Volgans, who could still speak German on occasion. In the community as a whole a considerable variety of usage existed in the period

following the First World War, but immigrant grandparents whose English is far from perfect report that their grandchildren know no German. Very nearly the same situation exists among the Catholic Volgans; they were however, definitely more anglicized in 1952 than the main Ellis County settlement.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions St. John's Cemetery North of Ellis

<u>Decade</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% German</u>
1900-1909	26	13	33%
1910-1919	16	5	23%
1920-1929	19	2	10%
1930-1939	13	14	52%
1940-1949	5	6	55%
1950-1953	4	0	0%

This peculiar trend, besides exhibiting transitory effects of the First World War, is to be explained by the large number of deaths of young adults in the first decade--among adults only three were past forty, and the death of the immigrant generation in the 1930's and 40's. The mortality was in the same approximate generation in both periods, but language was not of as much consequence to these people in the first period as it became after a long period of struggle to maintain it. It may be added also that the late German stones usually have English dates but commentary in German.

Walker Germans (Mid-m, Area C) are thus described by Dreiling after listing a number of families, starting with the Robbens of 1876, who came from Ohio and Kentucky near Covington. These German families settled on land lying mostly between Walker and Victoria. They became associated with St. Fidelis Parish, Herzog [i.e., Victoria] Their language was the 'Plattdeutsch,' which is not easily understood by the rest of the Germans. In manners, habits and customs they differed greatly from the German-Russians, hence . . . there was little social intercourse between them. Inter-marriages were thus prevented. This, however, has all changed now [1926]" /dr93. All agree that it changed, partly because some of these Reich Germans sold their land to Volgans and moved elsewhere (see Angelus, Sheridan D, and Leoville, Decatur E). But amalgamation did take place. The Reich Germans in general were Engl-ized more rapidly than the Volgans, partly because they were on the edge of the district, partly because of their dialect, and partly from a wish to differentiate themselves from their neighbors.

48.27 ELLSWORTH COUNTY N18

See Settlement Histories for Wilson and Palacky Czechs (U-H1 and Mid-m, Areas A and E).

Wilson Germans

(Low-w, Area B) in surroundings which did not promote Engl-izing were conservative. A boy born in 1938 learned German before English; but by 1942 his parents changed their home language to English.

North Ellsworth Germans (Mid-k, Area C). The three pioneer families of 1871 who remained in the Lutheran community came to this area from Wisconsin, but had not been there more than four years since their departure from Germany. As the settlement grew there was a Pomeranian strain in it. After tentative years St. Paul's Church, Missouri Synod, was organized in 1878. The services appear to have been all in German till the First World War. They were reduced from once a month to six times a year in 1949.

Language of Cemetery Inscriptions in St. Paul's
Lutheran Cemetery, Ellsworth

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1870-9	1	2	67%
1880-9	6	20	77%
1890-9	6	13	68%
1900-9	9	17	65%
1910-9	13	13	50%
1920-9	13	16	55%
1930-9	26	12	32%
1940-9	19	1	5%

The last example in German was of 1943; it was a headstone made to conform to a central monument of earlier date.

In 1949 there were no families with growing children where German was used habitually, but in 1964 there were still many people capable of using German and occasionally doing so. A typical family dropped using German in the family about 1928, but in Ellsworth high school in the late 1940's students

from this area were able to communicate in German, probably because of grandparents. On the whole the settlement has been linguistically conservative, largely because of its isolation.

The Ellsworth Conglomerate (Low-x, Area D) contained both Germans and Czechs from early times. Retirements have kept up the supply of older foremen, and some of those, particularly among the Czechs, who have come into town to earn their living have been proficient in German and continued to exercise it under appropriate circumstances. In the late 1940's Czech high school students from the country taught a few phrases of their language to certain other students. In the early 1950's Czech on the streets of Ellsworth was no rarity.

Holyrood Germans (Mid-1, Area F) were in general linguistically conservative, but Englishizing forces were strong enough so that in the Lutheran Church confirmations in German ceased in 1915; the Evangelical and Reformed Church continued to have them until 1918. Preaching in English began for the Lutherans in 1922. Thereafter the young no longer learned to understand German; children in the fifteen years preceding resisted speaking German but heard it often enough to understand it. The later arrival of oil field workers and the number of intermarriages between the Germans and neighboring Czechs discouraged further use of German, though it had less effect upon Czech.

Language of Inscriptions in the Lutheran and
Evangelical Cemeteries of Holyrood

	<u>German</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>Percentage of German in Total</u>	
	<u>Lutheran</u>	<u>Evangelical</u>	<u>Lutheran</u>	<u>Evangelical</u>	<u>Lutheran</u>	<u>Evangelical</u>
1880-89	5		9		36%	
1890-99	13	6	5	12	72%	33%
1900-09	15	13	4	22	79%	37%
1910-19	8	6	11	32	42%	16%
1920-29	3	2	15	33	17%	6%

Later among the Lutherans there were three out of 40 in the next two decades, 7%; among the Evangelicals there was 1 out of 33 in the 1930's, none in the 1940's, two in the 1950's.

Among the many tombstones in German there are some among the Lutherans that show a remarkable persistence in the use of the language, not only until rather advanced dates, but during particularly critical times. The anti-German feelings during World War I did not stop the Heiken, Stoltenberg, Bestorn and Sumsen families from having their tombstones in German. The ratio of German was probably originally much higher among the Evangelicals; a great many stones commemorating early deaths were of late styles, and evidently replacing earlier monuments.

Lorraine Germans (Mid-k, Area G)

Special Bibliog:

L - Lorraine Baptist Church Fiftieth Anniversary Booklet 1928

Lorraine did not become a post office until 1888. The Santa Fe Railroad built a branch through Green Garden Township about 1885 but established no stop there until a branch of the Frisco intersected it at this particular spot. The German Baptist community was, however, well established by this time. The church, the First German Baptist of Green Garden, had been organized in 1878 and in the same year a map of the Kansas Pacific Railway showed a German colony in this location. The railroad had given the church eighty acres a mile west of the present town; in return the Baptists published in their national journal, Sendbote, an announcement that a colony was being established. Negotiations had begun the year before and at least two members (Steinberg, Heitschmidt), both prominent later, had acquired their land the year before that. The church had sent out from Green Garden, Ill. (12 se of Joliet) in Will County, 61, 135, a prospecting committee to choose the location; of this committee "Professor" E. C. Janzen ultimately established himself at Lorraine. The Janssens, another family from Illinois (town of Minonk 30 se of Peoria in Woodford County, 61, 144), has furnished a large and prominent element of the population. This family was East Frisian, as were a number of other families in the community, but there were also Hanoverians and other Low Germans. The dialects of Low German were sometimes mutually incomprehensible (East Frisian particularly offers difficulties), and Standard German had to be learned outside the homes. This is not to say that there was linguistic incomprehensibility in the community. For one reason there

-1124-

were few who had not already had an opportunity to learn English; most families had spent at least five years in America before coming to Lorraine.

America in this case included Canada. Two families of the Baptist charter members came from Ontario, from Tavistock and Berlin. Tavistock is half way toward Lake Huron from Hamilton. Others came from Connecticut (Meriden, 20 n of New Haven), Michigan (St. Joseph and Detroit), Minnesota (Hastings, on the Mississippi not far from St. Paul), one from Racine Wisconsin. The others came from Illinois but not all from one place. Two families came from Walshville, (30 ne of Alton) in Montgomery County, one from Chicago, the Janssens from Minonk. These are all the charter members; none from Green Garden and its neighboring town of Monee are included, though the impetus started from there. The explanation is, at least in part, that organization took place the sixth of April and Green Garden people, some of whom had already made their arrangements in Kansas the year before had not yet arrived.

The town was founded by German Baptists and in the mid-twentieth century was entirely Baptist, 292 members in 1928; 375 in 1949, only church in Green Garden Township, but at one time there was also a Methodist church and an "English" Baptist there. Both were small enough so that they could not support a minister, but the Methodists maintained a Sunday school, of course conducted in English, which the Germans attended. "Everybody attended all three churches." This fact bespeaks fraternal harmony in all the elements of Lorraine's population. In general the non-Germans were absorbed or left; any one with an un-Teutonic name likely has a German wife or mother. Still the 1948 football roster contained the names of Barrera, Dougherty, and

Perkins. A Dobrinski lies buried in the cemetery. To be accepted at Lorraine it is then not completely necessary to be a North American Baptist (north American replaced German at the time of the First World War), though to find life agreeable it is necessary to become one. The town has the reputation of being socially entirely self-sufficient, and it demonstrated by rebuilding after a disastrous fire in 1957 that it had also great economic loyalty.^{fn}

^{fn}The names that appeared in the article (Kansas City Star, 24 March 1957) on Lorraine's recovery are all old in Lorraine: Mollhagen, Floog, Schmidt.

Although it can be proved that the internal harmony is not absolute, it is certainly general.

This friendly community is isolated from its neighbors by its intense local patriotism and latterly by its location. It is off all main roads.

And yet it shifted to English more promptly than many less cohesive German settlements.

The evidence of tombstone inscriptions is not so reliable as it usually is. The presence in the cemetery of stones in styles too recent for the dates they bear indicate the replacement of original inscriptions. The data for the present century seem reliable however.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Lorraine Baptist Cemetery

	English	German	% of German
1880-9	9	2	18%
1890-9	16	4	20%
1900-9	16	8	33%
1910-9	27	4	13%
1920-9	35	0	0%
1930-9	33	1	3%
1940-9	35	2	5% No German later

English was introduced into the preaching in 1893 because the church which had been located on the church eighty until that year was moved into town, and the Baptists and Methodists who could not understand German had no other way to hear preaching. The years that most settlers had spent in America before coming to Lorraine made this more possible. The small number of late comers also contributed to a quick shift. In 1925 there were 70 persons who arrived in the United States before 1872; 7 more who arrived between 1872 and 1890, 5 more recent arrivals. Furthermore, standard German was already a problem with the children. The Baptists did not maintain a parochial school, and as long as German was used as a language for teaching religion, the standard language had to be taught before religious teaching could begin. English then became the cultural language of all who were not immigrants. For the sake of the immigrants German was preached, less and less frequently, until the First World War.

In the family and in casual conversations between people using the same dialect German continued to be used. Children entering school about 1908 frequently knew no English, but the shift in the next decade was so rapid that the young who had learned German forgot it. In 1950, however, those who knew German well used occasional phrases nostalgically or as a sign of belonging, and in 1961 there was still a woman ignorant of English, and enough people able to communicate with her to satisfy her.

South Kanopolis Czechs (Lowest, Area H) were in the main people who had come from the Wilson-Palacky area. Their habits were similar to those of the younger generation in the larger settlement.

For Kanopolis Mexicans see #47.85.

48.28 FINNEY COUNTY and KEARNEY, SCOTT and WICHITA COUNTIES, F22, F21, F16, F15

See Settlement Histories for Garden City-Deerfield Russian Germans and Mexicans (Mid-n, Area G)

Marienthal Russian Germans (Mid n; Area a)

An example of a secondary settlement. About 26 families of the Catholic Volgans in Ellis County founded the settlement in 1892 . In 1895 in stock at home 95; 187 in 1915 - in 1893 St. Mary's Church was built; prosperity was such that a new building was put up in 1910. In 1905 the parish became a charge of the Capuchins and remained in their hands some fifty years; consequently, though in a different diocese it was administered like the Ellis County settlements. Linguistically the community was completely German till 1917. With the First World War, English became the language of instruction in the schools, though the sisters who taught were proficient in German and were obliged to help first-graders with explanations in German for another two decades. Standard German became difficult for those who entered school after 1917, and during the 1930's most of the preaching was done in English. German was not completely dropped in sermons, however, until 1942 after the Second World War began. On school playgrounds German was the language ordinarily used well into the thirties; in 1932 those who could not use German there were made to suffer. This attitude was reversed in the course of the 1930's and before 1942 the younger people had come to feel that the use of German was to some degree disgraceful. In 1949 people sixty years old spoke German to each other, but not always in communicating with those a generation younger. Those aged twenty and older sometimes used German among themselves, but those born later than 1930 did not. In 1964 those born after 1935 very rarely could

-1126b-

speaking German. There were a few active octogenarians who often spoke German together and those not too young to be proficient joined in with them, but those aged less than seventy-five rarely spoke German without this stimulus.

In the 1960's there was beet-growing in this area; the Mexicans employed were all migrants.

Lydia Germans (Low-w, Area B) and East Whitewaterman Germans (Lowest, Area C). At least the Kuhlmanns from Illinois were here by 1888. They ~~ad~~ and most of the families were Reich Germans with northern names. More of these together with a few Lutheran Volgan families from north of Otis arrived beginning in 1901 ~~or~~ 1902. The Volgans are mainly of the East Whitewater district, and did not remain firmly attached to the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, the cultural institution at Lydia. German was abandoned in church services before the memory of those born about 1918. It was resumed in 1953 particularly for the benefit of two members of the Kuhlmann family recently arrived, since Pastor Ernst Frese, just transferred from Milberger, was accustomed to preaching in German. In 1949 it was reported that only those in their seventies wanted to speak German, but those

over fifty could. In Whitewoman township in 1925 persons born in Germany came to the United States as follows: 1881-5, 8; 1893-4, 3; 1907, 2; 1912, 1; 1924, 4; born in Russia: 1877, 1; 1888, 1; 1898-1901, 3; 1907-9, 4.

Modoc and Keystone Township Germans (both Lowest, Areas D and E) have come to make up a group which with more distantly located additions to the east (Amy) and northeast (Healy) may be called the Scott City Germans whose cultural institution is the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, of Fort Scott. The Keystone group, of whom the Strickerts were the most important members, had Lutheran services in German (Point 5 on Map I) from 1893 to 1925; in 1925 the Scott City church was organized. The Amy group too had worshipped in German. These people are Reich Germans. The Strickerts came from near Mitchell, Ontario. There were also in the neighborhood people with Blackseamen connections at St. Francis.

Lakin-Deerfield Germans (Low-v, Area F) are primarily Lutheran, Missouri Synod, Reich Germans. Some Protestant Volgans were brought in from Colorado by the sugar company at the same time as the Catholics discussed under Garden City. These joined the Lutheran group, but tended to move away, particularly between 1925 and 1930 when the Mexican labor force was increased. George Grauberger and most of his descendants, however, remained. Preaching for the Germans who arrived in the late 1880's began in 1892 at about two-thirds of the distance from Deerfield to Lakin. The Deerfield church was organized in 1906 at about the time that beet raising began. The German population to the north of Deerfield developed, and there the majority of the congregation lived in later years. English was introduced into the services

-1129-

about 1925, became rare in 1935 and monthly Sunday afternoon services ceased in 1945. Confirmations in English began about 1930. In 1961 at the wedding of the Sponsels (recent immigrants) the minister surprised

the company by using German. In 1964 German had disappeared among the stock that arrived earlier except for certain old people north of town. The situation had been similar for two decades, but the old gradually decreased in number. The Deerfield church came to be the cultural focus for all Germans in Kearny County. In a school house 22 air miles northwest by west from Deerfield, Lutheran services were held beginning in 1906. This was called the Kendall preaching place, Kendall, though the nearest town, was 12 miles south and 4 west. Earlier services had been in homes. German was the only language till 1920. All services were discontinued in 1944 (fewer members and better roads). For Shockey see 309. As in the case of Kendall, after 1944 Shockey Lutherans came to Deerfield. The Kendall and Shockey people were of Reich German stock, but only a few were immigrants.

Data concerning J. Samuel Gropp and family. Samuel, b. ca. 1858, married by 1878, in 1880 left Insterburg in East Prussia (some distance east of Königsberg) and went to West Germany where he worked in a smelter for four years. Then with his wife and at least two sons Otto (b. 1879) and Albert (b. 1881) he emigrated to Dubuque, Iowa. They were shortly joined by the Tuttl family, also of Insterburg, and presumably kindred of Mrs. Gropp. In 1887 the two families came to farms near the Kendall preaching spot (located above). Mrs. Gropp bore another son and two daughters and died in 1892. The next year Henrietta Anna Pritzkat (1862-1955) came directly from Insterburg to wed Samuel Gropp. She too bore five children, two daughters, a son Richard, dead before 1957, and sons George and Arthur b. 1898 and 1904. All these children learned to speak German and remained proficient, for until her death the children of Henrietta Gropp communicated with her in German. George also spoke German with his wife until her death in 1956. The Tuttlis left the north-of-Kendall neighborhood in 1914,

2741
2940

and eventually there were no more Gropps there either. Several of the latter, at least Otto, Albert, and George, remained in the county throughout their lives. Arthur Gropp lived in Washington, D. C., in 1957.

Eminence Russian Germans (Lowest, Area H) were founded in 1918 by a Krimmer Mennonite group from Janzen, Nebraska. A church was flourishing in 1926 (Sunday School 110 /me), but disbanded after the hard years in 1936. The group continued to hold the land, and several families became summer residents only, living elsewhere in winter to educate their children. They were of generally conservative stock so that Low German was commonly used and adults connected with the community in 1953 were still conversant with it. They mostly wintered in other communities where they would have opportunity to use it, especially in those settlements near Hutchinson.

St. Theresa Germans (Lowest, Area I) were a small group of South German Catholics (some from Nuremburg), 30 families in 1887, who heard German preaching for some time. It had been abandoned by the 1930's. Children born early in the community learned to read and write German. Those born about 1925 still communicated with each other sometimes in German in the late 1940's.

48.29 FORD COUNTY N24

Howell Germans (Lowest, Area A). The northern part of this area contains families belonging with the Wittrup Germans, Hodgeman County (where see). This part of the district is conservative of German.

Greater Windthorst Germans (Hi-d, Ford B)

Special Bibliog.:

Strenel, Rev. Alex G., Sixty-fifth Jubilee of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Windthorst, Kansas

The chronology of the founding of Windthorst has been preserved in detail by the Rt. Rev. Alex G. Stremel. It is here presented in outline form as an example of both immigration society procedures and of railroad and priestly tactics.

I. Meetings at Cincinnati in 1876 of certain German "cobblers, tailors, carpenters, foundry workers, guilders, tanners, blacksmiths, and common laborers." From all parts of Germany. Most had been in America several years, as much as a decade.

II. Aurora Colonization Society organized, H. Macke, president, John Luzins, secretary. Neither came to Kansas.

III. Correspondence with Father Felix P. Swembergh of Newton and with C. B. Schmidt, General European Immigration Agent for the Santa Fe railroad. Father Swembergh had been a Catholic Missionary along the railroads as they were built. "After Colonel A. S. Johnson and C. B. Schmidt no man in Kansas has done more for the settlement of the country than the subject of this sketch, gathering Catholics everywhere and persuading them to settle in communities according to their nationality. Many of the settlements along the A. T. and S. F. R. R. owe their origin to Rev. Felix P. Swembergh "a 781.

IV. C. B. Schmidt to Cincinnati to meet with the Aurora Society, and recommends land ultimately bought.

V. An exploring committee, Frank H. Klenke, Henry Tasset and Herman Thesing sent to examine land in Arkansas and in Kansas. C. B. Schmidt meets them at Offerle. Kansas suits them.

VI. C. B. Schmidt again in Cincinnati with the Society. Sells the members ten sections at ten dollars an acre "on time." (The Mennonites in 1874 had bought land in Marion County at \$2.50 to \$5.00 an acre.)

VII. The name Windthorst chosen in honor of the leader of the Catholic Center Party in Germany.

VIII. Father Swembergh writes that they will lose their opportunities if they do not close the deal at once.

IX. Fall of 1877 - 12 men, who all became part of the settlement, make entries at U. S. Land Office, Larned.

X. Eight of these and two others back to Cincinnati and in February, 1878, return with goods and lumber and settle upon the land.

XI. May, 1878 - Father Ferdinand Wolf, a Benedictine, begins to minister to the settlement.

XII. In 1880 - 96 families. In 1943, 112 families, but Spearville had been separated.

2962

The ten original sections went back to the railroad eventually. Most of the first settlers were not original preemptors on other land, exception Herman Thesing, who filed a claim (on 24-26-22) in January, 1878. Apparently he stayed in Kansas after the trip to Larned. The railroad land of the others was presumably replaced by relinquishments secured more cheaply than the Santa Fe land.

The settlers had their struggle, which was apparently no worse than that of many who had had agricultural training elsewhere - under different conditions. They were persistent. After several bad years 13 of the 14 of early 1878 appear in the 1885 census. The leader appears to have been Henry Tasset (1837-1900); at least besides being one of the explorers, he was one of the most active Catholics. His home served as a church through the first year and he was secretary to the parish through 1881. He was the teacher in 1882 and taught religion for some time when the pastor was absent. The same year he was delegated to intercede with the authorities to secure a resident priest. The first priest, the Rev. Ferdinand Wolf, O.S.B., was a missionary with many stations who made his headquarters at Windthorst. In spite of many absences among the children, he tried to give the religious instruction there. He succeeded in securing the opening of a school in December, 1879, German in morning; English in the afternoon; teacher, Anna Tasset. There was a hiatus between this school term and that of 1882. Father Ferdinand's successor was Robert Loehrer, pastor 1881-83, who insisted on living in Dodge City. The pastor from 1883-1888, J. B. Vonderloge, lived at Windthorst. He still had many mission places, but for one year he tried to teach school too. The next teacher's duties are an example of a common combination in German communities. She was teacher and musical director, and "did great work with the choir." In 1903 Theodore Stein (1869-1931) came as teacher and choirmaster.

He soon became the community's store keeper and its choir-master till his death. If the school was part English in 1879, the church deliberations and records were not. In 1881 when H. B. Van Voorhis made a settlement with the parish of their debt to him as surveyor, the meeting directed that the "document be translated into German and be carried on the minutes of the meeting."

All preaching was done in German until 1917, and the parochial school continued with the linguistic regime of its first years till the same date. The people were by this time bi-lingual, but the shift to English in official usage was sudden. The cemetery demonstrates the shift from old ways at that time in two manners. Until that time lots provided generally only space for one grave, and lots were disposed of close together. One corner of the cemetery contains all the graves of this period plus twenty-five of later date, spouses of those who had died before the First World War. None of these twenty-five are commemorated by a German inscription. Only one monument is in German after 1920. It is that of Karl George (1862-1947) and Anna Catherine (1867-1927) Besser who had been in the community since 1883.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Cemetery at Windthorst

<u>Decade</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
---- 1879	2	2	50%
1880--1889	10	7	41%
1890--1899	11	10	48%
1900--1909	24	22	48%
1910--1919	17	12	41%

After 1920 only one monument in German

In 1942, ten percent of the confessions were in German. In 1948 there were about half a dozen who liked to speak German.

The testimony of the cemetery at Spearville is similar. This parish, St. John's, is an offshoot of Windthorst that has outgrown the parent church (13 families in 1904, year of foundation, 70 families in 1918, 190 in 1953 - 740 souls).

For both parishes the general truth is that those born before 1905 retained the ability to speak German; those born before 1885 preferred speaking it till the end of their lives.

South Offerle Germans (Low-w, Area C) evoked these words from C. B. Schmidt in his Santa Fe immigration booklet: "A Lutheran Saxon Colony, whose founder, Mr. Friederich Israel, came from Illinois to Kansas in the

year 1876" /kq284316 . In 1885 F. M. Israel had one child, 14, born in Germany and another, 12, born in Illinois. The Israels remained with the group though, as a contrast to the others, lukewarm Lutherans. A number of others had also sojourned in Illinois. Hermann Weisse, born 1852 in Saxony, came in 1877 to the settlement from Butler, in inner western Pennsylvania. His wife had been born there in 1854. Some 12 miles southeast of Butler is the hamlet Saxonburg. The Wetzels also were from Pennsylvania. The dialects of these Saxons (not everybody was Saxon) was quite different from that of their very close Windhorst neighbors. Relations were not hostile, but developments were independent. Some English was introduced into the Lutheran services a little before the First World War. From 1926 till 1941 there were German services every other Sunday. German was completely abandoned thereafter.. The old were continuing to use German as late as 1953, but those born about 1900 were not proficient speakers or even listeners. Their sons and daughters were ignorant of German.

South Dodge City Germans (Low-y, Area D). Chris Behl resident in Enterprise Township in 1905 then had a son 21 years old born in Kansas. More pertinent was the coming of Joachims to the west edge of the district. They originated near Hamburg and the settlement was all Low German. The most important element was East Frisian which began assembling here about 1905. Several families had lived first in Nebraska near Sterling, then briefly among the Albert Germans in Barton County, Area E (Gerdes, Roesener, Dirks). There was also an element that had spent some time among the Ellinwood Germans (Lehmann). The church (Iowa Synod, now ALC) was organized in 1910. English was introduced into services about 1932. German was abandoned rather suddenly in 1943. Confirmations in German went on until that time too. School

children in the late 1930's commonly used German with each other. Only a strict teacher prevented its use on the playground. By 1950 these same children had abandoned the use of German, but were still proficient in it. Until 1935 about, outsiders marrying into the group necessarily learned some German. The standard German of those born after 1910 was weak, but all were taught it as long as there were confirmations in German.

Wilburn Germans(Lowest, Area E). Lately immigrated German stock is not numerous here. Some members of the Lutheran church south of Dodge City live here. The primary cultural institution has been Penn-German, a church of the Brethren (Dunkard), organized in 1910, when there were 15 members; called Wilburn in 1922 and Bloom in 1955; the church house had been sold.

Dodge City Germans (Low-v, Area unlettered). The Andreas - Cutler history, in speaking of 1872, calls F. C. Zimmerman (b. 1833 in Prussian Saxony) "one of the first traders in Dodge City" /a1562. The flow of Germans continued. In 1925 the 10 persons born in Germany and living in Dodge City who recorded the date of their coming to the United States had arrived between 1875 and 1887; one Swiss came in 1892. In religion Catholics and Lutherans, Missouri Synod, have been important. The Benedictines became active in the area in 1878 and Father Loehrer, stationed at Windthorst, presided over the building of a frame church in 1881 /mo46, Dodge City became the see of a diocese in 1951. Among the Catholics the supply of speakers of German was long kept up by retirements from the Greater Windthorst area, especially Wright. In 1953 some pastoral work was being done in German. A certain group of those fifty years old liked to talk German; as age lessened the number of speakers did likewise. There were no speakers of German among those twenty years old. The Lutherans did not become strong enough in Dodge City to organize a

church until 1911; it is Missouri Synod, and it flourished. As a railroad town, Dodge City contained a more or less floating German population. When the surrounding Germans, particularly at Wittrup, contributed both young and old citizens, organization became possible. Services in German occurred only twice a month from 1930 on, perhaps beginning earlier, until the Second World War, when they ended. In the last years 18 or 20 attended the German services, at least 100 the English. In 1948 pastoral work in German was still going on, but even the old liked the services in English. For Dodge City Mexicans see #47.76.

48.30 FRANKLIN COUNTY E15

For Ottawa Mexicans see #47.92.

Ottawa Germans (Low-x, Area A) were in early days more important rurally than in town. Christopher Hick, born 1819, who came to Northhampton County, Penn. in 1822, preempted in Hayes Township on the north border of Franklin County in 1857, and moved into Ottawa in 1865 /a611. His wife's name, Coleman, marriage in Pennsylvania, indicates Penn-German background. German probably much used in family. For Protestants -- the few Catholics were mainly connected with Homewood (see below) -- this seems a typical case to judge by Ott's comments on the early days of the Lutheran Church. After twelve years of pleadings from a retired minister, the Rev. Samuel Henry in 1884 organized the "English-German Ev. Lutheran St. Paul's church. . . . The question of location became a serious one. The German portion, living mostly in the country favored a location in the western suburbs of the city" /ot136. They won and there was German preaching till 1888. Disbandment followed and reorganization in 1891 was as a "strictly English" church. While their native language among urban Germans received little support for public usage, it persisted as a family language till the First World War.

-1139-

This was the case of the descendants of August Romstedt who came from Saxe-Weimar in 1867.

Ottawa Swedes (Low-v, Area A) were present by 1867 (A. Anderson /a624); Strödda Drag says, "As early as 1869 Swedes came to Ottawa and worked on the railroad. Swedish activities were begun by the Augustana people in 1872, but no regular meetings were held. . . . The Mission congregation in Ottawa can reckon its origin in Ottawa from 1877" /sdl72. The Lutherans had organized in 1873 /ot266 or 1874 /a608, but with the beginning of Mission activity there was a split and from 1879 on there were two definite organizations, and both built churches. The thirty-five members of the Mission group found \$1500 for the purpose, the forty Lutherans \$1300 /a608. Ott (in 1906) says of the Lutherans, "As a rule this congregation has been served by neighboring pastors" /ot266. Strödda Drag implies a similar situation among the Mission Covenanters, concluding in 1917, "For the present we have no regular preacher, but we still assemble for Swedish services as often as opportunity offers" /sdl75. The Mission people counted 1907 as their high point, "Then we had more Swedes in town than we have had since." The group existed still in 1928 /ik678. Both congregations were extinct by 1948.

Homewood Germans (Low-x, Area B). Members of the Servatius family were in this neighborhood by 1857 (Wm/ch99:525,a618). A Catholic Church became the chief social focus, St. Anthony's at Homewood, at first called St. John's two miles south. Ten or twelve families built the first church in 1885. John Reh (1841-1902) gave the land. It never became strong enough to have a resident pastor. The families were from various areas in Germany, Westphalia, Rhineland, Luxemburg, Hungary; some names suggest Slavic neighbors (Wenzl, Plaschka, Wencle, Rubick). In 1954 there were still

persons no older than fifty able to converse in German, though some did not feel at home doing so.

Silkville French. E. V. Boissiere's Utopian communal group at Silkville (146, I, 4) is not treated as a settlement because of its short duration and the departure from Kansas of all participants. It is best treated in:

Carpenter, Garrett R., Silkville: A Kansas Attempt in the History of Fourierist Utopias, Emporia, 1954.

See also /ag75:276 /ag78:220-1 /kc7:552-564 (Huron, Geo. A., Ernest Valeton Boissiere)

48.31 GEARY COUNTY P13

Milford Germans (Low-x, Area A). In this general area the Bartells (three families) settled in 1857 /ag78. They were born in Bremen, Germany, but did not become the nucleus of a group. In fact, no well-defined group ever formed. An Evangelical (now EUB) Church was organized in 1888 just over the line in Riley County at the northwest extremity of this area, but it was not very German, not very thriving, and not very much of a focus. The Luthis, who were in the area by 1868, gave their allegiance to rather distant Alida (to what was later the ER Church); the Karmans, who came in 1885, to the still more distant Clark's Creek Lutheran Church. The use of German was therefore strictly a family matter and no chronology can be fixed for it.

Junction City Germans (Mid-m, Area B)

Junction City received its first inhabitants in 1858, but German settlement in the neighborhood antedated the town. Soldiers who came to Fort Riley at least as early as 1855 were attracted to the neighborhood, and wished to stay. Among the men, C. Schiller had a son born in Kansas in 1856; his farm was just east of town; others (example P. Kramer) waited till the War was over to settle down. Kramer and Schiller lived close to town on the east and had German wives. In 1865 in town besides a number of single men, there were seven German couples including E. Thiel and M. Beckers each with a son born in Kansas in 1859. They and J. Fox appear in the 1860 census with a number of other Germans whose stay was temporary. Both the rural and urban German population thus originated before the Civil War; the German neighborhood on the east was supplemented by one on the west. The town, besides Germans from afar, has received accruements both among retired people and the ambitious young from surrounding settlements, Lower Lyon Creek, Alida, and Clark's Creek. The Lyon Creek influence demonstrated its strength first; a German Methodist church was organized about 1880 and built in 1882. The Alida influence soon afterward gave rise to the founding of a church in 1884. This church was until 1920 called the Evangelical Lutheran Church, but was in general served by the Evangelical Synod (later ER); Ott in 1906 assigns it to that body with 55 members, 132 in 1950. During this period there was a school. "Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught in the English language in the afternoon, and religious education in German was taught in the morning"(J. C. Union 11 June 1959). The Evangelical Synod gained complete control in 1920. The records show German minutes till July 1917. After a gap, presumably caused by war conditions, they are resumed in English in November 1918. Confirmations were recorded in

German till 1918, baptisms and betrothals till 1921, deaths till 1925. Services were in 1922 half German and half English. By 1923 there was a demand for more English, and the next year German services were reduced to one a month. In 1928 German was ousted from morning services and was assigned two afternoons a month. Apparently the afternoon services soon died. The Clark's Creek influence, that is Lutheran, Missouri Synod, resulted in services irregularly in town at least from 1910 on; a church was organized in 1925 and prospered, 312 members in 1948; it has had no German services.

The Evangelical Church records represent conservative usage in the area. In general those born after 1900 cannot speak German, but the language has still continued to be used sufficiently so that in 1957 teen-agers could tell what persons were able to speak German.

Junction City Swedes (Mid-n, Area B). In 1865 John P. Swenson, who had come in to Junction City from his claim in the Enterprise Swedish area three years before, was the only foreign-born Swede in Davis (now Geary) County. A decade later there were 245; a little more than half of them in Junction City (Fogelstrom for instance came in 1870); for the others the town was the shopping center. East of town there soon came to be a Swedish district with Swenson in it. West of town there were a few Swedes, but more Danes, nothing solid, however. Among the 245 Swedes of 1875 there was one minister, but none of the Swedish churches have a record of work in Junction City in that year or any later year. The Swedes had no cultural center, and the Swedish immigrants' tendency to frequent change of residence seems to have been more operative here than elsewhere. Still, the Swedes have not lost consciousness of their national identity. While all learned English early, some families and certain small social groups clung to the use of Swedish. So it was reported in 1942 and in 1950; certain rural individuals born as late as 1930 learned Swedish. The cases are, however, exceptional, and 1917 is the critical year.

Clark's Creek Germans (Mid-k, Geary C)

Special Bibliog.:

Diamond Jubilee of St. Paul's Lutheran Congregation, Junction City, Kansas, 1936

There were Germans in lower Clark's Creek Valley by 1858; by 1861 they were numerous enough to become the head-quarters of Pastor Lange, Lutheran (Missouri Synod). From there he served Lyon Creek, Diamond Creek (see Elk-Immanuel, Chase, Area A) and Mill Creek (see Great Wabaunsee Germans). St. Paul's was organized in that year at C. Wetzel's and a church was built in 1883. The Lutherans became numerous not only in Clark's Creek Valley but in the valleys to the east. The German Methodist activity was contemporaneous, and prevailed in the south part of the district, nearer the Lyona German Methodist Church; the Methodists too built a church. The first burial in their cemetery was in 1869, the last of a person not lying next a spouse who had died earlier, was in 1907, two with spouses who died early, 1912 and 1924. The graves of those buried in the 1890's are three times more numerous in the Lutheran cemetery. In the early years after the First World War Lutheran services were half German, half English. Then without any upheaval such as to cause a change of pastor, they disappeared about 1937. At the Diamond Jubilee of 1936 when the old days were honored, there was an English service in the morning, a group picture taken in town at 1:15, a German service at two o'clock, and an English at three. Twelve years later the pastor heard no German in his parish except occasional words at family gatherings. Few of those born after 1917 learned German. The school situation promoted this condition. Before the First World War, district school met in the morning, and the parochial school in the afternoon. This arrangement, excellent from the point of view of the taxpayer, permitted easy suppression of the parochial school along with German instruction.

Language of Inscriptions in St. Paul's Lutheran Cemetery

Clark's Creek, near Junction City

	English	German	% of German
1870-79	--	13	100%
1880-89	7	10	59%
1890-99	5	16	76%
1900-09	1	14	93%
1910-19	11	1	8%
1920-29	8	2	20%
1930-39	16	1	6%

No German inscriptions after 1939.

McDowell Creek Swedes (Low x, Geary D). McDowell Creek follows a narrow valley extending up into the Flint Hills. It was settled largely by Irish. The Swedes settled at one point along the upper creek and along a branch to the north which came to be known as Swede Creek. The first in their neighborhood, however, were not Swedes, but William Poole, an Irishman, and Catherine Briggs and her teenage sons who came in 1856. John Briggs became the personage of the area. His brother Charles took a Swedish wife. The Swedish settlers began to arrive after 1865, probably in 1870. By 1885 they were all there (among those still left, Olson, Nelson, Holm, Jungdahl). They were numerous enough so that a Swedish Lutheran circuit rider from St. Marys, named "Cheleen", visited them, and the children of the early nineties learned their catechism in Swedish. In some families parents made their language prevail to the extent that children learned Swedish, but the farmhands, steadily needed in this grazing country, were usually American, and between their influence and that of the neighbors, not all the young learned Swedish thoroughly, and all soon abandoned the immigrant tongue. The Swedes held together, however, and one hill-top cemetery received most of the early comers. Critical date 1895. A part of the Clark's Creek Germans live in McDowell Creek valley too. Considering the heterogeneous character of the population, the neighborhood is closely knit together.

48.32 GOVE COUNTY FL13

The Penn-Germans noted on 151, I, 5 arrived in 1878 /ch20:11. For Dutch, see Grainfield.

Park Russian Germans (Mid-K, Area A)

Special Bibliog.:

- B - Burkard, P. L., Hist of the Sacred Heart Church, Park, Kansas. 1938
- E - Bayles, E. E. Experiments in Reflective Teaching. Kansas Studies in Education, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Vol. VI, no. 3, 1956.

There were among the foreign born families at Park in 1925, forty-eight Blacksea German families and ten Volga German. There were a few other Germans; the others arrived first (Forster in 1879), and a Volgan next, Peter Schamber, who was born in Herzog, Russia, came first to Ellis County, and in 1894 was sent by the railroad as section foreman to Buffalo Park (name shortened to Park later because of postal confusions with Buffalo in Wilson County). The Capuchins were acting as missionaries in this area, and in 1898 Father Paul asked Schamber: "Why not a colony here?" They both could see that the land was good for wheat growers and that Saint Peter near by was successful. Schamber wrote a letter to the Ohio Waisenfreund, a Catholic paper published in German with a wide circulation. It fell into the hands of Daniel Zimmerman (1845-1925) who in 1891 had left his home in Marienthal close to Odessa in Russia (74,9) to go to cotton farming in Texas. He had been a wheat farmer, and the chance to own wheat land (he eventually acquired 640 acres) appealed to him. This patriarch assembled a score of his descendants and before the year was out, they were at Park. No other Blackseamen joined them for four years. In the meantime interest in the area developed at Victoria. Peter

Linenberger (1855-1933) one of the early comers (1877) from Herzog, Russia, bought land in 1901 and moved to Park the next year with a son; within two years they were joined by four more families from Victoria and Pfeiffer.

f.n. Peter was "a great asset." /B20. Toepfer and Dreiling devote a full page [385] to his biography [it is interesting in their Linenberger Genealogy].

In 1902 another patriarch, Ferdinand Wildemann, (1850-1924) brought four families of Blackseamen from North Dakota. They had emigrated from Russia in 1887. Three Blacksea families from Wisconsin and Adam (1846-1918), the first of the Zerr clan, who had been in Texas since 1900, arrived that same year, 1902. In 1903 the immigrations directly from the Old Colonies near Odessa began. The last accretion from there, eleven families, arrived in 1910.

The ultimate size of the Park settlement is accurately measured by the parish census; in 1938 there were 1044 souls, a large parish. This compact and numerous colony at Park thus was largely settled late by recent comers to America. We should, therefore, expect it to remain linguistically German till a recent year. There was, however, a leaven of families like the earliest settlers and the Linenbergers who had been in this country for some time. The village is, moreover, located on the main line of the Union Pacific through Kansas and on an important highway, U.S. 40, beside I 70. It might, therefore, shift to English before it was very old. The facts conform to these expectations.

The influence of the pastors until 1938 was definitely linguistically conservative. All four of them were born in Germany, and the last three grew up there. The last of the group was the Rev. Peter Burkard, born in 1873 at Wernersberg in the Palatinate (Pfalz). He came to the United States

Father Burkard's successors preached half of their sermons in German till 1949.

* Language of Cemetery Inscriptions - Park Russian Germans

No German Thereafter

The table showing inscriptions on cast iron crosses reveals the high correlation between other conservative practices and the preservation of the immigrant language. In this case language has yielded more quickly than the other customs. The earlier general use of English on children's tombs is regularly found in the cemeteries of foreign settlements; comparatively young people choose the inscriptions.

As happens in many rural communities where Catholic Germans have furnished practically all the pupils, Catholic sisters have been the teachers at Park since 1909. Before that year there was some struggle. In 1902-03 and 1904-05 "German Catholic inhabitants hired a special teacher Henry Feldt, Peter Linenberger for 'instructions in German, bible history and catechism.' During other early years the regular teachers performed these functions before and after school." There is no record on the subject, but to judge by the contrast between those able to read and those not able to read German general instruction in that language went on at least until the First World War. Three years of German were offered as a high school subject even after the war; but later Latin was the only foreign language offered.

The stresses during the First World War were not altogether absent from Park. St. Joseph's Verein expired then to be replaced by the Knights of Columbus. In 1949 many of those born in 1929 were fluent speakers of German, but those any younger were not. At that time some children born as late as 1942 understood it. There were others unable to because their parents were not speaking it at home. Most parents born in 1926 did not use it at home. In 1951 persons acquainted with the situation stated categorically

that grade and high school students did not understand German. In 1964 those aged 40 were proficient in German but used it only to those older.

Grainfield to the west of Park and originally part of the same settlement has mostly a population of the same origins, i.e. a majority of Blackseamen (Hartman, Selensky), some Volgans (Schoenfeld), early Germans (Houser 1884; Priefert near Gove 1886), who about 1920 had not yet been outnumbered by the Volgans. There is in addition a small number from the French Canadian settlement at Concordia; in 1940 they were speaking French/E4, (see also Aurora - St. Joseph French Canadians). There was also at one time a Dutch settlement to the west. The people came from Iowa in 1878, and most of them returned in 1880 after census time, for the census of that year shows some fifty Holland families. There were three families left in the early twentieth century /ch20:12. The Catholic parish at Grainfield was organized in 1910, nearly perished in 1915; in 1920 there were about 45 families. The languages used in church in 1920 were German and English /dml29. The Park-Grainfield settlement grew north across the Saline valley and south till in six or eight miles it reached an area of poor ground; it continued southwest and also somewhat to the southeast. The southwestern extremity was thus very far from Park. With this geographic factor, a split of the Catholic Parish was inevitable; it occurred in 1910. Grainfield, where in 1940 German was the language of the home /E4, abandoned German somewhat more rapidly than Park, in part doubtless because of the French Canadians. In 1942 an informant from this western area reported that German was spoken "part of the time."

13213
133A

Jerome Swedes (Low-w, Area B). Bergin wrote in 1909: "In 1885 quite a number of Swedes settled north of Healy [ca. 12 miles], in Gove County"/kcll:33. He added that it had "poor success." See also /ch 20:chapter 12. Ott says of 1906: "The Saron congregation at Gove [southwest] was organized in 1886 and a church built the following year. . . . Membership sixty. Has never had a regular pastor" /ot270. Children of Ed Lundgren, an immigrant married by 1905, never learned to speak Swedish. He became rusty. By 1949 there were very few Swedes left; part of them had been moved out by the gunnery range.

Jerome Germans (Lowest, Area B) have been largely superseded by Volgans connected with the group at Park with similar linguistic habits.

48.33 GRAHAM COUNTY N5

Bow Creek Germans (Lowest, Area A). In the early days, beginning in 1880, the people in this area considered Lenora in Norton County as their rallying point, and in the mid-twentieth century Lenora held similar consideration, at least for the northern section. The Leidig family and the Meyers arrived in 1880 and 1881. There were others in the area somewhat earlier, for there were post offices at Star and Valdor in 1878 and 1879. In 1884, when the Feuers arrived, about half of the neighborhood was German. They came from Austria by way of Nebraska -- brief stay there. The Meyers were Badenese. Oscar Meyer (b. 1871) married a Feuer daughter (b. 1872). They were still speaking German habitually in 1955 and their daughter Fannie (b. 1908) was sometimes using it with her husband Wm. Heitz and particularly their parents. The Heitzes were living just northwest of Lenora.

St. Peter Russian Germans (Hi-d, Area B)

Eight Volga German families founded St. Peter in 1894. All came from the group in Ellis County, most of them from the Victoria settlement. They were largely recent arrivals from Russia. Of the eight founding families half came from the old country after the beginning of 1890, if we can believe the census data of 1905. In other cases, too, Victoria served as a way station for Catholic Volgans. These people and others to come were almost all blood relatives of those in Ellis County. Laing said in 1909 "There are about 95 families there, 6 from Marienthal in Wichita County, 2 from Liebenthal in Rush County, 1 from Munjor, all other from Herzog," i.e., Victoria /koll, 517. Identity of both given name and surname is common among these people; and confusions of name would invalidate many conclusions that might otherwise be drawn from census data. It seems, however that the John Ingenthron who came to Pfeifer, Kansas, with a family from Kamenka, Russia, in 1877, is the man or father of the man who was one of the founders of St. Peter. Of more importance among the founders because the related families at St. Peter have become so numerous are John Peter Knoll, Jr., John Richmeier, and Peter Rome, Sr. John Peter Knoll, Jr., was either the son of Adam ^{of} or a close relative (both born 1866-1868), Adam was at Herzog with his family in 1885; the close relative came from Russia between 1888 and 1896. Both John Peters were at St. Peter in 1905. Michael Knoll, Sr., who died at St. Peter, came to Herzog between 1879 and 1885. Two John Richmeiers of the same generation (born 1862 and 1865) came to Ellis County between 1890 and 1893. They and three others a little younger were living at St. Peter in 1905. Peter Rome, Senior, (1848-1918) was at Herzog by 1881; he was akin to Michael who left Louis, Russia,

for Herzog, Kansas, in 1875. At St. Peter most of the settlers were from villages in Russia near Louis. For instance ten to fifteen families from Herzog in Russia ended in St. Peter. Peter Rome gave the land for the church and the settlement was named in his honor.

The community became a Catholic parish as soon as the people arrived. Within a year they had built a church, and it has been succeeded by two others erected in periods of prosperity, each grander than its predecessor. The settlement grew rapidly, 83 in 1895, 520 in 1915, 600 in the main parish in 1947 and some were then attending at Moreland. In one year about 1930 there were 263 pupils of high school age; 195 of them were in the parochial school. All were speaking German /dml33-135.

St. Peter is an isolated community, over ten miles from a railroad or highway, twenty-five miles from any town having more than 300 inhabitants. In view of this circumstance and the large number of immigrants who arrived not much more than a half century ago, we may expect the settlement to be linguistically conservative, and it is decidedly conservative.

In most Volgan cemeteries however the language of inscriptions is a poor guide to linguistic dominance. At St. Peter this generalization is particularly true. There most of the monuments are iron or wooden crosses, 20 wooden, 32 iron, out of a total of 54. The wooden crosses are likely to be the older and represent more conservative families. The painted inscriptions on them are erased by time, therefore much German has doubtless disappeared. Before 1917 there are seven inscriptions, one in German. Between 1918 and 1926, when the last inscription in German was made, there were 18 inscriptions, 7 in German, 39%. But the only time in which German really dominated was during the influenza epidemic of 1918; four out of six inscriptions that year are in German. Peter Rome, Sr, died that year; his

inscription is in German; his wife died in 1922, hers is in English.

In the early 1920's many children arrived at school ignorant of English. In 1949 there was still occasional preaching in German; in 1951 pastoral work was still frequently in German. At that time high school students speaking together usually but not always used English. In the same year workmen between the ages of 17 and 45 engaged on a project together were using English and German interchangeably. Everybody was still able to use German. Schooling in German ceased about the time of the First World War, and it is clear that by 1950 German had almost ceased to count as a cultural language among those under 50. In 1964 95% of the people were able to speak both English and German. Most of those older than 50 were using German at home. The next generation used both languages. The young employed English except to talk to the old, but they could and were willing to speak German.

GRANT COUNTY: See #48.98.

48.34 GRAY COUNTY F26

North Ingalls Mennonite Russian Germans (Low-x, Area A) was made up of Mennonite Brethren families, mainly children or grandchildren of immigrants. There were families from Marion County, from the main Oklahoma settlements, from Beaver County in the Oklahoma Panhandle and from Meade. They gathered in strength enough to organize a church in 1923. During the dust-bowl years, most left, but the sons and daughters returned to the land. In 1953 there were still a few homes where growing children could hear Platt-Deutsch so as to learn to understand it, but it was not the habitual language of the families. Even with steady residence, the speakers would have been abandoning German, but the process was hastened by wintering in towns, particularly Garden City, where traditions could not easily be kept up.

Cimarron Germans (Lowest, Area B) were at first Reich Germans and were not very cohesive. An attempt to establish a Missouri Lutheran Church in 1906 had failed by 1916. Still in 1942 an informant could say that German was used here and there to old people. The real center for spoken German was the Holdeman Mennonite group of whom enough had moved in by 1914 to organize a church a mile south of town. The membership was not very stable (72 members in 1953). Their linguistics habits may be regarded as similar to those of the Montezuma people (see below).

Montezuma Mennonite Russian Germans (Low-v, Area C) are mostly Holdeman Mennonites, not all from the Main Mennonite District; some came from Canada.

A general Conference body was of such little importance as to receive no notice in the Mennonite Encyclopedia, but there were still representatives in 1967. The Holdeman Church, founded in 1912, is one of the largest in the denomination (395 in 1953, 386 in 1957). Of it, the Encyclopedia says, "The German language formerly used in services, has now been replaced by the English. [German sermons

occurred every other Sunday until about 1940.] No ministers capable of preaching in it were left. 'On big occasions' somebody was found as late as 1967 to say something in German but only the old people understood Standard German. The members are of Dutch-Russian Mennonite descent and the Low German dialect is still spoken in many homes." There was in 1948 also a minister who sometimes spoke in "Dutch" for the benefit of younger people. Still parents at the reproductive age were using English with each other and did not know Standard German. They were, however, familiar with "Dutch". In 1967 they were still using it sometimes in talking with their parents. The parents used English part of the time. By 1940 no business matters were discussed in German in town. The Copeland Holdeman Church is at some distance from the town of that name, 8 miles north and 3 west, within the borders of Area D of the Farthest Southwest (310). It was first settled by these Mennonites in 1917, six familiar names appear in the census of 1925, sometimes represented by more than one family; membership of their church was in 1957, 175. The Montezuma-Copeland people are mostly from the Hillsboro district, but there are also people from Oklahoma and Canada. A few of the earliest immigrants to America were to be found among them.

48.35 GREELEY COUNTY F 14. See Wallace County, #48.93.

48.36 GREENWOOD COUNTY P22

Eureka Norwegians (Mid-m, Area A). For early history see /tk174.

Church records go back to 1860. There were Norwegian services as late as 1939. In 1906 there were three Norwegian Lutheran congregations in the county. Besides the church northwest of Eureka (156, Point 4) and the church in town of later origin there was presumably a small congregation on Otter Creek some miles to the south where there were also a few Norwegians. Desertion of the Norwegian church for the United Lutheran began about 1900 on account of the language problem. The church in the country became a community church and was Engl-ized early, but in 1949 there were in town five persons who would have preferred preaching in Norwegian; most members could not have understood.

HAMILTON COUNTY. See#48.98.

48.37 HARPER AND WEST SUMNER COUNTIES N29, P23

Harper (Penn) Germans (Low-x, Area A)

Special Bibliog.:

John Hamilton and Thelma Hostetler Kaufman. Unpublished Pleasant Valley Church History, 1933 and 1956.

Harper founded 1877; Germans did not participate. Baumstark, a foreign-born merchant, there by 1882 /a. First members of Pleasant Valley (Old) Mennonite Church arrived 1883 (Rohrer, Brenneman) /me. Church primarily Penn-German but with a Swiss element. First Swiss-born, Chatelain, arrived 1886, next Beyler 1887, Balmer 1893. None came directly from Switzerland. Most important source of early comers, including Swiss-born, Orrville, Wayne County (62, 247), Ohio. Late comers from many places, particularly Old Mennonite settlements in Kansas, western Missouri (especially Cass County, 60, 20), and Oklahoma (especially Manchester, straight south just over line). Church organized in 1888. Church 2 miles east of town. 190 members in 1957. An Apostolic Christian Church, primarily of Swiss background, was organized by 1873. Members southwest of town. It lost most of its members when the Cherokee strip was opened in 1893; some also back to Illinois whence they had come; 10 members in 1959. Linguistic habits conservative. The Mennonites habitually spoke Schweitzer and Penn-German until about 1913; among the Swiss the children learned English first and taught the parents. In 1959 there were still persons proficient in and occasionally using 'Dutch'.

Crystal Springs Penn Germans (Lowest, Area A")

Penn-German Mennonite settlement resulted from a migration from western McPherson County (where see). The first comers arrived in 1902. Church organized 1904 with 27 members; 124 in 1955 /me. In parent settlement Penn-German was still used at time of migration, and in this daughter settlement it persisted somewhat longer. Penn-German preaching stopped about 1910. Habitual use ended by 1928. Nostalgic use persisted at mid-century. The persistence is partly to be explained by the fact that the group originally belonged to the Amish; they were of that "progressive" variety which later joined the (Old) Mennonite Church.

Argonia-Freeport Germans (Low-x, Area B)

No settlers in area 1875. (75). Chas. Shaffer in group east of present Argonia came 1877, J. H. Nicholas 1878 /ch83, R. Tracy 1877 /a /ch89 (all foreign born). Early Lutheran activity centered in area 6 miles north of Argonia (not marked as occupied on Map I, holdings not solid now); German settlement there seems to have begun ca. 1885 (Achelpohl /chl8). Lutheran activity began at north focus 1887. Church built later; Zion Church organized with Missouri Synod 1893. Church moved to Argonia 1916. In 1900 one service out of three was English, but later German dominated till 1916; then services became half English, half German. The move to town was doubtless made because the town was then central to the sum total of membership. Germans to the west came by 1885. (Schon 3 miles west /chl8) and built up for a 1/3 of century (Luebke 1918, Behrmann 1923 direct from Germany) never becoming solid. The Freeport element, including Behrmann, centered around Presbyterian Church. In this area too Penn Germans (Herts, came 1877 /ch02, David). German socially acceptable late in this area, but Behrmann children born after 1936 did not learn to speak, only those older. In north area hysteria of the First World War caused abandonment of German among those rearing children; the children were ridiculed; German completely abandoned in church services 1930. Some late comers in this area too. Those who have moved, but no more than 30 miles away (the number is significant), maintain their allegiance, and have some pride in their origins. A few German users still in 1950, but their art had been lost to the community in general.

Note--The Achelpohls prominent Lutherans; J. W. came to Argonia 1886 /chl8, Jno. H. 1884-8. Others were at Cheney and came ca. 1904: C. Steffen (born Switzerland), in neighborhood 1882-4, may not have been Lutheran; F. Steffen (born Switzerland) ca. 10 miles southeast of Argonia in 1876 /ch83.

Danville French (Lowest, Area AB)

First French settler, among first in area, Bellamy 1878 /ch02; from New York where he was by 1866. By 1880 another permanent (Perret). In 1885 six families with foreign-born adults, and several second generation families; a number of these newcomers arrived that year from Ohio /ch19. Drouhards from Glenmore just west of Cincinnati; S. Blanchat, the first of the name here, was born Ohio 1857; Joseph came here after 1889, born Switzerland 1845. The wife of F. Olivier, born France 1843, was Mary born in Ohio 1857. Irish and German Catholics moved into the area also among the first. Danville Church of Immaculate Conception erected 1883. No foreign language used there; priests Irish or German. Intermarriage between the Catholic elements began early. Even the immigrant families soon abandoned French. Newcomers were either second generation in the U. S. or persons with considerable residence elsewhere in the United States. Though using English, the speech of children had a foreign flavor as late as 1925. Critical year 1890.

Bluff City Germans (Lowest, Area C)

Part of this area shades into and has the same characteristics as the Freeport section of the Argonia-Freeport Germans. Origins of similar date (Bink by 1881, Frische 1900 /ch19). Most distinctive, 11 families (Brase, Scheel, Gerbering, et al.) from Jansen, Jefferson Co., south border of Nebraska, who came 1908; most families contained foreign-born members. Organized St. Paul's Evangelical [and Reformed] Church 1912. Building 1917. German abandoned ca. 1935 after period of services once a month in German. German Sunday School class till 1942. German given up without pressure from outside or from the young. Those born ca. 1923 can speak German, those younger cannot, but those born before 1930 usually understand. German persisted long but its demise caused little nostalgia.

Caldwell-Bluff City Czechs (Mid-m, Area D)

A. Czaplinski, who was a Pole from Posen, settled in this area in 1872 /ch90. According to the Wichita Beacon, Kralicek was next.

Wencl came ca. 1876. Several more are attested as arriving in 1877 (Buresch, Bobek /ch02, F Kubik /ch89-/ch83, says 1878). In 1881 a national Czech cemetery was founded by 11 organizers and 20 more contributors. Immigration continued till First World War (Slavik 1911-12, K. Volavka 1910 and brother later). Some moved into a Renfrow-Medford settlement near by in Oklahoma at the time of the opening of the Cherokee Strip 1893. The settlement was originally a long narrow band of land just north of the 3 south miles of Kansas (there 3 miles opened earlier). Chief social organizations, two lodges ZCBJ, established ca. 1899, and Sokol; their dances are, supplanting CSPS, the chief activity. A hall for Sokol built ca. 1890 fell into disuse, the ZCBJ hall houses some of the dances. A non-Czech attender described them ca. 1952. The description is here presented as typical of such occasions in all Bohemian settlements; the wildness alluded to is a comment everywhere made by non-Czechs--the violence with which intruders used to be ejected seems the principal foundation for it. "The dances seem a little wild. They drink beer and dance all night. Children run about in the gallery. It is so crowded that the crowd outside is constantly pressing in. Everybody schottisches; there is no room for a polka. Whole families go. The older ones just sit and visit."

The following statement by Wallace E. Miller in 1906, though made for all settlements in Kansas almost certainly reflects his observations of Caldwell from Winfield where he was teaching: The Bohemians "attempt to retain their own language mingling with other nationalities only for commercial purposes, their group settlements are to be accounted for the fact that they have been induced by agents of some transportation or land holding company to go to Kansas to settle."

This last sentence is not true of the principal Czech settlements (Cuba, Wilson) in Kansas, and must be a conclusion extrapolated from the situation at Caldwell /m66. In the 1950's Czech was still spoken by adults.

In 1952 a foreign-bred Czech, Dagmar Hasalova, born ca. 1930, gave a concert attended by about one hundred Czechs of the area. Most of them could speak and speak well, though the younger ones had an American accent. The use of Czech had, however, then decreased to the point that ZCBJ business meetings in that year abandoned Czech for English. In 1954 Sokol was maintaining Czech as the language of business discussion, but notes were taken in English. The two or three families that used Czech with small children were the subject of remarks, particularly to the effect that the children in those families had an accent in English. One Czech informant, b. ca. 1915, said in 1949 that his children were fluent, but it wasn't the same Bohemian as his. Conversations in Czech by older people on the streets continued after 1950, but after 1945 there was no advantage in being able to transact business in Czech. No regular church services at any time in Czech; the half interested in religion consorted mostly with American Presbyterians. There were some efforts at week end schooling, but efforts to organize a regular school failed. The critical year is 1930 but the recession of Czech has been slow. About 1953 Christmas cards in Czech were still being purchased. Cards stocked a little later had to be discarded by the merchants.

In 1959 the Wichita Beacon (23 Aug.) commented thus on the linguistic transition.

The second generation "as a child, wanted to speak, read, and hear only American; act American; do American; be American. His children espoused his conviction and carried on to the ultimate." By the second generation, evidently is meant those born to the Czechs who came as children

rather than the children born here before 1900. The reason for this enthusiasm for "American", says the Beacon, ^{was} sensitiveness to outside reproach. The supporting evidence runs as follows.

"A Caldwell business man said, 'We don't call them Bohemians. We never mention it. They are sensitive about it'. Here is the comment of a prominent Bohemian: " 'Yes, at one time we were sensitive, when we were children. We have since learned that the whole idea was childish. Our parents wished us to continue Bohemian traditions, customs, and culture; we objected. So eventually they gave up. Now it seems that everybody wants to revive those things. For us it's too late.' "

In 1962 there were still persons born in 1940 capable of using Czech; active farmers were in some cases using it. An "American" who had heard much Czech on the streets in 1930, heard very little in 1966. In 1930 Czech students in high school had been speaking to each other in Czech, and he thought those individuals still used Czech at home.

	Language of Tombstone Inscriptions		
	<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>% Czech</u>
1880-9	2	1	33%
1890-9	5	3	38%
1900-9	16	11	41%
1910-9	13	6	31%
1920-9	22	14	39%
1930-9	27	7	21%
1940-9	28	9	24%

The relative constancy of the percentage of Czech inscriptions is probably in part the result of the comparative smallness of the settlement and the long continuation of immigration. It bears witness also to the good standing of both languages for official use over the whole course of settlement history.

Conway Springs (Penn) Germans (Low y, Area E)

Dunkards began moving into this area in 1876. Slate Creek Church organized 1878, building in town of Conway Springs 1885 /crl27-130. Sixty members in 1882 and 1955. Later, probably ca. 1918, Amish settled just southwest of town; they used Penn-German. They did not prosper and there began an exodus nearly completed in 1941. Their places were taken beginning in 1925 by Germans from the Andale-Colwich Germans (where see) in Sedgwick County. With the foundation of St. Joseph's Catholic Church in 1932, the movement from Sedgwick County increased; the parish of 127 families in 1954 is 90% from there. Some pastoral services in German. They brought German speaking habits existing in the St. Mark area at the time of their migration. Several couples born before 1895 speak German at home. No young people were speaking German in 1952.

48.38 HARVEY COUNTY P19

See Settlement Histories for Concentrated Mennonite District (Super, Area A) Germans.

East Emma Creek Germans (Low-x, Area B). Reich Germans center around an Evangelical (E R) church, 80 members in 1950. Two Low German Billau families from West Prussia via Ohio here in 1874 or 1875. The church membership came to be partly High German. German services ceased soon after First World War. Last German inscription in cemetery 1903--cemetery contains 70 stones. In 1949 there were "very few who could speak," almost no one born after 1900. German was probably abandoned early as a reaction against the Mennonites, who were "just crowding Americans out toward that college [i.e., Bethel College] at Newton."

Halstead Germans (Hi-b, Area C)

Halstead, population 1397 in 1940, was founded in 1873, but "languished" until the South German and Swiss Mennonites from Summerfield, Ill., and Lee County, Ia., arrived the next year. Thirty families came at once, and by 1882, according to the Santa Fe Immigration Booklet /kq28:315, their number had reached 100 families, most of the rural part of this group settled in Garden Township, 6 to 12 miles north of Halstead, and forms part of the Concentrated Mennonite District (q.v. under First of Christian, West Zion, and First of Garden). Consequently the town was somewhat isolated from the rest of the Mennonites. The urban element probably chose Halstead as headquarters because the Little Arkansas offered something in the way of waterpower for mills. When steam mills became obviously more profitable, Bernard Warkentin transferred milling emphasis to Newton. For a decade Halstead was, however, Mennonite headquarters; Zur Heimat was published or edited there from 1875 to 1881 by David Goerz. The institution antecedent to Bethel College began there. But Halstead was only partly German in its early years, and the Germans were only partly Mennonites. A German Methodist Church was organized in 1878. It, with 21 members, the English Methodist, 90 members, and the Mennonite Church, 75 members, were the three churches in 1882. The German Methodist became flourishing. When in 1917 it yielded to war hysteria and dropped German, many of its members became Mennonites. The rest eventually joined the English church. The Mennonite Church (General Conference) was founded in 1875, 346 members in 1953. C. E. Krehbiel says in his Historical Sketch of the First Mennonite Church, 1925: "The question of language came up early in the church....In 1883 a resolution was passed

that 'if possible, there are to be English services in the Church every other Sunday evening.' This was not carried out 'for the present', we read, 'because of lack of ministers who were proficient in the language.' Not until 1904 was regular preaching service introduced. And when the unfortunate war with its blighting spirit of hate came on, all German preaching was dropped for a time" (p.35). Though resumed, it soon disappeared definitively. There was no German in 1935. The linguistic shift in Halstead was sudden. Before the First World War German clerks were needed in the stores; the cultural element among the Germans delighted in bilingualism. Apt children found learning literary German "great fun." With the outbreak of hostilities, so sudden was the change required that children at first could assume the new habit less easily than their tormented parents. But having made the shift, they were in no mood to take up the old ways later. In 1949 a person, born in 1930, said: "A few of the older people have somewhat of an accent, but to no great extent...; it has not affected me at all...Both my father and my mother are able to speak German...; they have no accent [in English]".

The Grace Church (Holdeman) claims its origin as of 1877; its neighbors say in 1880. The seed for the congregation appears in the census of 1875. At that time distinct from the Germans from Germany in Halstead Township (town included) were five families from Russia and three from Poland. These three were so hard to interview that the census taker listed the wives and children anonymously. Their surnames, Becker, Koehn, Ratzlaff, appear in Holdeman records elsewhere too, notably among the people at Lone Tree (q.v.) in McPherson Co. Some of the Russians elected to worship with them

rather than with South Germans. They have had their meetinghouse at three different rural locations near Halstead (in 1950 2 miles southwest) but never in town. The linguistic statements made for Halstead as a whole are not true for this group. Those born before 1942 learned to speak Low German, abandoning it soon if they were born after 1925. Those born after 1942 "can't even talk it."

Newton and Vicinity Germans (Hi-a, Area D)

Newton, population 11048 in 1940, was founded in 1871. Before the first building was constructed, Peter Luhn, born in Germany, was living with others in a tent on the site. He became a merchant. The town was founded with the coming of the Santa Fe and became in part a railroad town. Its prosperity dates from 1874, for it had had a year and a half's importance as a cowtown and passed another year and a half recovering. The population in 1875 was 769. Though Newton has become increasingly the city of the Mennonites or of their sons who have left the church, it has been the location of a variety of German elements best approached through their religious background. The Catholics were first on the scene and had a small building by 1874. They were in large part not Germans, but the Germans have been numerous enough so that their pastors or assistant pastors have been, beginning early, every frequently Germans. As in other parishes of mixed origin, church influence has been toward Engl-izing.

The Evangelical Association (now EUB) church which Andreas labels "German" was organized in 1879--496 members in 1948. The German Methodists had preaching here by 1876, were active at least till 1910.

The Andreas-Cutler History reports a German Lutheran organization as "located here " in 1882. Presumably this became the Missouri Synod congregation which claims no antiquity greater than 1886, but has records as far back as 1872; 372 members in 1948. Since it maintained a German school, attended even by those Mennonite children whose parents feared linguistic more than religious pollution, it became the chief rallying point for German culture until the First World War. At that time the congregation of the church was

3802

sorely tried. From then until 1942 German was preached on alternate Sundays, then it was voted out. The records shift to English in 1925. In 1950 the few members of the congregation who knew German did not use it. The Evangelical Synod (now E. R.) also established a church in 1880, 70 members in 1950, small partly because it clung too long to German.

Mennonites settled just east of Newton in 1876. There at Goldschar they met in 1877 and organized. They began services in Newton in 1878. The group came from various Low German sources, largely the Vistula Delta region, and the Black Sea area. Jacob Toews, the elder from 1886 to 1917, and certain others came from Khiva, a few hundred miles east of the Caspian Sea. [See on Khiva /ss459, and /ml, July, 1950, VI.] After those favoring Masonry had been purged in 1886, the church called itself the First (General Conference) Mennonite Church, 811 members in 1956, and adopted a German constitution translated into English in 1937. Services were bi-lingual in 1935. In 1949 German was used only at funerals. Two-thirds of the congregation is urban, working largely for the Santa Fe Railroad or retired. Among these people the young gave up German in the 1920's. The rural third lives mostly to the east of town; there those born in 1935 can generally understand German, and in some families children were being bred to use it in the 1950's. The First Church represents conservative usage in Newton; Bethel College and its church (also General Conference) contain the "progressive" group. Bethel College under that name dates from 1887, but antecedent institutions go back a decade earlier. Its first annual report for 1887-8 was issued bilingually and its Monatsblätter continued until

1917; after 1913, however, they competed with Monthly Reports. The student body comes largely from Kansas Mennonite groups and in 1950 most of them knew Low German, and would speak it occasionally with others of like dialect. In 1958 at the Mennonite Folk Festival which the College sponsors two Low German plays drew an attendance of 1000. Swiss-German and Prussian-German plays drew 800. Attenders were largely from surrounding communities. The Bethel College church, 530 members in 1953, was organized in 1897. C. E. Krieb says in Mennonite Life [Oct. 1948, p. 36]: "From 1897 to 1912 the German language was used in our worship services. In 1912 provision was made for an English Sunday evening service once a month, partly because the question had been raised by some as to whether an English Church should not be organized....Finally, since 1930 all regular services have been in English." The exception to "regular services" has been communion sometimes. The sources of the Bethel congregation are varied. Theodore O. Wedel /ml Oct., 1948, says: "My own people came from the Dutch-Prussian-Russian group that came over in the 1870's and planted itself, as you know, where right now are the Newton and Goessel areas... However, two thirds of the founders belonged to other groups of Mennonites: Bavarian Mennonites, and Swiss Mennonites. Low German was spoken by people from Russia, but it did not count for much. More people spoke the High German, and they were not going to have their children 'demoralized' by the Low German dialect. By and large, we were a High German speaking people and community, and I was grateful for this, though Low German does have its charms." The membership was varied from another point of view too. Besides people connected with the college, businessmen among the Mennonites are members. As an example of these

businessmen H. E. Suderman will serve (autobiographical sketch/ml, Jan., 1948, 38 ff). Born 1873, to Newton from Berdiansk, Russia, in 1885, messenger boy in the German National Bank, Newton, 1886, purchased control of Midland National Bank, Newton, 1916, steadily increased later in wealth, service, and influence, active worker first in the First Mennonite Church, and then, from some time in the 1920's, in the Bethel College Church. These businessmen if born before 1910 may speak German with the generation next older, but their children know no German. Until the First World War stores needed clerks using German. Newton early became a milling center, and as the Mennonites had had experience in milling on the Black Sea, they came to dominate the industry, although it was not until 1886 that Bernard Warkentin began to operate here as well as at Halstead. The entrepreneur became thoroughly bi-lingual very early, and tended to spread the habit among their employees. About 1958 Faith Mennonite Church was founded in Newton. The members were mostly those who had attended the church at Bethel College but lived in Newton instead of North Newton. The separation was amicable with no linguistic implications. Between First and Faith too the differences were social rather than linguistic.

For Newton Mexicans see #47.91. For Der Herold von Newton see \$41.51.

Gnadenberg Mennonite Russian Germans (Mid-k, Area E)

This group arrived in 1875 from Michalin near Berditschev in Russia on the Volhynian border. They were originally from the Lower Vistula-- (The "Poles" of the Lone Tree Congregation in McPherson County and of the group at Pawnee Rock in Barton County had gone much deeper into Poland after being with this settlement seventy years before.) There were some thirty families at the beginning. The Gnadenberg (General Conference) Church was active at once; 197 members in 1955. The services were bilingual in 1935, all English during student pastorates in the summer, but English gained slowly till 1940. In 1943 preaching in German ended. The meager record book contains German until 1933. The German name of the congregation was changed for its English equivalent Grace Hill in 1954, but in 1959 part of the congregation preferred German quarterlies for Sunday School study. Those born before 1930 are proficient in German, few born later, though in 1955 there was a family in which the parents spoke German to the children.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Gnadenberg Cemetery

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1880-9		1	100%
1890-9	4	11	73%
1900-9	8	11	58%
1910-9	10	15	60%
1920-9	17	4	19%

one inscription 1931, none later

Burrton Welsh (Low-x, Area F)

Special Bibliog.:

Burrton's 75th Anniversary 1948

Burrton's first Welsh arrived among the first settlers before the railroad in 1871. They were never numerous, and came in gradually through the next quarter century. By 1874 they were a group large enough to have a sense of their existence. Most of them became members of the Presbyterian Church organized in 1873, disbanded about 1925. They formed a large part of the congregation, and several ministers were Welsh. There was a Welsh Sunday School class with discussions in Welsh until the church disbanded. These people were from North Wales. All the men at least were bilingual on arriving in the United States. Some wanted to use English here for a reason parallel to that which made it a point of honor to use Welsh in Wales, they wished to use the language of the land. The immigrating generation used Welsh with each other, but transmitted it only fragmentarily. The next generation in general spoke Welsh only to their parents if they were able to speak at all.

HASKELL COUNTY. See #48.98.

48.39 HODGEMAN COUNTY N20

North Marena Germans (Lowest, Area A) seem to have had no cultural center and no continued use of German. The case of Chas. C. Ruff, as narrated in the 1928 edition of Connelley's History of Kansas /co5*2548 seems typical. He was born in Baden just opposite Strassburg, in 1845, was brought to Pittston, in northeastern Pennsylvania at age 12, married Clementina Stevens, his employer's daughter in 1867, and established himself at Hodgeman, of which he was postmaster on the north edge of this area in 1879, ending his life at Hanston in 1927. The character of his marriage makes improbable the continued habitual use of German.

Hanston Galician Germans (Low-x, Area B) are Mennonites. Until 1952 their church was named the Einsiedel church from the town in Galicia whence they came (see #52.71). They reached this area in 1885 after short periods in Pennsylvania, or Mountain Lake, Minnesota, or more importantly in the neighborhood of Halstead. The stock in the church remained largely descendants of the Galicians, though there were some other Germans drawn in by marriage. Preaching was in German, exclusively till the mid-1920's, irregularly until after 1935. Children born after 1910 seldom learned to speak German, but there were persons living scarcely able to understand English at least till 1950.

Wittrup Germans (Low-y, Area C). Theo. Setzkorn, born in Germany in 1849, arrived in this area in 1878. High school students bearing his name were in the mid-1940's able to speak German, though they did not do so habitually; their parents did. The Setzkorn name is found repeatedly among the members of St. Michael's Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod. The young people's society kept its records in German till after 1930; efforts to

maintain German by summer school teaching went on until about 1950. Still in 1953 the report was that there were no families in which German was being habitually used.

South Hodgeman Danes (Low-y)^{AREA D}. Jacob Nielson arrived in 1878 /ch07. No data on language usage at hand.

Old St. Jo Germans and Czechs (Low-w, Area E). This community originally contained a number of persons born in Bohemia with names clearly Czech, but they were known locally as Austrians, and except for some intermarriages soon left. C. R. Schmidt spoke of the people thus: "St. Joseph's colony (Catholic) made up of Alsatians" /kq284316. There were Irish adjoining and they were made into one parish where quarrels were common until a new parish, St. Mary's, was created to the north. The Germans between 1905 and 1910 were reenforced by Volgans from Loretto and ~~Liebert~~ (Ellis B) who in the early 1950's were furnishing most of the people still speaking German, though the Reich Germans had a few old people capable of German.

48.40 JACKSON COUNTY E3

The map of Jackson County in the 1875 report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture shows that nearly half of Netawaka Township and practically all of Whiting Township were still owned by the Central Branch, acquired in 1866 after the diminishment of the Kickapoo Reservation. The Netawaka Germans could not become numerous until after this date, and nearly all the Whiting Danes had to come later.

Netawaka Germans (Mid-m, Area A). Daniel Luech arrived in the area in 1857 /a1344, but the Lutherans who became dominant here began arriving only about 1869 (Wm. Grove). Preaching in German soon began; the Missouri Synod,

however, did not have services until 1889, the congregation organized in 1893. "The question whether it would be advisable to conduct services in the English language in addition to the German was presented to the congregation by Pastor Stolp in 1909. In 1917 the congregation decided that one of the services of the Mission festival was to be in the English language. In 1919 the services on the second and fourth Sundays of each month were conducted in the English language. . . . In 1933 the number of German services was reduced to one Sunday per month. . . . Since 1940 all services are conducted in the language of the land" (50th Anniversary Booklet, p. 10). Of the persons born in Germany and resident in Netawaka Township and city in ^{States} 1925 3 arrived in the United between 1854 and 1867, one thereafter till 1880, 11 between 1880 and 1885, 3 in 1888 and 1889, 4 in 1893, 6 more by 1917. In 1942 German was hardly used except in addressing old people.

Whiting Danes (Low-v, Area B) first appeared in 1869. They were Lutherans for the most part, and some attended with the Germans at Netawaka. Their social center was Harmony Gardens beside a creek three miles northwest of Whiting. Danish was seldom heard after about 1938. Those persons born in Denmark and resident in Whiting township recorded their arrival in the United States as follows: 1875, 2; 1882 to ^{*}1888, 7; 1890 to 1892, 5. There were also then a few Norwegians, and there were relations with the Everest-Willis Norwegians (arrivals in U.S. 1887, 1; 1893, 2; 1903, 1; 1910, 2).

Holton Germans (Mid-k, Area C). Though Germans were numerous in Holton and vicinity practically from its foundation, they were subject to Engl-izing forces to such an extent that German institutions were few. The principal one was the Evangelical Association Church (EUB), which began work west of town in 1858 and organized a class in 1860. It apparently remained

primarily rural; at least the Andreas Cutler history of 1883 does not include its building among the churches of the town, whereas there had been a structure in town since 1871; in it Kansas Conference sessions were held as early as 1873 /p_z82, 89. The records of the Holton church were consistently in German until 1890; sometimes English, sometimes German until at least 1903, all English after 1907. The Reformed Church founded in 1880 does receive notice in the Cutler Andreas history /a1342; it was worshipping in the courthouse, and did not endure. The Missouri Lutherans began missionary work in Holton by 1909, but did not organize a church until 1926. In 1943 the Neta-waka Church stated that the majority of the members of the Holton church had earlier belonged to their congregation. There were then 77 communicants, 50 in 1948, 87 souls. One report of 1942 said no German was being used by the Germans at Holton; another said only to old people. The second was doubtless correct, but the first was written by a person who volunteered knowledge of Germans in the community, not by one ignorant of their existence.

48.41 JEFFERSON COUNTY E5

Valley Falls Germans (Mid-n, Area A) began to appear in the area as early as any other white inhabitants of the region, that is, when Kansas Territory opened. In 1860 there were there twenty persons born in various parts of Germany, and nineteen born in Switzerland. The Swiss element remained important; in 1895 very nearly one-third of the Ger-ling foreign-born were Swiss; in 1925 5 of the 11 in town, though only 2 of the 22 in Delaware Township. The Swiss in town in 1925 had arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1887, the two in the county in 1920; the Reich Germans in town came from Europe between 1859 and 1884; most (14) of those in the county between 1882 and 1892, 2 in 1852, 1 in 1923, the other three scattered. The

Andreas-Cutler history of 1883 contains 59 biographies of subscribers in Valley Falls and Delaware Township (total population 2864); twelve of these had obviously German names; of them four were foreign-born. The high proportion in this group of persons with German names born in the United States indicates an Engl-izing influence. In town the longest-enduring institution with some German character has been the Lutheran Church (United). It began its career in 1856 but was without activity at sundry periods -- none at all from 1874 to 1885. The distribution of stocks in the membership is illustrated by its first church council 1866; two members were born in Pennsylvania (Crotzer, Hosler), one was Swiss (Reichard), one German or Swiss (Senn). The influence of this body for the conservation of German must have been at best minor. A more vigorous Germanic influence did exist in Valley Falls in 1883; there was a Turnverein. The most persistently German institution in the area was the Evangelical Association Church. A class was organized in 1865 among the people to the north of Valley Falls; it gained its own building in 1886, became self-supporting in 1895. Two of the four couples forming the original class were Swiss-born (Conrad Emmel, a local preacher, and Kasper Abbuehl). They attracted other Swiss, for at least part of the Reichards who were at first with the Lutherans became part of the membership. German was the customary language for services until the late 1890's; five years later it had been practically abandoned in the church except that an old ladies class went on using it, but not for many years. The differences between Swiss dialect and standard German discouraged ecclesiastical use. In 1948 it had already been some time since any family used German habitually. Even the very old were rusty. Twenty or twenty-five years earlier it was not uncommon, however, to hear German.

Nortonville and Mooney Creek Germans (Mid-n, Area B). The Mooney Creek Germans are Catholics and the Nortonville Germans have a Lutheran and a Catholic section. The Catholics were originally part of one parish, and therefore may be considered together. Anton Weishaar came from Lee County in southeastern Iowa (61-75) in 1855. He had many descendants; so did Sefri Noll who arrived, not yet a widow, by 1858. She came from Hessen by way of Pennsylvania. Later there were people (Schuler) from near Evansville, Ind., (62-111). The group began to be visited by priests in 1859; in 1864 the visits occurred every two months /b50,69. Burials in the cemetery began in 1871. The Nortonville section apparently began to hear mass separately in 1884, built a church in 1892, and received a resident pastor in 1894. The pastors of both Corpus Christi parish at Mooney Creek and of St. Joseph's at Nortonville were in 1938 dissatisfied with their people because of what they regarded as their pugnacious, stubborn, and avaricious character. They were more independent than docile. Their combative nature suggests that of the East Border and Russian Germans. A number of names in the cemetery suggest Slavic connection (Blockwicz, Navinsky, Obrence, Wistuba to cite the most obvious). At any rate the community was linguistically conservative. Preaching in German in both parishes went on until the First World War and confessions in German for another decade. People born later than 1917 did not learn German but their parents were proficient.

Language of Inscriptions in the Corpus Christi (Mooney Creek) Cemetery

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1870-9	1	6	85%
1880-9	2	12	85%
1890-9	9	7	44%
1900-6	5	7	58%

No German later.

There was no town of Nortonville until 1873. The Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, was not organized there until 1897. There were Lutherans earlier, however; the Chapman Album of 1890 /ch90-660 relates that Frederick Ellerman, a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was born in 1818 in Hanover, Germany, came to Hanging Rock in southernmost Ohio in 1846, later to Lee County, Iowa, then to Leavenworth, and eventually to Norton Township. He was married and had his first child in Ohio. He is therefore not to be confused with F. Ellerman, born in Germany in 1813, of the census of 1865 resident in this area in 1865, who had also been in Iowa and had a child born in Kansas in 1854. Frederick Ellerman of the Album does seem identical with Frederick Elmer of the 1870 census of this township; born in 1818 in Hanover; he had had two children in Iowa and later one in Kansas in 1857. There were thus Hanoverian Lutherans in the area by 1865 and possibly by 1854. The people were in part Suabian as well as from Hanover or neighboring parts of Westphalia, particularly Minden. Lutheran services were in German until the First World War. The anti-German hysteria was marked in Nortonville, and the town demanded that the Lutheran sermons should be in English. The minister was so nearly mono-lingually German then that he was forced to find substitutes to speak for him. English in public services was not resumed later. The pastor was however still doing pastoral work for five persons in 1949, two of whom had come to America after the First World War. In one family where Engl-izing was a little ahead of the rest of the community a son born in 1904 was fluent in German; his brother was born in 1907 and later had difficulty with the language. Until the First World War instruction in school in standard German was so effective that the language

of sermons was no obstacle. There is repeated evidence that in the area there were in the 1950's a number of people enthusiastic about speaking German. The contrast between them and the generality is consistent with the Nortonville-Mooney Creek reputation for independence.

48.42 JEWELL COUNTY N4

Harrison Germans (Low-y, Area A). 1868 was entered in Volume I as the date of first German settlement because Adam Rosenberg took a claim then on the White Rock "a short distance west of Reubens" /kcl7-4395, somewhat beyond the bounds of this area. "Old Adam" was "a Dutchman" and an "odd genius." He was still here in 1878. Because of Indians no settlement but his was permanent until after 1869. The year 1874 was entered as an additional date because the first representatives of two families that became numerous in the area appear in the 1875 census; they are those of Carl Semke with children born in Illinois between 1859 and 1872 and F. Karnatz, who also came from Illinois, but with children born in Germany, all before 1867. The representative of another family persisting in the area appears in the 1885 census, Adam Korb, born in Germany, as was his wife, with children born in Ohio between 1860 and 1872. The others of German stock did not regard the Korbs as German in 1955. At that time there were a few people born in the first decades of the twentieth century who had not spoken English before going to school and who still retained some proficiency^{in German}, but German was unused. No cultural institution had existed. Burr Oak was the principal point of retirement.

Reubens Norwegians (Low-w, Area B). Scandinavians were on the White Rock during the Indian troubles of 1868 and 1869 (see /a967 and /kcl7-4399ff). Among them the Norwegian John Dahl was killed. Other Dahls remained in

the neighborhood; Mary Dahl was driven from the valley in 1955 by the waters behind the White Rock dam. They came from the neighborhood of Trondhjem by way of Wisconsin. The Norwegians had by 1955 completely abandoned their language, although those born before 1900 usually knew no English until they entered school. There were Swedes too; "May 24, 1869 Nels S. Cederberg homesteaded" /kcl7440; he brought up numerous children in the area. By 1880 Nels Cederberg's sister arrived with her husband Nels Fajersson. They straightway changed their name to Ferguson and brought up many children. In 1955 women cousins from these two families born in the late 1880's conversed with each other in Swedish. Nels Ferguson born in 1838 lived to be 100. Consequently grandchildren born as late as 1930 learned to understand Swedish. These families were from Kvyngse close to Stockholm.

Eshon Czechs (Low-x, Area C). The 1875 census shows Anton Kindler born in Bohemia with a child 2 years old born in Kansas and six other children from 4 to 15 years old born in Iowa. He was a Bohemian German, but his wife was a Czech. There was also in 1875 Tobias Moravek, born in Bohemia, with a child one year old born in Kansas and 2 others aged 4 and 6 born in Iowa. Anton Commic born in 1795 in Bohemia lived with them; presumably he was the father of Mrs. Moravek. The Kindlers and Moraveks remained in the area.

In 1955 a man born in 1880 who had come directly to the community at the age of six said that he understood the old women who addressed him in Czech, but that he could not answer them. His wife born here said much the same thing. His children born as late as 1918 learned to speak Czech. Their grandmothers had never learned to speak English. One of them died in 1920. Employees of the government agricultural services in the late 1940's found

several homesteads where they had difficulty making themselves understood. Everyone agreed in 1955 that only the old were then speaking Czech. There had been a Bohemian hall with the usual reputation, but it ceased to function about 1930 and was torn down in 1953. There is no national cemetery. The truly Czech names in the Catholic cemetery are rare, but there are a number of German names some in Slavic dress.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Those Born
in Bohemia and Resident in Esbon Township in 1925

1857	1	1884-1886	8
1868-1870	3	1891	4
1878	1	None later.	

Central Jewell County Scandinavians (Low-x, Area D). There has been no solid occupancy of territory for this group, but the Norwegian elements were sufficiently cohesive to found a Lutheran church in 1872; it was at first located two miles west of Mankato and later in town, 90 members in 1950. In 1964 half of the members lived in town. There were irregular services in Norwegian up until 1922. There were gaps between pastoral terms. Norwegian was used in families with growing children in the first decade of the century, but in 1964 only a few old women were credited with occasional active use of Norwegian.

Randall Germans (Low-y, Area E). At Jewell City in 1870 members of the Evangelical Association from Stephenson County in northwestern Illinois, (61-101) began to gather. They heard preaching in German in 1871 and 1872, though not every one understood German. The members did not all bear names of German character, and those who did spelled them so as to suggest Penn-German origin. This county in Illinois, however, contained both Penn-Germans

and immigrants from Germany and the Germans from Europe at Randall also came from Illinois. Among them were some who became a permanent part of the Randall German settlement, Lewis Spiegel, who arrived in 1870 and Jacob Zipse, who was here by 1875. Other Zipses followed as late as 1900. At this time the younger generation was using English with each other, ^{though} they understood German. Older people too turned to English because there were many neighbors who knew no German. The hostility to German during the First World War was more outright here than in some other places.

Randall Scandinavians (Low-x, Area F) are closely connected with the Jamestown group in Cloud County, but here the emphasis is Norwegian more than Danish. Until 1896 there was an exclusively Norwegian church, but then St. Lukes, though still connected with the Norwegian Synod, was built for Norwegian and Danes -- there were also a few intermarried Swedes. In 1956 it was to be abandoned. No services in Norwegian had taken place since 1911, since earlier perhaps. In 1956 three persons all 70 or older were named as still able to speak Norwegian; five Danes were adept, some no older than 45. People of English stock born about 1900 remember hearing no Scandinavian.

48.43 JOHNSON COUNTY E12

West Olathe Germans (Low-v, Area A). There seems to have been no social institution to hold this group together. Maintenance of German was almost entirely a matter of family tradition. The movements of the Moll family (source /ch15:278) furnished an example of the sometimes complicated movements of German families reaching Kansas. Joseph Francis Moll was born in Baden, Germany in 1811. With his father he came to New York in 1830 where he was married to Regina Kaiser in 1836. He left New York in 1838 and the

1865 census says that a child was born in that year in Missouri. By 1844 he was in Perry County (60-49S) (an early settler in that southeast Missouri county on the Mississippi). In 1850 he moved from this German area to another just as heavy across the river and nearer to St. Louis in St. Clair County, Illinois (60-110). From there he came to a farm five miles west of Olathe in 1860 where he remained. Five of his ten children were living in 1915, two at Eudora, and one, A. E. (Ed), in Olathe. Ed was born in Perry County, Mo. in 1847 and spent three years at Belleville, Ill., from 1866 to 1869 before coming back to Olathe to become a citizen elected as county treasurer and as mayor in 1901 and 1902. All Joseph's children had names common in both Germany and America. A. E.'s six practically all had names not typical of any one born in Germany. Another old and persisting family (source /co5:2563) was that of Christian Martin Ott, born at Coblenz in the Rheinland in 1835. His parents brought him to Alton, Illinois, (60-100) by way of New Orleans in 1849. He came to Olathe in 1857 (baker, then miller) where he died in 1907. "He was thoroughly American in every way, acquired a broad knowledge of the language." He married Justina Shaive. Her sister Catherine married P. Barthol. This couple, Prussians also, had a child born in Kansas in 1857 or 1858 and apparently came to Olathe at the same time as the Otts. Mrs. Ott, who had served breakfast to Quantrill's men, saved Barthol from the raiders, "informing the leader that her relative had just come to the United States and did not understand their language." Their son Albert continued to live in Olathe and married the daughter of early immigrants to Kankakee, Illinois, who came from north Germany (Hanover and Mecklenburg-Schwerin). Neither of the articles treating these families speak of religious connections.

438C
45A

Odavira Germans (Low-x, Area B) and Mission Germans (Low-x, Area D), are so near Kansas City that investigation of them as twentieth-century groups is futile. In 1954 there were still a few people born as late as 1900, though usually much earlier, who occasionally addressed each other in German.

Lenexa Germans (Mid-1, Area C). The settlement of Germans near Lenexa in the first decade after the Shawnee Reserve lands became available amounted to ten or twelve families. The Catholic parishes established at Shawnee and Olathe in the mid-1860's contained non-Germanic elements to such an extent that they scarcely served as a cultural institution for Germans. Lenexa did not itself come into existence until the advent of the railroad in 1869. The Catholics built a church in 1882, but its people became as conglomerate as those at Shawnee and Olathe with the coming of the Flemings. German names are however prominent in its history, and there were short German sermons in the mid-1880's. As late as 1920 at least one Catholic child learned to converse with her grandmother in German. The Protestants in 1885 organized a Lutheran church which joined the Ohio Synod. In the beginning both German and English were used in the services. No records were ever kept in German, confirmations were always in English. Preaching in German was abandoned completely in 1916 or 1917 after a period when it took place only once a month. In 1954 even the very old claimed to do no more than understand some German.

48.44 KEARNEY COUNTY. See Finney County, #48.28.

48.45 KINGMAN COUNTY N27.

Murdock Russian Germans (Low-y, Area A) have as their rural center the Bethany Mennonite (GCM) Church (on nw 7-29-6) ten miles southeast of Kingman,

near Belmont. The "Swiss" Mennonites at Pretty Prairie, joined by other Swiss from Mound Ridge spreading in search of more land became strong enough to organize a church in 1907. After the building burned in 1930 there was a division and Zion Church was accepted into the conference in 1932. It is located in Kingman. The country church remained three times as large. The names of families in the town church indicated that the Swiss element is joined by others there. For a secondary settlement the area was conservative linguistically. Children entered school unable to speak English in the mid-1920's. They remained proficient in the mid-1950's; but their children were all unable to speak German. Cases of this type existed among the members of "Swiss" descent in both churches

Norwich Germans (Low-w, Area B). The first inhabitant of Kingman County appeared in 1873. By 1875 this German settlement had begun. In 1880 five out of fourteen heads of German families in Allen Township had been born in Holstein; the majority of the rest were from neighboring provinces. The names of the first postmasters at the offices in the area, Willhour and Strayer, indicate that there were also Penn-Germans in the neighborhood. The only German church that developed was a German Methodist at Norwich; it was served in 1876 by the circuit rider, P. W. Matthaei. Preaching in German had been abandoned in it before the First World War. In 1950 the use of German was merely a memory.

Willowdale - St. Leo Germans (Mid-m, Area C)

Special Bibliog.:

G - Goenner, W. G., History of Zenda [1940?]

Willowdale and St. Leo both have churches (St. Peter and St. Leo the Great) and besides a little in the way of business life. Willowdale is the older and gives the impression of more solidity, but St. Leo is much more frequently mentioned by those acquainted with Catholic Germans. This phenomenon is to be explained by the fact that the people of St. Leo in greater proportion came from other settlements, very frequently Kansas settlements, Odin, Andale-Colwich for example. Movement out of St. Leo into other settlements has also been greater so that in Marienthal or Wright its former citizens or their descendants are to be found.

The 1880 census contains one name that also appears in the Willowdale Cemetery, Dominick Conrardy (1840-1916). His youngest child, Mary, born in Iowa was two years old in 1880. The Conrardys came then in 1879 or 1880. Dominick was a Luxemburger and his wife Anna, was a Lorrainer. Annie Weinschenk also a Luxemburger and her husband Xavier from Wurtemberg were also in the immediate neighborhood and "accomodated travelers over night"/Gl. Both families were from Iowa. The Weinschenks later became a force of importance in the development of the area. Xavier's son, Frank, b. 1858, was made immigration agent of the Santa Fe and "induced quite a number to come to Saint Leo and vicinity" from Iowa/G4. He himself became established at Zenda on the railroad south of Willowdale. The Zenda area though less intensely German has a history similar to Willowdale's. St. Peter's church on the future site of Willowdale was built in 1884 and from 1883 to 1891 the post office of Peters existed.

Peters Township Population Statistics

	Total Pop.	b. in Germany	German children at home	% of Gerlings
1885	304	32	10	14%
1895	165	28	22	30%
1905	322	42	81	38%
1915	391	54	105	41%

After the boom bursted in 1886 or 1887 the Germans held their own through the hard times of the nineties and increased faster than the rest of the population. However St. Peter's parish which in 1887 had 45 families was so limited in its prosperity that in 1900 it was still a mission of the pro-cathedral at Wichita. But in that year it built a rectory and shortly received a resident pastor. The tranquility of the parish and of Willowdale, as the accompanying hamlet began to be called in the twentieth century, is symbolized by its two long pastorates. The Reverend George Sittenauer served it from 1917 until his death in 1935. The Rev. John Bast who had served it in his youth before 1912 returned in 1935 and was still continuing in 1960.

St. Leo is not only the younger parish; it is somewhat smaller. Attendance at the parish school is a witness to this. In 1960 both parishes had, at least titutarly, only a catechetical school.

Children in Parish School

	Willowdale	St. Leo
1915	60	43
1948	94	84

St. Leo's first church was built in 1909. It too had a long pastorate. The Reverend Albert Kienhofer (1863-1941) served from before 1911 until his death. St. Leo is in the middle of Kingman Township. In 1885 that township had 592 inhabitants of whom about twenty were Germans. In 1895 it had 209 inhabitants, including five foreign-born Germans. Only one child with both parents born in Germany lived with them. In other words practically all the permanent German population in the township came later. In 1915 the proportion between the foreign born and children living with them, 26:69 shows that this settlement, as was said above, was made up of people who had not come recently to America. The other settlements contributing population to this area were among those linguistically conservative, and children sometimes arrived at school ignorant of English.

It has, however, been much more persistently German than most secondary settlements. Apparently newcomers were attracted to it by the fact that the German culture persisted. All witnesses agree that linguistically conditions at Willowdale and at St. Leo are practically identical. The dialect is South German, Luxemburg to Bavaria, at St. Leo many Austrians. In both, preaching in German went on mingled with English until 1917 and people over 60 liked to go to confession in German in the 1950's. The First World War put a stop to the official use of German, but in the homes where it had been universal before, young people went on using it for almost another decade, so that there are a number born as late as 1925 capable of using German. Tombstone inscriptions are for the most part in English, but a few samples of language shift on tombstones belonging to particular families from each cemetery corroborate what has just been said.

Willowdale

English

Catherine Rohlman 1891-1930

Mary Kimmiman 1870-1927

German

Joseph Rohlman 1880-1924

Edward Kimmiman 1899-1915

Saint Leo

English

Henry Becker 1893-1918

Josephine, daughter of
Joseph and Cunningunda
1917-1919

German

Elizabeth Becker 1864-1915

Josef Ridder 1864-1918
Kunigunde 1878-1918

Nashville-Zenda Germans (Low-w, Area D). This Missouri Lutheran settlement was largely made up of people from other Kansas and Missouri settlements. The Kansas contingent was frequently from settlements where people had come from the Concordia and Cole Camp areas (60-11 and 32), in Missouri. The original group, whose arrivals began about 1885, were in the years around 1908 reenforced by a new migration. Preaching and confirmations were exclusively in German until the First World War. German was finally abandoned with the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1953 a man born about 1910 was still proficient, and actually using German with his mother. Another born about 1914 had spoken German only till he went to school; he felt his fluency was limited in 1953. The four children of a man born in 1893 learned to understand German; a daughter, born in 1917 had learned to speak, then forgotten how, and had relearned on wedding a man at Herkimer (Bremen-Horseshoe Germans Marshall A).

48.46 KIOWA COUNTY N28n See Vol. I., 310

48.47 LABETTE COUNTY E27 See Neosho County #48.63 and Vol. I., 312, For Parsons Mexicans, see #47.93

48.48 LANE COUNTY F17 See Ness County #48.64.

48.49 LEAVENWORTH COUNTY E6

See Settlement Histories for Leavenworth Germans, Poles and Italians (Super, Area C).

Easton-Potter Germans (Mid-1, Area A). Vol. I published 1855 as the beginning of this German settlement on the basis of a chronology in the Andreas-Cutler history for John Jacob Rapp /a464, beginning with first settlement in Kansas in 1852, incorrect since the territory was not open. The Rapps came to Easton Township in 1862 /ch21:536. To say that any Germans settled here before 1860 is impossible. Census data concerning earlier residence in Kansas cannot reliably be applied to this township because early Germans of this area usually spent a period in the city of Leavenworth (or perhaps elsewhere in Kansas) before acquiring a farm. For instance no confidence can be put in the date 1857, recorded in the patrons list of the County Atlas of 1878 as the date of settlement of Gottlieb Maier. His Andreas-Cutler biography says that he spent 8 years in town after arrival. Andreas-Cutler records the names of settlers in the township in 1854 and 1855, but none is German. Max and Rosa Biehler, Catholics arrived in 1860 /ch21:516, and became permanent. The Rapps were Wurtembergers. Jacob was born in 1835

or 6, came to New York in 1852, wandered till he married at Trenton in southwestern Ohio in 1857. They soon came to Kansas and moved three times (Leavenworth, southeast of Holton, Baldwin) before at length settling down in this township approximately at the site of the future Missouri Lutheran Church, which was organized in 1880. Lutherans came in from various areas. A frequent source was in Platt County just across the Missouri River (Beverly, Farley) where the Lutheran settlements did not thrive greatly. There were other Wurtembergers, but the membership had at least as many north Germans and the mixture of dialects seems to have made for Engl-izing. The process was, however, not particularly swift. On page 11 of the Golden Jubilee pamphlet, the following quotation from Pastor Hafner appears: "On 12th of January 1913 I was installed as pastor. . . . At this time the language question was stirring and several stormy meetings were held to decide the matter . . . the majority voted to have an English service once a month." German was completely abandoned in services in 1941. In 1942 a housewife born in the late 1890's declared, "no one talks German any more except to Mrs. Moeller." She exaggerated somewhat. In 1948 there was still one old man who hardly understood English. Still, she was approximately correct. To judge by her own case the shift was rather sudden. She spoke German to her daughter until the child's father took her to town and found that she could not answer people who addressed her in English. This occurrence was probably in the early 1920's. There was a least one other family at that time in which a child entering school knew no English. In Leavenworth, where German was no rarity, the community had the reputation of being quite German.

The Catholic Germans in Easton Township were mostly farther south and Easton was their center. Other stocks furnished as many members of the parish, and German was never more than a family language with them.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Germany and Resident in Easton Township in 1925

Before 1865	5	1880-1885	11	1900-1901	4
1865-1869	3	1887	4	1910	1
1870-1876	6	1889-1895	5		

St.-Joseph-of-the-Valley French (Low-y, Area B). The first French seem to have been in the St. Joseph of the Valley neighborhood by 1860; Joseph Poitrey was resident in Kickapoo Township in that year /ch99:512. M. and A. Frache, born in France, were resident there in 1885 with a son 25 years old born in Kansas. Mrs. Frache (1821-1888) is buried in St. Joseph's cemetery. The Fraches do not appear in the 1865 census and may have come from elsewhere in Kansas. Poitrey moved out of the community to the southeast in 1869. Certainly the future French colony was under way when the Thiebauds arrived. At the organizing meeting of St. Joseph's parish, ^{in 1863} E. Thiebaud is listed /ch21:617 as present along with 18 Irishmen and 3 Germans. Father Grootaers' parish history ¹⁸⁵⁴ lists Thiebaud as a characteristic name in the parish. E. Thiebaud was not listed by the 1865 census takers but Celeste (b. 1802) with wife and sons Felix (b. 1839) and Jules (b. 1845) were present. Presumably E. (b. 1833) had represented the family at the organizing meeting and shortly afterward had gone to Missouri to return later, for he appears in the 1885 census with a wife M. born in Missouri and a son 17 years old born in Kansas. His brother Jules also had a wife born in Missouri, Odile (b. 1854). According to Father Grootaers the most important event in early history of the community was the influx of settlers in 1868, several families

of French descent. They had immigrated from France, landed in New Orleans, gone to St. Louis and "formed outside the city a little community called Frenchtown." It seems probable that Father Grootaers meant French Village, fifty miles south of St. Louis. He mentions as grandchildren of these immigrants resident in his parish people named "Payeur, Pierron, Mottin, Thiebaud, Chrastaille, Jacquot." The most flourishing family was the Payeurs. Antoine died in 1874 at 70 years of age, but he left several sons and at least one daughter Catherine (1837-1916) who married Cyril Chmidling (1836-1916). Other evidence /ch21:487 and interviews, shows that these people came from Lorraine. Leger Mottin emigrated from there to St. Louis in 1845. This date seems that of the group migration, for Jules Thiebaud was born in France in 1845. However, they found other French present, Leger Mottin married Mary de Salme (1839-1917) who was born in the United States (in Missouri by the census of 1885; in Illinois by /ch21:487). The church, organized in 1863, lost parishioners to Easton and Springdale when churches were established in those places about 1879; thus the French element became more prominent in membership, but St. Joseph's never became entirely French. A hamlet grew up near the church, called Mount Olivet, a name which without French background would have doubtless been Mount of Olives. It maintained a post office from 1877 to 1900. St. Joseph's parish, though larger, was a mission of Easton, and there was no French priest until Father Taton served from 1889 to 1895. According to Father Grootaers, Taton preached sometimes in French. Grootaers (1867-1948), despite his Flemish name, was born in Lille, France. He became pastor in 1896 and served until 1943. Though at first charged with Easton and its missions, his efforts were mainly spent

with his co-nationals. At least, he achieved the erection of an independent parish with rectory in 1903. In preaching he used English exclusively.

Intermarriage

between his French parishioners and those of other stocks, mainly German, early became common, so that almost no households headed by the second generation used French at home. In 1895 French was still commonly heard, and sons of settlers born in the early years of the twentieth century learned something of French, but by 1949 a man of French parentage born in 1875 and still capable of speaking French, said, "~~There~~ ain't nobody much that uses that language." and a much younger cousin of his remarked, "At one time it was pretty near a French settlement, but we're mixed up pretty well with other people now."

Ackerland-Tonganoxie Germans (Lowest, Area D). One of the families (Sebastian) appearing in the 1870 census had a child 9 born in Kansas, but as the family does not appear in the 1865 census, it may have been elsewhere in Kansas. J. Wager, born in Germany, arrived in 1866 and the family remained permanently resident. The family of Wm. Murr, born 1834 in Wurtemberg, elsewhere in the county in 1864, and across the river at Farley in 1866 or 7, arrived here about 1868, purchased farm 1870 /ch21-4566. His first wife Nancy (1841-1878) was born in Kentucky; his second Melcina Schrimpff (1844-1832) was the daughter of Henry (see Stranger Basehor Germans). She grew up learning to speak German, but ceased using it when of schoolage. William Murr could persuade none of his children to learn German. However, Frank Borst (b. 1874) who came into the neighborhood with his parents in 1887 found other boys (Seifert, Brune) speaking German and they taught some to Guy Farrar. Active use of German by the young seems to have endured little longer. There was no German social institution.

Stranger-Basehor Germans (Low-v, Area E) include some in villages nearby. They have no great common unity, but they did develop certain social

institutions. Henry Schrimpf (1814-1900) and his wife Bibiana (Ruhl), (1819-1903) were Hessians who were in Missouri as early as 1842. They lived in Franklin County until they came to a farm near Jarbalo in 1855. In Kansas in their neighborhood there were families speaking German at least until the conclusion of the First World War. Rather near the center of the area there were in 1955 persons born in the 1890's who sometimes spoke German to each other. On the east edge of the area beyond Basehor where Lutherans from north Germany prevail the use of dialect went on so that in 1949 persons born about 1910 were still proficient though rather seldom using it; sometimes they had known no English on going to school. German Methodists were active in the northern part of this area and had services at Jarbalo and at Fairmount. At Hoge in the center about half of the people of Holy Angels parish were German, but the pastors were largely Irish. German priests were called in to preach as late as 1925. After 1924 the Hoge Church burned and a new church was built at Basehor named Saint Patricks, but in 1948 and 1960 the pastor bore a German name. Saint Martin's Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod on the Wyandotte County line was not organized until 1908 but there had been services earlier. Services in German were completely abandoned in 1917 to the relief of those proficient only in dialect. Half of the class of 1909 had been confirmed in German. Confirmations were always in English later.

East Delaware Germans (Low-v, Area F). Trading with the Indians permitted Herman Brandt to acquire property on the high ground near the river in 1852. Other German settlers arrived early but there were late arrivals, also. Herman's son Otto, b. 1869, learned to speak German and so also, his wife, Mary Biever born 1867 and brought up at Piper to the south, but their children heard them speak only to old people. When their son, H, born in 1894, started

to school, only a few classmates, children of late arrivals, knew German. Many Germans statistically counted with his group belong rather with the city; they were industrial workers and living beyond the city limits to the south. There were in the corner of Wyandotte County belonging to this district 2 French families established early with descendants still present in 1967. Eugene Lallier, (1832-1906), born at Montlour in France, emigrated to Fond du Lac in Wisconsin in 1852, to Leavenworth County in 1858 and to Wyandotte County in 1871 /ch11:757. His widow Elizabeth Bonley born 1831, was reared in France, was alive in 1911, and her great-grandchildren had heard French in the family.

48.50 LINCOLN COUNTY N14

See Settlement Histories for Denmark Danes (Mid-k, Area A).

Bethany Germans (Low-w, Area B). The 1885 census recorded that Fred Liss (1835-1896) had a daughter 14 years old born in Kansas, another, 16, born in Germany. The Lisses became numerous in the Bethany community, but the years of the primary early migration were somewhat later. The 75th anniversary History of the Bethany Baptist Church organized in 1878 says: "In the years 1876 to 1878 a group of families came west to Kansas. Many families came from Wisconsin. Some came from Missouri and still others from Ohio." Most of the families in the congregation came from east Germany (Danzig, Posen). There was also a Swiss element. For two years the official name included the words, German Baptist Church; in 1880 the congregation replaced 'German' by 'Bethany'. It has been part of the North American Baptist General Conference. The anniversary history is silent as to language usage in the church proper but says: "The first young people's group was called

'Yugend (sic)Verein.' . . . It was started in 1886, with all the services conducted in German as were the rest of the services in the church In the beginning of this century the English language came into use in our Church. Still later on the name was changed from Yugend Verein." The history says further: "Bethany's first Missionary Society was organized on April 21, 1892. The constitution and its activities were the same as the present society, except that it was conducted in the German language." This organization collapsed in 1903 and we may suspect that the young would not come into a society whose meetings were in German. The entrance of English

into regular services took place during the pastorate of G. L. Heide; which was divided into two parts with no intervening pastor, Aug. 1915-Aug. 1919, Oct. 1920-Jan. 1934. We may again suspect that the language question had something to do with the year's gap. After Heide's time no more German services. An old people's Sunday School class went on in German till 1940 when the teacher Wm. Jaeger, born 1867, died. The first minister unable to use German came in 1949. By this time the congregation was in different to German, but those proficient had occasion to refurbish their German because after the Second World War the district of their origin furnished displaced persons who came to relatives. In the 1950's there were young men who went into the service who were proficient in German, those who had seen much of grandparents, which occurred rather often in this group. Still no one was actively using German at that time, not even the old among themselves.

Rosette Germans (Lowest, Area C). There were Germans born in Germany in this area by 1875, but it became primarily a Penn-German community. Evangelical Association activity began there in 1879 and in 1900 a church was built. It was active in 1927 but disbanded by 1948, though thereafter there were services on Decoration Day. Pennsylvania Dutch was in use in this area at least till 1903.

Sylvan Grove Germans (Mid-1, Area D). There were Germans in this area by 1873. Sylvan Grove was granted a post office in 1872. The Missouri Lutheran Church which became the dominant social institution of the town was organized in 1881. The members have been in large part north Germans, Pomeranians and Hanoverians among them. They did not come from anyone region in the United States, Illinois most common, some from Indiana, but many came directly from Germany or had stopped only briefly elsewhere. The

Lutheran Church was all German in every activity until after the First World War. Regular services were half German, half English, until 1930. At the beginning of the Second World War German was abandoned except as needed for pastoral calls and for occasional exhortations. In the late 1930s attendance at German services had been small. In 1962 an informant in the area said: "The minister still addresses the Germans in German to get after them on some particular subject -- not for sermons -- particularly to bring the old to heel." The first confirmations in English were in 1920; there was no class in 1919. The parochial school made German the language of instruction until 1918, when public authorities closed it. In 1919 it reopened with English only. At the beginning of the century students left school still able to speak only German. A later reaction among some of those who had been embarrassed on entering American adult society without English caused mothers to use English only with their sons and daughters. However, those born before 1917 could still speak German in 1961. Those born after 1936 were unable to. Those born between the two dates had a smattering of German words and had learned to understand.

Vesper Germans (Low-v, Area E). The tombstone of August Reinert (1854-1941) and Carlina Wacker Reinert (1861-1927) calls them "Lincoln County

Pioneers of 1878," then memorializes them in German. The stone is of the style of 1941. The Evangelical Synod church, organized by 1890, has been the chief social institution of these Germans. German had been abandoned in its services by 1935. Persons who reached childbearing age in 1917 were able to speak German but did not do so with each other, only with the old later on. Conversations for secrecy over the telephone were going on among the older people about 1940.

Lincoln and Vicinity Germans (Lowest, Area F). The primary justifications for considering these Germans a group are the landholdings separated from those to the south by the Saline River and the fact that the town has never been completely lacking in speakers of German. Like most towns near substantial settlements it has been the point of retirement of their people and of business enterprise for those leaving the farms. In the 1950's the latter were not preserving their German, but there were old people using theirs.

Shady Bend Germans (Lowest, Area G). The Lutherans here have definite identity. They came to this country from Pomerania and the German Polish province of Posen. Specifically Gustav M. Kovalke, born in 1855, came from (in German spelling) Samotschin in the north of Posen, and therefore from the same general area as Pomerania (Pautsch also from Posen). He reached this area in 1885. Most of the Pomeranians (Geyer, Simon, Steinberg, Schulz, Thues) came from Fort Atkinson in Jefferson County, Wisconsin, but there were a few from elsewhere in Wisconsin and the Hendeses left the Hanoverians in the Bremen-Horseshoe settlement to join the other Pomeranians here. The arrivals from Wisconsin occurred between 1880 and 1885. It seems that the language question was vigorous at an early date in this area, for the Missouri Lutheran statistical yearbooks of 1906 and 1910 note the partial use of English here, and St. Peter's, north of Shady Bend, organized in 1901, had only 24 members in 1948, while families in the immediate neighborhood were then attending the Westfall church, St. Paul's, organized in 1911. In 1954 Gilbert Kowalke, born about 1918, was proficient in German, but when he wished to speak the language, he had to speak to older people.

Lincoln-Westfall Germans (Mid-k, Area H). Ferdinand Erhardt, born 1829 at Ludwigsburg, Wurtemberg, d. 1910, came to Philadelphia in 1854, to near St. George in Pottawatomie County, Kansas, in 1858, served in the Civil War, and settled 2 miles south of the site of Lincoln in 1867 where he remained despite the Indian troubles. "Many a settler made his temporary home with him while looking for a claim and making the necessary preparations for a home" /r121. Arrivals went on for some time. In 1892, three families (Krukenberg, Aufdemberg, Meyer) came from Columbus, Indiana. The stock was in general Hanoverian. Erhardt became a member of St. John's Lutheran Church organized close by in 1881. The services there were completely German till after the First World War. English did not greatly intrude until the 1930's. German services were given up at the outbreak of the Second World War. Pastoral work in German was still going on with the old in 1954. In 1950 the grandson of four early settlers, aged about 19, wrote, "Until I was about ten years old, German was spoken occasionally in my home and in the community. When the war came, social pressure forced an end to this practice. Consequently, I know a small amount of German." An informant of 1942 also said that German was used in small social groups and in the family. In 1949 the estimate was that out of a congregation of nearly 500 souls 80 could speak respectable German and 200 could understand it. In 1954 two retired couples in Lincoln reported that their children had been able to speak German, but their grandchildren knew none. St. Paul's, the Westfall church, was organized in 1911 and prospered, for the original church, St. John's, was to the west of the center of settlement. At first the ~~parochial school was near~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ St. John's, but the area where the farms of those with children of school age were developed to the southeast, and the school was moved there. Finally St. Paul's was organized in this additional location. Even after the First World War children acquired a bit of written German there,

presumably during religious instruction.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Cemetery of

St. John's Lutheran Church, Lincoln

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1880-1889	0	11	100%
1890-1899	3	18	86%
1900-1909	4	23	85%
1910-1919	10	14	58%
1920-1929	15	10	40%
1930-1939	25	4	14%
1940-1949	20	1	5%

48.51 LINN COUNTY E19. See Vol. I., 312.

48.52 LOGAN COUNTY F12

McAllaster-Wallace Germans (Lowest, Area A). The German social institution of this area was, beginning by 1906, the Missouri Lutheran Church; in 1948 there were 43 members and still services in German. On the southwest edge of the area designated, about 1945 a small group of Holdeman Mennonites mostly from Marion County established themselves. They did not continue using German. Early efforts of the Catholic Volgans to establish themselves near Wallace failed.

Page-Monument Polyglot (Low-v, Area B). The Swedes have been the most important and linguistically conscious group in this area. The Southwestern Swedish Townsite Company with Lindsborg as a base promoted settlement here in the mid-1880's. Settlers arrived in 1886, principally from Page County in southwestern Iowa, whence the name Page City. In 1887 they organized an Augustana Lutheran church, which they named Bethesda for their church (still prosperous) in Page County (Bethesda appears on maps). There were also people from

Fillmore County, Nebraska, where in 1951 there was a small Augustana Church. As the hard years were ending in 1897, half of the membership moved away. "From the date of organization until 1923, the Swedish language was used in Sunday School and at the morning worship services. Though the English language had been used at vespers, and both the English and Swedish used at Young People's Societies as well as in one Sunday School class in the early years, the Swedish was the official language of the church until 1923. That year [for the first time] the annual report was written in English." In the 1890's there was a Swedish summer school teaching that language. If others in the area attended Swedish funerals in the first decades of this century, they listened to preaching in Swedish. In 1949 there were old people speaking Swedish but the language in public was English. The Germans in the neighborhood were reported in 1949 as mainly those who had come west from Holyrood, Ellsworth County, and without linguistic significance. The French are of the same stock as the Canadians at Concordia and Damar. Various Bertrands are landholders and Jeanne Nollette. They were reported as knowing French on their arrival, which occurred in this century.

Oakley Germans (Low-v, Area C). An area with no real unity. German and Russian German Protestants and Catholics. Two families with husband and wife born in Germany appear in the 1895 census, none born in Russia. The 1905 census showed 13 Russian families containing foreign-born; part of 1k360 and probably all Volgan and Bessarabian Protestants were from near Russell. They had probably arrived recently. The names of three of these families are still on landowner map; other names on it are those of Reich Germans from the Angelus community, and of Catholic Volgans from near Hays. All these are linguistically conservative elements, and the use of German

has persisted. Russian Germans born ca. 1930 spoke German "just for orneriness" in 1949, but small children could not understand.

The North Scott Russian Germans (Lowest, Area D) are members of the Scott Holdeman Mennonite congregation established in 1943, organized in 1945, 109 members in 1953, 93 in 1957, perhaps 60 families in 1967. Their names are among those usual with the "Polish" Mennonites, and most came from McPherson County (Lone Tree Church). In 1964 the adults of the community were characterized, by one who had taught a school in the area, as bilingual, but using German only among themselves and more interested in education, even at the adult level, than is usually reported for the Holdeman Mennonites. There was similar testimony from neighbors in 1967. In that year two of their own number stated that those fifty years old habitually used German to each other and sometimes to their children, but that the children merely understood and were unable to speak the dialect.

48.53 LYON COUNTY E13

See Settlement Histories for South Emporia Welsh (Hi-d, Area E).

South Bushong Germans (Low-x, Area A). This area was part of the Kaw tribal trust lands which were not disposed of until late in the 1870's. Gustav and Caroline Marx (1857-1943, 1858-1954) according to the 1880 census had a child four years old born in Kansas. Henry H. and Louise Harder (1848-1932, 1854-1926) said in 1901 /ch01 that they arrived in 1878. Families arrived as late as the first decade of this century. Among late comers there were children who entered school as late as 1920 knowing no English, but this was a rarity. In the mid-1950's speakers of German were still active according to themselves and to non-Germans who heard them over the telephone. The Germans were largely from the northwest of Germany. There were also Penn-Germans in the area. The cemetery where most of the

families are buried is called "Lutheran" in the neighborhood, but no organization was formed.

South Allen Danes (Low-x, Area B).

First settlement at focus 1884, permanently by Christenson /ch 18, succeeding Rasmussen, bachelor. In 1885 the census shows in the town of Americus Frederiksons, later at focus, and Earnstiens (spelling sic) youngest child b. Denmark 1883; three families with no children born before 1885 were in township, also a few single men isolated. Certain families formed a minor focus three miles north of Americus. Americus^{is} still regarded as point of distribution. Several families, including Fredericksons, direct from Denmark. Settlement at focus continued till ca. 1900. At that time Danish picnics with much Danish spoken. But critical year then; children in school all using English. No permanent cultural center; some itinerant Lutheran services. Decrease in number of Danish families began soon.

Americus Germans (Low-v, Area C).

Not a well-defined and unified settlement. First German settlers 1858 (Scheel well east, 31-17-11); Ernst in Americus Twp /a. The Kaw Indian Reservation began just north of the town of Americus founded late 1857; its eastern boundary was ca. 2 mi. east; all territory north and west of this boundary in reservation, including that later occupied by the northern Americus Germans. This area became "trust lands" available for settlement in 1872 (Yetman 17-17-10 came 1872). In both areas other Germans soon followed (Eggers /ch01). In Americus an Evangelical Association Church existed from 1872 to ca. 1916, "a disastrous exodus" before end. Although the families mentioned were stable residents, the German population as a whole seems to have been unstable. Other Germans replaced some who left (Hassman came 1915). Germans sufficiently numerous so that in 1918 there was some hostility toward them. Critical year by 1915.

Emporia Polyglot (Low-v, Area D). The Welsh in Emporia are treated with the South Emporia Welsh. Fred Hirth, born in Prussia 1838, came to near Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1851, to Lyon County 1859, to Emporia 1860. He married Sarah Morrison at Emporia in 1868 /a855. Two other Germans with biographies in the Andreas-Cutler history also married wives with English names, two do not mention wives, one had a German wife. The assumption can be rapid Engl-izing. Emporia has, however, become the home of retired farmers and in 1942, five informants (two with German names) said that German was spoken to the old in the town. German institutions in Emporia have been few. Andreas-Cutler notes an "Evangelical Church (German)" /a850 organized 1882. It belonged to the Evangelical Association (EUB) and continued to endure but remained small. The Franciscans, who made their headquarters here for what were, for a long time, missions in Lyon County, were almost all Germans and a force conserving German. The Missouri Synod found enough Lutherans to organize a church in 1923. German newspaper 1888-1892.

The informants of 1942 did not recognize Swedes as a linguistic element of their surroundings. It has been minor. The census of 1865 shows no Swede in town and only one in Emporia Township. Only one Swede (to Emporia, 1870) and one Dane (1877) figure in the Emporia biographies of the Andreas-Cutler history. The increase by 1895 shows that later immigration and retirements from Burdick, Allen, and west of Osage City preserved the presence of a modicum of Scandinavian speech.

For Emporia Mexicans see #47.77

Hartford Germans (Low-x, Area F). When Father Perrier first said mass at Hartford, he did so in two Irish and one German home. Germans remained important in the parish, the Hurtig family from near Muenster in Westphalia

for example; it arrived about 1885. Their children born about this time remained proficient in German as adults. There was also an Amish and Mennonite (Old) settlement of Penn-Germans beginning in the 1880's but dying out by the third decade of the present century. They and the Catholics communicated with each other in German about 1900. The importance of the young as being those literate in English is illustrated by the following anecdote: At a school district meeting where the population was mixed no one would be secretary. "A large-hearted German Catholic named Scharff . . . announced loudly and firmly, referring to his eighteen-year-old daughter, 'There's Annie; he'll do.' " And Annie did. The Amish left earlier than the other Mennonites, but bad years and dissension drove them all out.

West Olpe French (Lowest, Area G). Father Joseph Perrier (1839-1907) came to Kansas from Savoy in France in 1866 /b78. He was to serve the French in the Concordia area from 1880 on, but he probably thought that his fortunes were to be linked to the Neosho Valley. In 1873 he was assigned headquarters at Emporia /b111. He brought relatives to settle at the south edge of Lyon County. In Elmendaro Township in 1875 three neighboring houses were occupied by a group of French and Swiss with French names. In one lived the family of Joseph Rossillon (born 1836), he had come in 1873; his wife Helen was Father Perrier's sister. The family became permanent residents. The 1885 census shows John and Mary Perrier in the same township with a child fourteen born in Kansas, evidently elsewhere in the state. In Center Township where Vol. I shows French landholdings lived Margaret Perrier, a widow with four children. She and her husband Peter, Father Joseph's brother, had come to the homestead in

1876. The post office Verdigris (1881-1903) was close at hand. The first postmaster was Leon A. Lamoureux who had come from Canada. The 1885 census records that he had a son, seven years old, born in Kansas. Margaret Perrier (1841-1920) continued to live there till her

death with her son John Peter born 1864, her daughter-in-law (a French Canadian that J. P. met while visiting his uncle), and her grandchildren. As long as she lived French was kept up in the family. Her three oldest grandchildren, born in 1902, 1904, and 1906, learned to speak some French, not the youngest. All married into the adjoining Catholic German group as did the Rossillons so that the second language later, if it existed, was German.

Olpe-Maydale Germans (Hi-c, Area H). Olpe as a German center achieved its importance as a result of promotion following the coming of the Santa Fe railroad. Maydale, 5 road miles to the southeast (nw 17-12-21) was of earlier origin as a German focus. Settlement developed late here because the M.K. and T. land grant was solid instead of every other section. For many years Maydale was Eagle Creek which boasted a post office from 1870 till 1873. Four Catholic German families settled in 1870; they came from Napoleon, Ripley County (62-85s) in southeastern Indiana. A mission was established at Maydale in 1875. The Franciscans based at Emporia took over the parish in 1900. In 1955 one person still confessed in German at Maydale; another born about 1892 reported that in religion he understood German better than English; he could recite the Apostles' creed only in German, but of his nine children none was proficient in German; the older one knew a little. His wife (1900-1945) had learned to read German in school at Olpe.

The site of Olpe was at first called Bitlertown for Daniel Bitler who arrived in 1866. Bitler (1820-1898) was Pennsylvanian-born and presumably to judge by his name of German extraction. From 1833 to 1866 he lived in western Ohio and was at one time county treasurer of Auglaize County /a874, where Germans, especially Catholics, were numerous. He was not a Catholic,

but seems to have had amicable relations with them in Kansas as well as Ohio. At least in 1885 the Catholics held a three-day fair in his store to raise funds. A stock trader and a politician as well as a merchant who from childhood had helped develop new settlements, he was doubtless an attractive force for settlers after the Santa Fe built its line south from Emporia in 1879. The development of the Protestant element in the neighborhood, particularly to the west, was probably related to his presence. The Bitlertown post office was established in 1880.

The Catholics who settled in its immediate neighborhood in 1880 and 1881 were six German families from Clinton County, Iowa, (61-47) on the Mississippi. They reported themselves as born in Austria in the 1885 census. The presence in the district in 1885 of a number of persons with names of obvious Czech character (Hrenchir, Marak, Panek, Recek) who said they were from Germany or Austria -- not from Bohemia -- suggests that they were Germans from the Silesian border country or close by. Later Catholic settlement was more heterogeneous; at least there were Oldenburgers and many Westphalians present, also people from Posen able to speak Polish. Olpe was chosen for a name by the Flusches who, no longer able to impose the name Westphalia upon a town, since they had already done so in Kansas, as they had also a little earlier in Iowa, chose Olpe for the town of their predilection in southernmost, Westphalia. August (F. A.) Flusche was the brother assigned to this settlement in 1884, and he persuaded the railroad authorities to change the name of their station to Olpe. The tussle with the postal authorities was not easily won. Between April 1884 and April 1887 the name was switched back and forth three times. Thereafter the Catholics had full control in the town and were so disdainful of prohibition that rural citizens of British

stock who received their mail there were ashamed to claim Olpe as their address. Zealous Methodists did make trouble but to no avail. Until the First World War then in language as in mores, Olpe was dominantly German. Two-thirds of the town's inhabitants were German and the immediate countryside almost solidly. At the dedication of a new church in 1911 one sermon was in German, one in English. The teaching of German in the school established in 1905 /lp B:142 went on until almost 1920. A girl born in 1903, did not often speak English until she went to high school in Emporia. But there came a time, 1949, when a man born about 1900 said, "They used to call us Dutchmans and we resented that, and we tried to get away from it." (His own th's were bad.) The abandonment of German in public after the First World War was sudden and quite complete. Only an occasional "Wie geht's?" as a means of showing fellowship would be heard on the streets by 1950. But the old kept on with the old language. In 1942 an informant reported the use of German in small social groups, "probably" in buying and selling.

The Lutherans who began to hear Missouri Synod preachers by 1895 organized in 1899. At first the services were in town, but between 1910 and 1916 a preaching place in the country developed, and in town the atmosphere towards a person who was both a German and a Protestant became so hostile that the country location became that chosen; a defunct Presbyterian Church was taken over. The congregation remained quite German linguistically. In 1949, although there had been no services in German for some time, the pastor frequently used German with his parishioners, his wife too when she "had to." A few years later the church disbanded and its members attended

at Emporia. The Evangelical Association became active in the neighborhood in 1880 and built a church $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of town in 1895. Presumably in part by reaction it was rather early an English-speaking body and became a "community church."

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Germany and Resident in Center Township in 1925

1858-64	2	1887-92	12
1867-69	5	1894-95	3
1871-75	4	1900	1
1877-78	8	1904-05	3
1880-85	23	1923	1

48.54 McPHERSON COUNTY P16

See Settlement Histories for Lindsborg McPherson Swedes (Super, Area A) and Concentrated Mennonite District (Super, Area D).

New Andover Swedes (Mid-1, Area B)

"In January, 1870, the Rev. A. W. Dahlsten and John Rodell of Fremont [see under Lindsborg], accompanied by about twenty young Swedes, went to this area . . . A few of them secured land"/11175. Bergin /kell:32 names these men. Four of them filed claims on what was to be the western edge of the New Andover settlement. They were among the first settlers of Rice County /a/ag78. This settlement is called New Andover because many of the early settlers came to Kansas from Andover in Henry County (61,131), Illinois, not far from Bishop Hill, one of the oldest Swedish settlements in the United States. A solid nucleus of immigrants had arrived by the end of the decade. Territorially the settlement is compact, commercially bound to Hutchinson, thus after the earliest days quite independent of the great Lindsborg settlement. Religious services began at once. The minister came the 25 miles from Fremont. The New Andover Lutheran Church, 261 members in 1957, was organized in 1879. The community is all Lutheran, though a Methodist Church had a brief existence here. Services, all Swedish in the beginning, were half Swedish, half English into the 1930's, then about 1936, Swedish was abandoned. English played a more important part in the life of the community than this fact indicates. The church cornerstone, obviously of local fabrication, reads "orgenized (sic) 1879, erected 1899." The minutes of the Young People's Society in 1908 were in English. An English hymnal is labeled in English as belonging to "the Y. P. Society of New Andover '09." The young people were not triumphing however; another hymnal is labeled "Tiuhör församlingen (belongs to the congregation) den 24/6 1916." Those who knew Swedish continued using it till about 1940, but those born after 1900 abandoned it early.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in New Andover Swedish Lutheran Cemetery.

	English	Swedish	% of Swedish
1880-9	4	2	33%
1890-9	5	4	44%
1900-9	8	5	38%
1910-9	9	4	31%
1920-9	26	1	4%
1930-9	21	2*	9%

*Spouses of two buried earlier

Southwest McPherson Germans (Mid-m, Area C)

The immigrants from Germany in this area are in large part represented by the non-Mennonite element in Irman (treated in the settlement history of the Concentrated Mennonite District). The Penn-German element is important; it is at present centered around two churches, the West Liberty (Old) Mennonite Church (Point 12) and the Monitor Brethren (Dunkard) church. The first Penn-Germans here were Amish who came in 1872. For a number of years the community was primarily Amish, congregation organized probably in 1878 /me. They built themselves a church house in 1886, whereat some of them seceded. Most of those persisting as Amish went 1902-04 to Crystal Springs in Harper County, q. v., taking their church house with them. In the meantime the Old Mennonites had become strong, and they organized the West Liberty Church in 1884, building 1892, 93 members in 1955. Classes conducted in Penn-German persisted here till 1919. Dunkards first moved into the neighborhood in 1879, local organization in 1887, and meeting house about the same time. J. J. Yoder of the Brethren inspired activity in McPherson, and the establishment of McPherson College and McPherson as a Dunkard center resulted /cr. Inter-marriage in these groups was not uncommon. As a language of every-day life Penn-German persisted until 1918, and in 1953 there were still people using it occasionally. However, the break was so complete that the children of 1918 have forgotten how to speak it.

On German newspapers in McPherson see # 41.50.

Spring Valley Germans (Mid-n, Area E)

The first Lutheran sermon was preached here in 1873; this was nearly at the beginning of settlement, for the first settler in the township, not a German, came the year before /ag78. The first settlers thus arrived at nearly the same time as the Palatine Mennonites just to the south. There is no definite line between these two groups, but between the Lutherans and the Mennonites from Russia and Poland, the line is sharp. The Immanuel Lutheran Church was organized in 1878 and entered the Missouri Synod in 1886. The constitution at organization, written in German, specified German as the language of the church, but permitted English. The constitution was not translated until after 1938. The church minutes were in German till 1937. The fiftieth anniversary service 1928, provided a German sermon in the forenoon, an English one in the afternoon. In 1937, there was a German service in the morning and an English service in the evening. This arrangement lasted without change until 1947, and then German was completely dropped. The parochial school was organized in 1881 and contained an element of German (presumably religious instruction) until 1931. The baptismal register is in German script till 1918. In 1931 it first shows signs of English intrusions; in 1939 it became all English. In 1949 many homes were using dialect at home, and there were a considerable number who made a practice of speaking High German with the pastor.

-1225-

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Spring Valley Lutheran Cemetery

	English	German	% of German
1870-9	0	1	100%
1880-9	0	10	100%
1890-9	5	14	71%
1900-9	9	19	68%
1910-9	7	4	36%
1920-9	14	4	22%
1930-9	13	1	7%
1940-9	14	1	7%

Elivon French (Lowest, Area F)

Four and one half miles east of Mound Ridge at a point just north of a place located as Elivon on maps from 1875 to 1885 (Elivon P. O. 1873-1887) is a cemetery in which most of the stones bear French names. This is in an area that has since fallen into the possession of Mennonites except for the square mile of territory shown on Map I. Two French families (Tetro, Delphon) lived in Mound Ridge in 1949 and a few others who had originally been here and Burrton lived in Newton. The people who are left and those who are buried in the Elivon cemetery are or were almost all French Canadians. The beginning of the settlement seems however to have been French from France. Quoting the Topeka State Record of 27 October 1869, Miss Waldron^{says} that a company of 50 French people bought 91,000 acres of land in McPherson County; 50 families (sic) had gone there /w76. The McPherson County census of 1870 records that in Turkey Creek Township (the township then occupied all the county south of the city of McPherson), there were four families from French-speaking Europe and an equal number of single men. They were landholders, but none of their names persists in the Elivon area. The Andreas-Cutler History of Kansas /a771 says that ten French persons settled in Harvey county just south of McPherson Co. in 1869 or 1870; only two of them, man and wife, were in this area of Harvey county in 1875. The Canadians soon appeared; the Tetros arrived in 1871. The settlement remained scattered because Mennonites soon occupied most of the land, but French was spoken among these settlers. Children born before 1880 spoke it until grown. All these people had Catholic origins, but unlike most French Canadians, not all of them persisted in the faith, for there were among them two Methodist

preachers (Chartrand, Chavez). The corruption of the pronunciation of proper names is curious, for example, Belair is pronounced and written Blair; La Vie came to be pronounced "Lively" and now is so written.

48.55 MARION COUNTY P17

See Settlement Histories for Concentrated Mennonite District (Super xxxxx, Area F).

North Mennonite Russian Germans (Hid, Area A)

The area has in its center a stretch of whe country. It is surrounded by grazing land. Since Mennonites do not usually become cattlemen, the population has tended to move in and out around a more or less constant nucleus. By 1876 (Pankratz from Neu Chortitz in Russia) Mennonites were probably in the area on its south edge. These were of Black Sea stock and formed in 1885 a Mennonite Brethren Church (maximum membership 34) which after an intermittent life caused by the moving in and out dissolved in 1934. By its neighbors the Tampa Mennonite Brethren Church which is in town is regarded as its successor. Strictly speaking, this is not so, for the Tampa congregation was organized in 1915, 65 members in 1948, 30 in 1958. Farther north there was by 1885 a settlement of "Poles," that is people of the same stock as those in Lone Tree Township, McPherson, County (q. v.). Some of these came from Lone Tree, some from South Dakota /al 51. Economically their lot improved over early poverty, but some are still tenant farmers /al 2, for there is Scully farm land in the neighborhood. Among them in the late 1880's the Logan [Holdeman] Mennonite Church (Point 1) was formed, 71 members in 1955. These people held to their German closely, and some never learned English. In 1925 Albrecht said, "The congregation has erected a school building for the purpose of giving their children instruction in German and religion" /al 52. As late as the 1940's clerks able to speak German in the stores at Hillsboro automatically addressed them in that language. English is their written language. Here is a sample

of it, a notice by an electric switch in 1949. "Please do not unnecessarily switch to much around. Those switches do wear out." From this same stock the Friedensthal [General Conference] church was formed in 1899, (meeting house 3 miles west of Point 1) 123 members in 1955. In 1935 it had only German services.

Tampa-Ramona Germans (Mid-1, Area B)

This is a Volgan settlement with an admixture of Reich Germans. Tampa (population 222 in 1940, Point 4) and Ramona (236 in 1940, Point 3) are approximately at the two ends of the settlement. It extends two miles beyond Ramona and has grown into Tampa. Tampa is the meeting point of five settlements all more or less disturbed by Scully holdings, Irish in the immediate neighborhood of town and to the east, North Mennonites to the west, the Durham Russians to the southwest, the constantly growing Pilsen Czechs to the southeast and Ramona Volgans to the north and northeast. Sallet, quoted under Durham, says these Volgans came from Tscherbakowka in 1877 /sa34. They came from other Volga towns as well, notably Dreispitz, and most of them arrived in this area much later. Even some leaders arrived rather late, Brunner, 1892, Socolofsky, in early 80's after being in Marion County since 1876 at Strassburg and Peabody. In the townships of Blaine and Colfax, the important ones for this area, the years of arrival in the U. S. for 1925 survivors from Russia are:

1874-1	1880-0	1885-1	1890-1	1895-1	1900-4	1905-2	1910-0
1875-0	1881-1	1886-1	1891-0	1896-1	1901-3	1906-3	1911-3
1876-3	1882-0	1887-5	1892-5	1897-0	1902-0	1907-6	1912-1
1877-3	1883-0	1888-0	1893-2	1898-1	1903-1	1908-3	1913-0
1878-3	1884-0	1889-1	1894-0	1899-0	1904-2	1909-1	1914-1
1879-0							
Total 10	Total 1	Total 8	Total 8	Total 3	Total 10	Total 15	Total 5

The Ger-lings are almost all Protestants, the Evangelical Association (now EUB) was once active. A German Baptist Church, organized in the late 80's, disbanded about 1940.

The surviving churches are Lutheran, St. John's at Tampa and Trinity at Ramona, both Missouri Synod, and St. Paul's American Lutheran at Ramona furnish proper background. St. John's organized 1893, 49 members in 1895, 235 in 1948 was originally located 4 miles north of town (Point 2) and was moved into Tampa about 1946. About 1937 German and English services were held on alternate Sundays. In 1944 German was dropped. Children were staying away from church when German was used. St. Paul's at Ramona was organized in 1904; it was at that time in no Synod, but by 1910 it had entered the Missouri Synod, 263 members in 1910. Two congregations, Colfax Township and Ramona were thus brought together, but they could not remain united. Part of the congregation and its pastor went over to the Iowa Synod (later American Lutheran) some time in the next five years. A new Missouri church, Trinity, was organized in 1916, 147 members in that year, 225 in 1948. St. Paul's had 145 in 1950. St. Paul's began using English in 1916 and reduced German to a very minor status in 1932, dropped it altogether in 1942. In protest to the action of 1932 part of the congregation seceded to the Missouri church, making Trinity the more German of the two. German was persisting in it in 1944. A greater proportion of the Russian Germans are in it. Some of them immigrated more recently than the Reich Germans; thus the greater zeal for German is to be explained. The community's persistence in every day use of German is also uneven. Family gatherings persisted in its use into and through the 1930's, abandoning it on the death of the immigrant generation. Many of those born later than 1914 were by 1950 unable to use it. On the other hand many born as late as 1932 could speak it well. In general any one born later is not proficient. But German is socially acceptable. In 1949 a non-German said: "Those that know it get a kick out of talking it."

Durham Park Russian Germans (Hi-c, Area C)

A Volgan settlement, Sallet says: "In autumn, 1876, a strong body of immigrants ^{from Dreispitz} settled near Lehigh, west of Marion, and in 1877, others from Galka settled near Durham and those from Tscherbakowka stopped about Tampa and Ramona. Shortly all land available in Marion County was occupied"/sa34. The three Volgan villages mentioned are all close to each other near the southern end of the Bergseite settlements. The people at Lehigh were primarily north of town so that the Durham settlement merged with them, and on the other side similarly with people in the Tampa neighborhood. The Lutherans at Durham are primarily from Dreispitz and Tscherbakowka. There are also at Durham people from Neu Norka, Norka, Ekheim and Franzosen. Some of these people came first to Otis, Rush County, and here about 1900. Durham has a certain individuality of population because it is between two strips of Scully holdings. As usual among Protestant Volgans there is no religious unity among people in and near Durham (population 245 in 1940). The Holiness Church has been important, but there are four other denominations, German Congregationalists, organized 1914, 18 members in 1937, defunct by 1950, North American Baptists, organized 1896, 126 members in 1953, Lutherans, Missouri Synod, organized 1920, 175 members in 1948, Seventh Day Adventists, organized (near Tampa) ca. 1890, 50 members in 1954. The Adventists began having some services in English about 1935 and abandoned German about 1943.

ⁱⁿThe 1890 census reported four Seventh Day Adventist congregations with 336 members in Marion County, one with 42 members in Rush County (Shaffer). No Kansas County except Marion had more than 110 members in it.

The Lutherans had bilingual services in 1948, an early service in German every other Sunday, but not after 1950. Pastoral work in German for those born

before 1890 went on afterwards. Those born before 1920 can speak German.

Among older people in 1954 it was still currently used.

Year of Arrival in the U. S. from Russia of 1925 Survivors in Durham Township.

1872-2	1880-0	1885-1	1890-2	1895-0	1900-0	1905	1910
1874-2	1881-1	1886-0	1891-2	1896-0	1901-4	1906-0	1911-2
1875-1	1882-1	1887-3	1892-2	1897-1	1902-0	1907-3	1912-3
1876-3	1883-0	1888-0	1893-2	1898-3	1903-0	1908-4	1913-1
1877-2	1884-0	1889-0	1894-0	1899-1	1904-1	1909-3	1914-0
1878-1							
1879-2							
Total 13	2	4	8	5	5	10	6

Pilsen Czechs (Mid-1, Area D)

Special Bibliog.:

sk - Golden Jubilee: The Reverend John M. Sklenar St. John Nepoucene Parish Pilsen. Kansas June 21, 1941.

After spying the land out in 1873, Vinduskas and Frantas, relatives, arrived at Pilsen (Point 7) from Chicago in Feb. 1874, Rudolphs and 16 more the same year; on May 21, the Marion Record called them "quite a settlement of Bohemians". There were 46 families by 1890 (Sk p.9, see further /a1265 /kq28:312 /ch85). An exceptional case, this solid Czech settlement is fervently Catholic; school house worship began with the first arrivals, led by Jacob Rudolph when there was no priest. Priestly service began in 1882, a church was erected 1894. Principal priests, Huna 1894-1900, Sklenar 1903-1943. The "Bohemian hall" is here a Catholic creation, Cesko Katolicka Beseda. New church 1915. The churches with appropriate architecture, the hall, and the Vinduska wind mill, powered by a slatted cylinder that stood until ca. 1950, proclaimed that here was Bohemia. The settlement spread territorially from this center continuously so that Lincolnville certainly and Tampa almost have become Czech centers displacing Czech activities so much that in 1966 the hall was sold to become a storehouse. This small settlement at Pilsen remained linguistically almost as Czech as the neighboring great Mennonite settlement remained German. Father Sklenar was a considerable influence in this direction. Until he retired in 1943 he preached and read scripture in Czech as well as in English. He carried the practice on as long as it was possible, for when a successor attempted in 1948 to reinstate Czech in sermons, his efforts were not well received. Though Czech was long retained, bilingual ability began early among the young. In the early 1880's

some young Germans wishing to attend a Bohemian dance had the good sense to approach the matter by preliminary negotiations. "In those days only a few of the Bohemians could speak English . . . So we got a young girl to interpret for us." Through her they succeeded (Marion Record 8 Sept. 1949). Bilingual ability soon became common. Families with growing children for the most part ceased speaking Czech habitually by 1935. By 1950 anyone born later than 1890 had ceased to use Czech habitually. Those older were clinging to their language, but neighbors felt that the old were yielding. Until 1942 they did not give in at all. That was the year in which the greatest number of those who had been using Czech in adult life yielded to the pressures for English. Young men who went off to the War found their Czech rusty when they came home on leave. In 1967 the old people found that those aged sixty could talk with them readily in Czech, those fifty less readily, those forty in only a few cases.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions of the Pilsen Cemetery

	<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>% of Czech</u>
1870-9	0	1	100%
1880-9	0	10	100%
1890-9	1	9	90%
1900-9	0	27	100%
1910-9	2	32	94%
1920-9	11	22	67%
1930-9	16	19	54%
1940-9	20	11	35%

Lincolnvillle Germans (Mid-n, Area E)

First settlers 1869 (Hartke from "Prussia", Kaiser from "Germany"/ch85. Bethel post office (almost at Point 5) established in 1870 very near them. Lincolnvillle post office had existed since 1868. The settlers both High and Low (Pomeranian) German. About ten families came into the neighborhood in 1880. They were Saxons and called their colony, Carola/kq28:312. St. John's Lutheran Church (Mo. Synod) organized 1877, 272 members in 1895, 358 in 1948. English was introduced into the services before 1914, but German persisted until 1948. Attendance at the end small. Confirmations in English by 1906; the children's parents seldom used German to each other. Where used among young adults, it was likely to be a family language rather than a language for gatherings. "There were too many kinds of German." Critical Year 1910.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Lutheran Cemetery Lincolnvillle

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>	
1880-9	0	2	100%	In one family when the father died in 1911 a stone bearing a German inscription with room for his wife's was placed over him. When she died in 1932, her German inscription was added, but for her the family also provided an additional stone with English inscription.
1890-9	1	9	90%	
1900-9	19	14	42%	
1910-9	17	16	49%	
1920-9	19	1	5%	
1930-9	29	2	6%	
1940-9	28	3	10%	

Strassburg Russian Germans (Mid-n, Area G)

A Volgan settlement. Sallet says that the first settlers came in 1876 from Strassburg in Russia /sa³⁴. The name of the settlement implies that this is true, and so it was for instance for Elizabeth Schlotthauer, but the immigrants of 1876 recorded in the 1925 census came also from other villages (Husenbach, Dobrinka for example, also from the city of Saratov), and later comers originated in still other towns. Immigration went on for 30 years. Still, this settlement was closer knit than the other Volga settlements. It at first adopted the village system usual in Russia. People resided on strip holdings facing on one stretch of road and went out to work other land. It did not possess religious unity for a number of years. All were in the very beginning Pietists that worshipped together, then split; a part were attracted to the Holiness movement in Durham. But John B. Reh was a Baptist of long standing and drew them into a Sunday School. Influence from the town of Marion especially through the Ehrlichs, was also important. In 1911 what is now the North American Baptist congregation was organized; the community is bound closely to this church (Point 11). Exclusively German services continued until 1931. The shift that then began was rapid; English was used after 1934 except for occasional sermons by a minister not really proficient in German. At a revival in 1952, however, there was one German sermon. The people did not have linguistic unity in German on their arrival. Each settler spoke the dialect of his village of origin on the Volga, but here too they achieved unity; they created a new dialect for themselves. The community is now English-speaking as a whole. Most of those born before 1930 were still proficient in German in 1953. The older they were, the more they used German. Those born later were not proficient. In 1964 those able to speak German did so, though less often in the younger brackets.

Marion and Vicinity Germans (Low-v, Marion-H) German newspaper 1887-8.

Not a unified settlement; Germans in commerce were in Marion early--in the beginning, perhaps no more than in most Kansas towns, but tending to increase more than in towns not near settlements. Concerning these people and Marion the Santa Fe Immigration pamphlet of 1883, says, "Marion Center counts about 1100 inhabitants, among whom are to be found many German and Bohemian-German business people"/kq28:312. Two parts of this area deserve attention, the Russian Germans in town and the settlement at Youngstown.

Volgans in Marion date from 1876 when John and Jacob Ehrlich from Saratov, arrived /ch93. They became millers as they had been in Russia, and were early comparatively well-to-do. As at Strassburg, the Volgans in Marion formed a Pietist church, and this developed into a Baptist Church at least by 1903 (now North American), 147 members in 1953. German services went on in it somewhat less long than in the Strassburg church (q. v.), but too long for the church's best interests. The older members were obstinate, and many of the younger left. In 1964 those born before 1930 could still exercise their German.

Youngstown (6 miles east, and 2 north of Marion) was a post office as early as 1875. The Santa Fe Immigration booklet says of it, "It is in the midst of a settlement of German Lutherans from the neighborhood of Halberstadt. Prominent among them is Mr. Carl Doty"/kq28:312. Charles Dody, born in Prussia, here 1871, was among those who in 1876 organized the Evangelical Association Church (now EUB, 81 members in 1948); some of these people had indeed been Lutheran, but the Evangelical Church gained the neighborhood. The membership was not ^{all} or even primarily German; though Scharenberg, here

in 1876, became the important name, services were not in German. The spreading Mennonites and Volgans have brought into the neighborhood as much German as was spoken there by the earliest inhabitants, that is, certain mature persons are speakers of it.

Florence-Cedar Point French (Low-V, Area I)

Alberta Pantle's article on Florence-Cedar Point /kql9:l2-49, 174-206 is exhaustive, and needs little supplement.

The Cottonwood Valley in western Chase County is shallow but well-defined by steep little hills. It and the smaller valleys running into it furnish the tillable land. The rest is pasture. The French in this area, who began arriving in 1857, largely confined themselves to the valley or established themselves in Florence. Their urban tendency made for abandonment of French, for in town they were a minority in the population. The Belgians, of whom only one arrived earlier than 1870, in large part lived to the north "back in the hills." There were few Belgians compared with the French, but they were all Walloons, able to speak French though given to using dialect among themselves. They were definitely part of the settlement, cheerfully accepted, but still a group to themselves. The French were almost all from the eastern half of France including Paris, but their original homes stretched from the extreme north to well within the linguistic borders of Provencal. No appreciable number were from any one domain, and they used standard French. Their principal unifying social institution was picnics, most often celebrations in July of Bastille day with speeches and the Marseillaise, there were fetes also in May and September. There was a considerable exchange of visitors between the celebrants here and in the Osage City neighborhood. These festivals disappeared during the hard times of the nineties. The French were then sufficiently losing their identity so that the picnics were becoming rowdy general community affairs. In other words the French language was not the most usual means of communication of the celebrators in latter times; the critical date is about this time. The Catholic Church had no

great hold on these French as a group; as usual with the French, their attitudes varied from fervor to hostility, averaging lukewarmness. An attempt to organize a parish at Cedar Point in 1873 failed, and the French became part of the people of St. Patrick's in Florence, a minority among others. Thus after the first years religion furnished no linguistic rallying point. The school system as elsewhere provided facility in English. In the eighties children knew no English till they went to school. The older generation of women were sometimes stubbornly French in language. One immigrant lived thirty years in the same house with a Scotch-Irish daughter-in-law, and neither learned to speak the other's language, merely to understand it.

For Florence Mexicans see #47.78.

Burns Danes (Low-x, Area J)

The territorial identity of this Danish settlement is now largely lost, partly through removals, partly because the Danish landowners live elsewhere. But in 1890 its character was definite enough so that French publicists visited it as interesting them in the same way as the Concentrated Mennonite settlement /kq 19:46;ch85. It had begun by 1870, year of Thomas Hanson's arrival, Jensen 71, Nonken 73 . M.C.F. Nonken was of particular importance to the settlement and its fame elsewhere. He received newly arrived Danes, oriented them, and befriended them while they were learning English. He was from Copenhagen, and persistently kept in touch with his place of birth. His children learned to read Danish as well as speak it. Still Danish fell from use early. Before the First World War it had been abandoned. Only nostalgic phrases remained in 1950. Although there were no formal cultural organizations to bind them together, the Danes did not give up Danish for lack of social cohesion. Birthday parties and similar occasions frequently drew them together, and even in the 1950's they knew one another's whereabouts and family history.

48.56 MARSHALL COUNTY P3

Bremen-Horseshoe Germans (U-H1 xxx, Area A)

Special Bibliog.:

- Br - Diamond Anniversary - Immanuel Ev. Luth. Ch., Hermansberg,
near Bremen, Kansas, 1944
- Be - Golden Jubilee Anniversary - 1901-1951, Bethlehem Ev. Luth.
Ch., Bremen
- Hk - 1892-1952 - 60th Anniversary of Zion Luth. Ch., Herkimer, Ks.

The first permanent settlers on Horseshoe Creek, which runs into the Blue River from the northwestern corner of Marshall County, were the Hanoverians, Heinrich (1821-1894) and Friedrich (1830-1896) Friedrichs /Br.5, a921, who arrived in 1858. William Koeneke joined them in 1860 /ch89 and Thomas Meinecke in 1861 /ch89. Besides these families the 1865 census shows in the area only Fred and Mary Gaede and John and Mary Schotte. The wives of Koenecke and Meinecke were Schottes. John by his tombstone in the Herkimer Lutheran cemetery was born in Hogen, a few miles west of Hanover City. Meinecke was born, not far away, in Bremen /ch89 and Koenecke farther north in Holstein /ch89. The colony did not grow until 1867 and particularly 1868; at that time, the Central Branch built its railroad line into Waterville nearby, and the whole county was rapidly settled up. Among the Germans arriving in these years (Stettnisch, Brenneke, Poppe, Bandick in 1867-8; by Aug. 1869 - Gleue, Helberg, Knees, Lustjemeier, Meier, Rippe, Scheele), the most influential appears to have been Friedrich Westerman (1825-1871), mainly responsible for the organization of Immanuel Lutheran Church. The continuing importance of the Westermans to church life is testimony to the stability of this settlement (other examples later). In 1944, the Anniversary booklet records "F. H. Westerman was elected as chairman of Immanuel congregation in the January meeting of 1914 and has held this office uninterruptedly for 30½ years... Before, his father, F. W. Westerman, and his grandfather, Friedrich Westerman, held the same office for many years" /Br24. New arrivals came to the community over

a long period of time, though not steadily, as the following table shows.

5912

Date of the Arrival in the United States of Foreign-Born Germans residing in
1925 in Herkimer and Logan Townships*fn
Marshall County

	Herkimer Twp.	Logan Twp.	Total
before 1870	11	6	17
1870-1874	19	4	23
1875-1881	2	2	4
1882-1886	10	14	24
1887-1890	1	1	2
1891-1893	5	8	13
1894-1902	1	0	1
1903-1907	2	5	7
1908-1920	0	0	0
1921-1924	2	5	7

Fn

Similar data for Independence Township in Washington County where many of the colony live are of less significance because other German settlements have part of their population in that township. The distribution for known members of the Horseshoe Church is however similar - before 1870-4, 1870-4 - 2; 1875-81 - 1; 1882-86 - 3; 1889-1890 - 1; 1890-1899 - 0; 1900-3 -3; 1923 - 1.

Taking into account the death rate, it is clear that almost all immigrants had arrived by 1893, but the arrivals in the two later periods of influx are sufficiently numerous to help maintain a linguistic tradition. It is also clear that the center of radiation is the northern (Herkimer) Township.

Like the first comers the great majority of the immigrants to the settlement were Hanoverians. The census taker of 1895 in Herkimer Township was much more exact in recording place of birth than any of his colleagues. He put down not only the province but the townsk of origin. The representation of German states and provinces is as follows:

Hanover	69
Schwerin	5
Holstein	5
Mecklenburg	5
Pomerania	17
Prussia	9
Hessen-Nassau	6
Saxony	1
South Germany	3
Unspecified	<u>7</u>
Total	115

Most of the Prussians were Brandenburgers or from farther east; there were at the most one or two Rhinelanders.

Very few of the Hanoverians were from areas more than a few miles farther west or south than the City of Hanover. They were mainly from places along the railroad lines running to Bremen from Berlin and Hanover. Oldenburgers, so numerous in the town of Hanover near by, were hardly represented; the East Frieslanders to the northeast were foreigners.

The Low German dialect of these people was then quite homogeneous. The Pomeranians perhaps represented a variant. Most of them were from the eastern tip of that province, but at least one family was from the area on the Mecklenburg border nearest Hanover.

In the United States the chief source of population was Illinois, the suburbs of Chicago, particularly to the south toward Crete. The Friedrichs came from New York, but the people of 1860 and 1861 (Meinecke, Koenicke,) came from the Illinois area and the immigration that began in 1867 continued to be largely from there, although in 1868 immigration direct from Germany began. In 1895 there were as many people who had come directly from Germany as there were from Illinois. The early immigrants from Cook County (Koenicke, Meinecke, Westerman) arrived there in 1852 and 1853, but many of the later arrivals tarried there more briefly.

The unity of the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans is strong, based not only on their nationality but still more on their particular Lutheranism, that of the Missouri Synod.

A landholding map based on nationality does not outline well the boundaries of the group because other Germans--many also Hanoverians--occupy neighboring land, but except to the south the landholdings are sharply defined and the relations with other groups were until about the period of the Second World War only those that business required. The boundary to the south and southeast is less rigid than elsewhere because the penetration into this area was comparatively late and therefore incomplete. The

Afton Church was founded in 1906 and never became strong (94 members in 1948). Herkimer at the southeast, though close by, was engulfed with no great ease, for (Raemer) members of the Evangelical Synod "Unierten", Rhinelanders from Wisconsin, established themselves there as early as 1860 /ch89. In 1906 their church had 100 members; the Missouri Lutherans then had 161. Eventually the Herkimer Evangelical Church withdrew and its members attended at Marysville. Surplus population established itself less rapidly in neighboring towns than in the case of many other colonies. No Missouri Synod unit existed in Marysville until it became a "preaching place" in 1922, and it was 1928 before it was strong enough to be organized as the Mount Calvary Church. It eventually prospered. It had 300 baptized members in 1948, but in comparison with the 1300 members of the four country churches it was still small. The number of those who established themselves in Hanover has not been enough to justify a church, though after 1920 a certain number of Missouri Lutheran farmers retired there. At least until 1940, young men who could not be accommodated near Bremen tended more frequently than in other settlements to buy farms in other Missouri Lutheran communities. The Aliceville Germans in Coffey County, for instance, have many members who came from Marshall County. There was an emigration to South Dakota in 1915 (Hanover News, 19 June, '59).

Considering the great religious zeal of the people on Horseshoe Creek, they waited long before effecting a church organization. "They lacked all spiritual ministrations. What some liberal itinerant preachers offered them on occasional visits did not satisfy" /Br3. The influx that began in 1867 and accessibility by rail brought answers to Friedrich Westerman's plea for attention. In June 1868 services began. A student, Jonas Matthias, came to

preach and teach through July and August. Upon ordination the next year, he became the first pastor of the newly organized Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Immanuel's Gemeinde, U. A. C., zu Hermannsberg, Marshall County, Kansas. Hermannsberg was so called through the inspiration of Pastor Matthias; the swell in the prairie on which the church was to be located furnished the excuse for "berg", and three Hermans dwelt in the neighborhood, but the name also recalled Hermannsburg in Hanover. Jonas Matthias left in 1875 and his successor in 1879. Thereafter the Hermansberg folk were served thus:

Gustav Polack 1879-1898
Friedrich Pennekamp 1898-1914
O. Mencke 1914-1921
A. C. Traugott 1921-1955
R. E. Hasz 1956-1961
Chalmer Westhoff 1961-

The first four of these ministers died in serving the Immanuel church. The tranquility accompanying these long pastorates made for linguistic stability. The congregation grew so that additional churches were soon needed. The Horseshoe Creek Church, Trinity, farther up the stream in Washington County, was formed in 1880, the Herkimer Church, Zion, in 1892, the Bethlehem Church in the northeast section in 1901. The Trinity Church on Horseshoe Creek was organized at the home of P. Munsterman (the Munstermans arrived in 1869). The pastors have here also served over long periods.

E. A. Frese 1880-88
J. H. F. Hoyer 1888-1900
H. Grufe 1900-1921
Wm. Mahler 1921-ca. 1940
Theo. Kauffeld ca. 1940-1957 no first date on Kauffeld but he
seemed to know from experience
what happened in 1942

Like the Hermansberg and Trinity churches the one at Herkimer has also enjoyed long pastorates

Hans Wein 1892-1911
H. C. Harting 1911-1930
H. W. E. Buss 1932-1945
Walter J. F. Lebien 1945-after 1951

Its record as to the language of services is not much different from the record in the rest of the district, but there has always been a feeling that the Herkimer Church is somewhat apart, for, when it was founded, not all its members had belonged to the Hermansberg congregation before.

The Bethlehem congregation, on the other hand, is strictly a daughter church, the outgrowth of a division for schooling purposes that had existed for over a decade prior to 1901. The first pastorate was very long. J. V. Kauffeld (1864-1945) served the church from 1901 to 1940. Two succeeding pastors, Bohnert (1940-1944), Ludwig (1944-1950), made Bethlehem a stepping stone to urban pastorates, but Fuhr (1951-1961) stayed till retirement. The three eastern congregations have at least four family names (Duensing, Gleue, Holle, Friedrichs) common to them all, and the congregations lying next to each other have more names in common. The Horseshoe church stands somewhat apart in this respect, though it has at least four family names in common with its neighbor Bethlehem. The separate unity of the Horseshoe neighborhood is illustrated by its band. In 1959 the Hanover News, (19 June) said: "All of its members are of German descent; its members are members of Trinity Lutheran Church." It was organized in 1909, reorganized in 1919 (when anti-German feeling was strongest). The players (22 in 1959) have made an institution of Tuesday evening rehearsals.

Number of Baptized in the Bremen-Horseshoe Churches

	Hermansberg Immanuel	Horseshoe Trinity	Herkimer Zion	Bethlehem	Total
1884	610	231			841
1895	710	267	151		1128
1900	765	280	153		1198
1906	467	345	161	341	1314
1916	503	370	200	343	1416
1948	428	367	218	274	1287

The building programs and general history of the churches indicate that the settlement was better off in bad years than many other places. Times were not bad when the first Hermansberg church was built in 1870. Because of grasshoppers, 1874-5 were elsewhere years of stress; Hermansberg was able to hire a new pastor promptly in 1875 when its first one left. In 1877, prosperity was such that there was evidently a demand for more than one school, since in employing a teacher the congregation also resolved "to erect more schools and call more teachers as the need arises." The year of the great drouth of 1880, Hermansberg was strong enough to give off the Horseshoe congregation and erect a new parsonage. To be sure, the decision was made in May before the drouth was serious, but it was carried out promptly. The Kansas boom was over and most communities were in poor shape in 1888 when Hermansberg divided its parish into three school districts and employed the additional teachers necessary to maintain them. The data on the years of immigration has already shown that the community could absorb new population in the early years of the hard times of the nineties. The establishment of the new congregation at Herkimer in 1892 further indicates a population prosperous enough to permit new undertakings. In 1901 when the Bethlehem congregation was established and its church and a new structure at Hermansberg were built; prosperity was general. A healthy economic condition is shown by the fact that all four congregations went through the bad year of 1913 and the pressures of the First World War without change of pastor. During most of the 1920's, bad years in most of Kansas, the community's sons were able to form a new church in Marysville, 1922, and in 1925 Hermansberg could buy a pipe organ. At Hermansberg "the depression of the thirties was keenly felt. The work in church and school was continued without interruption, but as to maintenance of the congregation's

property everything was restricted to the most necessary minor repairs" /Br16. However at Herkimer "in 1934 the Church was again renovated, a new carpet was laid around the altar and other changes made." Since the depression, the settlement has suffered no great economic strain. The generally prosperous current of its development has made for linguistic stability. The solidity and unity of the Bremen-Horseshoe people finds further witness by these sentences from the 1941 Anniversary booklet, "By the grace of God we were spared all doctrinal controversies in our midst... The Hermansberg community has ever had the enviable reputation of causing county and civil authorities no trouble. A number of cases of church discipline on record in the annals of the congregation reveal that whatever difficulties arose among its members could always be disposed of in accordance with Christ's instruction in Mathew 18.6" /Br24.

The language used in church services was regularly German until 1928. The Hermansberg Church introduced English then, the Herkimer Church at about the same time, Bethlehem not until 1940, and Trinity on Horseshoe Creek in 1943. English was not unheard of in the pulpit before these years. For instance when the Bethlehem Church held its first service in Sept. 29, 1901, one sermon out of three was in English. It was preached by the minister from Horseshoe Creek, who had no such exercise in his own parish. During the First World War English does not appear to have forced itself into the churches, but the strain was considerable. In 1925 a funeral in English at Hermansberg required the unanimous consent of the members of the church council.

The Diamond Anniversary booklet at Hermansberg reported in 1944:

"For nearly sixty years the constitution contained a paragraph prohibiting the use of any but the German language in divine services by the local pastor and demanding that in the schools the German language be predominantly used at all times. For quite some time, however, the English language had become predominant in the schools and in 1928 the original language paragraph was altered to read:

" 'Whereas, according to Christ's command, the word of God is to be proclaimed in all languages, therefore also in this congregation, in church and schools, the languages shall be used which best serve the purposes of building up and expanding God's kingdom in this congregation and community.'

"At that time the word 'Deutsch' was also stricken from the name of the congregation. Today the German language has been entirely dropped in the schools and since 1943 confirmations have been in the English language. In public worship the English language was gradually introduced. The 2d and 4th Sundays of the month are now our English Sundays."

At the end of 1949 the number of German services was reduced to one a month. However in 1952, as many attended the German service as did any of the English services. German was finally given up in 1957. At Herkimer beginning in 1945 German was preached only once a month; "double headers" had been the order before that year. In 1948 the German service was in the afternoon--well attended however. By 1961 German had been gone from the pulpit for some time. At Bethlehem there was a single English service a month in 1940, two before 1944. English and German both every Sunday continued till 1946; then "double headers" twice a month till 1951; then only once a month. In 1952 the German service lasted ten minutes. Half of the congregation understood the High German. German was abandoned in 1960. At the Horseshoe Church the constitution was changed in 1943 to

permit the use of English, but the constitution remained in German. Confirmations were all in English after 1946; instruction had been in German till the previous year. In 1952 the pastor preached only "double headers" twice a month and only German the rest of the Sundays. When there was English, the attendance was 225. When only German, 175 to 200. In 1964 there was still a German service once a month.

In the church records at Hermansberg, Latin script replaced German in 1899. The baptismal record was German until 1939, then mixed till 1948, English thereafter. The language of confirmation records shifted with the language used in the ceremony in 1943. The marriage record had an entry for an outsider's wedding in 1923, but the first marriage between members of the congregation noted in English occurred in 1933. By 1937 most of the weddings were recorded in English, but the first extended English commentary was written in 1941. English words appeared in the death records in 1923, but German was used also till 1943. The pastor, Rev. Traugott, was the same during these shifts from 1923 on. At Bethlehem the record of communicant members was in German till 1940, and then the book containing it was abandoned still not completely filled.

The testimony of the language of cemetery inscriptions conforms well to the above data.

Language of Inscriptions in Bremen Horseshoe Cemeteries											
<u>Hermansberg*</u>			<u>Horseshoe</u>			<u>Bethlehem</u>			<u>Herkimer Luth</u>		
Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger	Eng	Ger	%Ger
1869-79	37	100%								9	100%
1880-9	87	100%	22	100%					4	6	60%
1890-9	56	100%	32	100%					14	16	88%
1900-9	28	100%	3	22	81%	21	100%		3	13	81%
1910-19	5 30	86%	4	35	90%	33	100%		2	14	88%
1920-29	8 39	83%	2	22	92%	5 31	86%		1	4	80%
1930-39	22 11	33%	12	20	63%	9 14	61%		3	9	75%
1940-52	44 5	10%	31	8	21%	28 6	18%		2	18	90%
Last Ger									13	1	7%
inscription											
of adult	1945		1949			1941					
of child	*		1927			1928					

*The Hermansberg data does not include inscriptions for unconfirmed children who died after 1890.

The Hermansberg, Horseshoe, and Bethlehem cemeteries are all examples of the arrangement whereby graves are arranged chronologically without reference to family relationship. The graves of unconfirmed children are in a series of their own. Examples of a surviving spouse buried beside an earlier deceased mate may be found after 1935 at Hermansberg and Bethlehem, but in 1961 Horseshoe Creek had not weakened. In 1935 English also became highly preponderant as the language of inscriptions on the tombs of adults.

The Bremen-Horseshoe Germans established a parochial school as soon as they did a congregation; in 1877 a teacher other than the pastor was provided for it. In 1880 the establishment of the Horseshoe congregation came about largely because of the need for a second school in that neighborhood. In 1888 the division of the Hermansberg parish into three school districts defended families from the temptation to send their children to nearer district schools. As already said, the north school provided the nucleus that gave rise to the Bethlehem congregation. Herkimer too had its school almost as soon as the congregation was established.

The census of 1895 records Hermansberg enrollment as 210 (Centre 100, North 60, South 50), and further states,: "The children in these schools are taught German and English." English, however, had the status of a foreign language until the First World War when outside pressures made English the primary language of instruction. This situation was formally accepted by the Hermansberg congregation in 1921. German was relegated to a summer school of 4 to 6 weeks; this instruction lasted until 1942. The situation

was similar at Horseshoe, but there, children were taught German until 1945.

The Bethlehem 1951 Anniversary booklet says, "As time went on the instruction in school gradually became more and more Americanized until in 1942 the American language was the sole medium of expression." There during the 1940's only the children of displaced persons from Europe had officially the privilege of speaking German on the playground. In 1946, however, much Low German could be heard there, but by 1950 only an occasional word or phrase occurred.

The forced abandonment of German in the schools undoubtedly made for more rapid Engl-izing than would otherwise have occurred. The people had to depend for their understanding of German as a cultural language on school instruction, since their dialect was not near enough standard German to permit them to read without considerable training. Reducing German to a summer school course not only provided too little time but, since it accented religious training still more, it restricted the cultural vocabulary acquired to a very small domain. In the field of religion the people finally came to feel that proficiency in English was good. When their sons in the armed services could not argue such matters with others because their knowledge of English terms was deficient, instruction in English became important to them, and bi-lingual competency seemed too great a luxury.

The falling off of ability to understand a sermon in German had in the Horseshoe parish reached the point in 1948 where only half the congregation were capable; on the other hand, everybody old enough to understand a sermon could then express himself fluently in Low German.

Use of a language for cultural purposes reenforced by schoolroom habits and commercial advantages almost surely leads to its general adoption.

Insufficiencies in standard German explain, however, why. English as the language of record and even as the language of the pulpit triumphed sooner than English as a home language.

Most families with small children used German in the family until 1940 or 1942. There were, however, in 1952 a few adults unable to speak German. In general those who used German habitually at that time were born before 1917. The older group had not, however, lost the habit of speaking German. It was even in 1961 a common after-church language for them. In 1940 parents were still teaching their small children exclusively German, but after 1956 no child arrived at school at Hermansberg unable to speak English. In 1964 there were still a few bilingual pre-school children there. At the Horseshoe Church in 1964 there was still an occasional first-grader defective in English. Children there were usually bilingual. Usually, because less often thrown into the general current of life, women are linguistically more conservative than men, but in this community women have been no brake upon Engl-izing. The men usually remained on the farms in their youth while the girls had often a period working in town, most frequently as "hired girls".

These statements have lumped the whole settlement together but, just as official documents have shown, the northern section was somewhat more conservative than the southern, though the Bethlehem neighborhood, once it began to accept Engl-izing shifted rapidly, leaving by 1952 the Horseshoe Creek neighborhood in Washington County as the most conservative area.

This was the fact to an even greater extent in 1961. Most of the bilingual children were from this neighborhood and those born before 1935 were still using German to each other quite often.

The evidence indicates that everyone in the settlement who was born in the United States as well as most of the immigrants learned English, but the community even in outside relations preferred to express itself in German if possible until after 1930.

Up until that time the English of almost everyone had such an accent as to be the subject of remark among neighboring communities, which, like Hanover, might be largely of German background themselves. Those born before 1917 are rather certain to display in their English traces of German syntax. Those who became adults after 1940 are not likely to use English that will draw comments from others.

The Bremen-Horseshoe settlement has enjoyed a generally tranquil isolated history without great internal dissension, with relatively high prosperity. All these things have tended to make the community conservative, and linguistically aided by long-continued immigration, conservatism persisted long. Although these people continue to be more self-sufficient than most settlements, by the 1960's the adoption of English had practically been accomplished (except among many families at the Horseshoe Church), and without undue struggle.

State Line East Frisian Germans (Low-v, Area B)

The focus of the State Line East Frisians is at the Immanuel Lutheran Church on the northern side of the Nebraska-Kansas line eight miles east of the Washington-Marshall County line. The East Frisian group lies half in Nebraska, half in Kansas. Its boundaries are definite, and are approximately a circle centered at the church with a radius of two and one half miles, somewhat less to the southeast.

In 1950 Immanuel Lutheran Church, whose members include practically all the East Frisians and no others, had 240 baptized members. The size of the Kansas half, that is 120, shows that the East Frisian population has remained nearly stationary since 1895.

Historically, the State Line East Frisian community grew from roots in Nebraska. Its land all lies within the Otoe Indian Reservation, which was opened for settlement in 1881.

The stay of the very first State Line settlers in Nebraska had been short; previously they had spent a somewhat longer period at an East Frisian settlement in Atchison County in extreme northwestern Missouri. At the State Line they took up first land in Nebraska, but the settlement immediately spread into Kansas. Among the earliest settlers were Harm (1840-1907) and Johann (1848-1928) Gerdes (wives both named Gretje 1839-1912, 1863-1951). Additional settlers were from Nebraska, mostly it seems from the "Hanover Congregation", that is, Zion American Lutheran Church of Pickerell, Nebraska, some twenty or twenty-five miles almost straight north. This settlement had been founded a decade earlier when the Burlington Railroad went through in 1871.

Immanuel Church was organized in 1883, when L. Poverlein served a short time as pastor, but it was not until 1885 that a resident pastor was called, and until 1893 all pastorates were short. In this period settlement was completed. The following families, shown in the Kansas Census of 1895, have members buried in the Immanuel Cemetery.

Faseler, Gerd-Gerdes, 1841-1896, Anna 1809-1896, resident in the same house, probably Gerd's mother.
Fossenberger, Herman, 1843-1919, Elizabeth 1838-1920, arrived after 1878.

Fruehling, Ralph M. 1836-1927, Almt Faseler, 1851-1924, arrived between 1883 and 1885.
Gerdes, 1840-1907, Gretje, 1839-1912, arrived between 1882 and 1887.

Hermann, John 1830-1897, Johanna 1848-1925, arrived between 1885 and 1889.
Originally a numerous family, name no longer at St. I.
Hogelucht, Amling 1850-1912, Meta Tjaden, arrived between 1884 and 1887

Huls, Albert, 1861-1919, Mareke 1863-1923, arrived before 1888.

Luppen, Lubbe, 1845-1926, Trientje 1852-1925, arrived between 1885 and 1889

Meyer, Mary, 1824-1904, lived in Kansas with Fred (b. 1858) and Anna Tve Meyer, who are not in cem. Henry (1865-1944) in cem. but not in census.

Remmers, Claus Clausman 1844-1916, Elsa Schmidt 1847-1935, arrived between 1888 and 1891.

Saathoff, Harm 1825-1893, Margaret 1825-1905; Andreas 1844-1921, Fohlka 1849-1939; Harm 1849-1913, Gesha Hogelucht 1857-1912. The two Harms are not in the census, the elder was already dead, the younger prob. lived in Neb.

Tjaden, Harm Meenker, 1843-1926, Antje Faseler, 1844-1912, arrived between 1880 and 1882.

Ubben, Meind H., 1847-1914, Maria Eilers 1851-1938, arrived between 1886 and 1888.

An important name not included in the 1895 census, but born by present residents of Kansas is Poppen--Karl 1863-1936, Henry 1868--- , Anna, 1873-1936.

The average age of the heads of these families in 1883 was thirty-nine and only three of these men were not somewhere between thirty-three

and forty-seven years old. All were married and had children at the time of their arrival; all were born in Ost Friesland, all had the same sort of Lutheran background, and all had similar histories of residence in the United States. The families were also already closely inter-related. They thus from the outset formed a compact and homogeneous community. Its present members belong to the same families, although certain names (Hermann, Hogelucht, Ubben) have disappeared, represented if at all only by members on the distaff side.

After 1893 the church became quite stable, and furnished a really living center for the settlement, which was without any binding urban connections. The pastors all remained long enough to show that the congregation was not badly torn by internal dissension, but not one stayed long enough to become an unshakable theocrat. The financial steadiness of the parishioners is evidenced by the fact that ministers stayed as long in bad times as in good. H. F. Stutheit's sojourn, 1914-1925, extended through the crisis of the First World War and the economic upset of the early twenties. This term was the longest till then, and furnishes proof of the steadiness of the East Frisians under pressures from the outside.

Footnote. The pastorates have been:

L. Poverlein 1883	Dietrich H. Meyer 1893-98	Stutheit, H. F. 1914-
Carl Luck 1885-87	R. H. Eilts 1898-1904	1925
Chris. Thomsen 1887	Rodemann, Wm. F. 1904-05	Hoefer, J. Leo (2d time)
Johannes Gutleben 1887-90	J. Leo Hoefer 1905-1909	1925-30
Geo. Endrulat 1888	Doering, Adolf 1909-14	Schwerin, J. 1930-35
O. Louis Luschei 1890-92		Jansen, J. 1935-1949
		Fullgrabe, Karl 1949-
		1957
		Schauer, Herbert 1957-
		ca. 1962
		Simpfenderfer, Wm., H.
		ca. 1962 ---

As implied above, the economic ups and downs of the community occurred in synchronization with those of all Kansas, but they appear to have been somewhat less sharp in character, and in any case had no revolutionary effects upon population trends or social behavior.

The marked social self-containment of the group continued dominant until the time, approximately in the 1940's, when children began to go to high school, particularly in Wymore, Nebraska, and Marysville Kansas, occasionally elsewhere.

This distribution of patronage among several centers characterizes not only the the educational contacts of the community but also its commerce and other economic connections. Of necessity the state line splits political life. So far the result has not been destructive of the settlement's unity, rather the contrary. Since no greater unit has attracted the East Frisians exclusively into its orbit, they have tended to remain the more tightly bound by the bonds of national origin and religion.

Intermarriage with members of surrounding populations is not at all unknown, but for the families remaining within the settlement, it is very definitely limited, and only the necessity of escaping from too much tangled consanguinity can account for the toleration of the cases that have so far occurred. Male members of the group have attracted into it their wives from "outside"; female members marrying "outsiders" have left it, and in both cases the break with previous ties has been rather complete.

Relations with neighboring German communities in Kansas have not been close. The Bremen-Horseshoe Germans differed from the East Frisians radically both in the character of their Low German and in their Lutheranism, and though they border each other geographically for miles, interpenetration of farm ownership has scarcely taken place. On the southern boundary this phenomenon is to be explained by the fact that the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans had worked up to the Otoe Reserve before it was abolished and that the East Frisians moved promptly into the territory vacated by the Indians; the boundary to the west is, however, just as definite.

The Lanham community some ten miles west along the state border, straddling it like the Immanuel East Frisians, has also acquired a considerable East Frisian element originating in Nebraska, but the Immanuel American Lutherans are almost out of touch with these Lutherans of the Mid-West Synod -- spiritually as well as in the literal sense. Approximately the same is true for the Barnston Lutherans close by to the northeast. Relations with the Germans along the way to Beatrice, Nebraska, are somewhat closer; several retired state liners live in Wymore, Nebraska; fewer attend its Missouri church.

As in a great many other settlements, the overflow of population is a very great influence tending to break down the self-sufficiency of state line East Frisians. This influence has become more active since State-liners have become better prepared for trying wings elsewhere by high school education. Cousins elsewhere are seen oftener now too

The great majority of the State Line East Frisians in 1952 spoke both English and the Ost-Fries dialect. German, though imperfectly known by many, was no longer a fluent means of expression. Until after the First World War, English was acquired only by those East Frisians, mostly men, who dealt with outsiders. The strength of the East Frisian linguistic tradition is reflected in the Christian names.

Christening with peculiarly East Frisian names was very common till 1920. Girls were named Memka or Trientje or Gretje, boys Harm, or Amling, or Habbe. Gretje is sometimes metamorphized to Grace, Habbe to Harvey. The feeling that Trientje and Gretje were diminutives (Catherine and Margaret) was lost. On tombstones no masculine names not traceable to the old traditions appeared before births of 1921. Dale Orlen Gerdes was born in that year, Arthur Herman and Erwin Poppen the next year. Among feminine names, no cases outside of the tradition appear among infant or child deaths.

Footnote. Among women who died after reaching maturity a very few untraditional names are to be found, but their owners may have entered the group by marriage. These names are:

Fannie Ubben 1885-1935	Leona Saathoff 1912-1943
Viola Saathoff 1886-1947	Florence Saathoff 1924-1948
Sadie Wiemers 1901-1918	

The name Sadie indicates an acceptance of American nicknames in 1918 rather than a christening in 1901; Sarah, of which Sadie is a derivative, may be regarded, like any Biblical name, as within the tradition, though certainly not within its central area. Similar considerations apply to Fanny; Frances and Frank (ex., Frank Gerdes 1880-1937), etymologically Germanic, are within the borders of the tradition.

The long faithfulness to German as the official language is shown by the evidence of the tombstones.

Dates	Inscriptions in English	Inscriptions in German	% of German
1880-1889	0	2	100%
1890-1899	1	11	92%
1900-1909	1	8	89%
1910-1919	4	18	82%
1920-1929	7	13	65%
1930-1939	17	9	35%
1940-1952	9	2 (1940, 1941)	18%

Three later inscriptions are to be found on stones also commemorating spouses who died before 1938; they are for 1949, 1951, 1959. The turning point was the year 1928 for tombstone inscriptions. German remained the sole official instrument of the church for worship and for records until 1941. In other words it was the community's true cultural medium. Instruction in German went on in the summer Bible school until 1942, so that all those born before 1930 have some knowledge of how to read and write standard German. In the church records no English at all appears until 1932 and then is only incidental until 1949, since which time English has been exclusively the instrument of record. Until 1951 German services were held on Sunday twice a month; until 1957 they were held once a month; from 1957 through 1961 four communion services a year were in German. The attendance was in 1952 in the ratio of 8:1 in favor of English, a somewhat larger proportion of German attenders than is usually found in communities where German services occur only once a month. Familiarity with English theological and ecclesiastical

terms was then still so deficient among persons of complete maturity that a plea of difficulty in their use served as an excuse for avoiding the duties of a Sunday school teacher. In spite of all this, except among the very old and in a family that immigrated between the two wars, standard German was so little known in 1952 that the pastor of Immanuel Lutheran Church found it useless in pastoral visitation.

The use of the East Frisian dialect shows much more vitality. Those born between 1920 and 1930 sometimes used Ost Fries with their contemporaries in 1952; older persons regularly did so. In 1961 in the frequent family gatherings where all ages were mixed together, dialect was an ordinary means of intercourse, and there were children born as late as 1957 who had learned it at home. It was maintained partly by relations with other East Frisian settlements, notably the "Hanover settlement" in Nebraska and that at Breda, Ia. (80 mi. wnw of Des Moines, and 80 mi. nne of Omaha). Occasionally preaching in the dialect is heard at those places, and in one or two instances has invaded the State Line church.

Still the dialect was falling into disuse by 1952. Persons born since 1930 almost never used it with contemporaries, and most of those born after the beginning of the Second World War were not acquiring it, hearing it only from their grandparents or when parents were concerned with matters unsuited to childish ears. In 1964 those aged 30 retained proficiency, but children found the speaking of German comical. The dialect was then seldom exhibited to the uncomprehending ears of the pastor and his family.

Oketo Czechs (Low-y, Area C). Mrs. Forter's history of 1917 did not include this Czech group with two³ that she cites for Marshall County, but she does record /ch17:449 that George Bachoritch (b. 1826) was one of those who listened to Pecenka's impromptu concert (see below) of, it seems, 1869. The 1870 census places him in Guittard Township with an infant daughter born in Kansas and another daughter, 2 years old born in Pennsylvania. Daniel Bachoritch (1877-1953) lies in the Stolzenbach cemetery. The Oketo Czechs consider the family as of their number. Farther south than the landholdings shown in Vol. I but north of Marysville several Sedlacek families settled. Joseph, born 1839, in 1885 had a son Rudolph 14 years old born in Kansas. The other Czechs awaited the sale of the Otoe reservation lands in the early 1880's. Their cultural institution was a Bohemian hall over the Nebraska line near Barnston. Among the Sedlaceks one boy born in 1921 learned to speak Czech before he went to school, though he forgot it later. Another born 1926 never learned. Similar testimony comes from the Zarybnicky family whose landholdings are in the old Otoe reserve.

Stolzenbach Germans (Mid-n, Area D). The 1860 census for Marshall County (no subdivisions) shows the presence of John Wooster, a Bavarian, and George and Godfrey Lodholz, Wurtembergers, Godfrey came to Kansas in 1858 after eleven years in New England (farm on 26-1-9) /ch89:489. All three of these families appear in Guittard Township in 1885 which then included the Stolzenbach district. The Andreas-Cutler history contains this notice. "The German Evangelical Church at Stolzenbach was organized in 1870 by the

Rev. A. Bathe. Present [1882] membership about 22 families. Meetings are held in the Merlinghaus schoolhouse" /a919. Ludwig Merlinghaus (b. 1853, son of Peter and Annie who brought their son here in 1869) was the first postmaster of Stolzenbach; the post office lasted from 1875 to 1891. A. Bathe was a minister of the Evangelical Synod (later E-R). In his section on the German Nebraska Synod Ott states after giving the location, "Late in the sixties a number of German families settled. Among these were the families of Mr. P. W. C. Hahn, D. Brumsback, W. Brumsback, and P. Merlinghaus. . . . Here Rev. Bathe began to hold services resulting in the organization of St. Johannes church in 1869 with eight families. . . . About 1892-3 it became a part of the German Synod of Nebraska" /ot185. Carl P. W. Hohn (1828-1906) and wife Henrietta (1827-1906) appear in the 1870 census and lie buried in the St. John cemetery. The pastors were those of Home City. The church fell into disuse, and by 1950 the members who remained Lutheran had the membership at Home City. But several families attended the Evangelical and Reformed Church at Marysville. There was intermarriage between these people and Penn-Germans. There is a Brethren (Dunkard) church near by. Among the E-R people are the Naafs, whose first members also appear in the 1870 census. Before going to Marysville they had been connected with the "North Church," 1/2 mile over the Nebraska border. (St. John's was called the "South Church" in the neighborhood, the North Elm Church at Home City.) The people of the South Church were mainly Rhinelanders from very near Cologne. Part came from Mendota, Ill. There were some Swiss in the North Church. In the Stolzenbach Church the language question became urgent about 1912 because new members with "English" wives joined then. The shift occupied only two years. German endured long enough so that the father of

a child attending grade school in 1936 had a marked accent, that is, in that family till about 1930. In another a child entering school in 1922 knew almost no English.

Marysville Germans (U-Hi, Area E). Mrs. Forter lists as the first Germans in Marshall County G. H. Hollenberg (see Hanover), Koppes, Raemer, Friedrichs, C. F. Koester, Frank Schmidt. The Friedrichs were the founders of the Bremen-Horseshoe German settlement,

None of the others whom she mentions reached Kansas before 1860, though Koester and Schmidt were in the city of Marysville in 1865, and Schmidt, from Missouri, then had a daughter three years old born in Kansas. Peter and Nicholas Koppes were living in the township and counted according to the parish history among the earliest settlers among Marysville Catholics. John Kirch, a Luxemburger like the Koppes (b. 1831), 20 families of Luxemburgers by 1889 /go314, settled three miles downstream from Marysville in 1857 /ch89:265. The early histories neglect John Reiter, born in 1833 in Wurtemberg, who joined the downstream colony in 1859 /ch89:216. They also neglect Jacob Brandenberger (b. in Luxemburg in 1811). He appears in the 1860 census, and his daughter Catherine (b. 1843) married Reiter in 1861 -- in Wisconsin from about 1847 till coming to Kansas. The focus drawing these settlers to this location on the Big Blue was the Independence Crossing on the Oregon Trail located six miles below Godfrey sville. Near it settled also Jacob Mohrbacher, a Bavarian, and his 1 children, they arrived in 1860 /chl7:661. During the next decade priests said mass at his house. The only German family resident in town in both 1860 and 1865 was that of the Hanoverian couple Gustav (b. 1825) and Wilhemina (b. 1826) Straus. In 1860 they had a son two years old born in Wisconsin; their oldest, 18 years old, was also born there. These families all became permanent residents, part of the community at least through the late 1880's. The German population of Marysville and its surroundings grew rapidly after 1865. German institutions made their appearance. A Turnverein was organized in 1875; it straightway built a hall. The membership in 1882 was fifty /a919. The German Evangelical church (later E-R) was organized in 1868. In 1882

it served forty families, 237 souls in 1950. Marysville did not obtain a Lutheran Church until in 1928 enough people had retired into the town to

furnish a solid kernel for the congregation. German in services was not instituted. The Catholics began hearing mass in town in 1872; there was no building until 1877-8 and the first resident pastor arrived in 1883. The people were still poor. The Irish were a minor element in the congregation, and most of the pastors have been German. But in 1898 when a large new church was dedicated, the pastor was John A. Hurley (two years later he was at Emerald). He delivered his sermon in English, but Father Shellberg from Hanover was there to speak in German. Indeed in early days the Marysville parish seems to have been rather dependent on Hanover. German held on among these people. In 1952 among some thirty persons assembled to hear the rosary after a death, while most conversations were in English, one went on in German among people all under sixty. The predilection of the young was for English. When those who had sought their fortune elsewhere returned to visit their parents in at least two families south of town, the old generation had temporarily to abandon their habit of speaking German to satisfy the young. Among Protestants there was German at a funeral as late as 1939. A woman born in 1913 learned German, though rather imperfectly. She had not lost her ability in 1965 because her mother, who had come as an immigrant, still spoke German to her.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Germany and Resident in Marysville in 1925

1852-66	8	1883-84	17	1897	1
1868-70	12	1886-88	4	1905-07	3
1871-73	14	1889-90	5	1910	2
1874-76	5	1893	6	1916	1
1877-79	8	1895	1	1921-24	9
1880-82	26				

German newspapers were published in Marysville from 1879 till 1902.

565
585

Marysville was a town of several languages. Mrs. Porter describes John Pecenka's impromptu concert in trying out a mended violin when he stopped at a saloon. He moved all those present. She names them. There were eight men whose native speech was German, two Bohemians, two Irishmen, a Frenchman, and a Scot /chl7449.

Home City Germans (Mid-1, Area F) may be traced back as early as any in the county, for four surnames appear both in the cemetery and the 1860 census (Blocker, Hildebrandt, Lodholz, Niemann). However, none of the particular individuals are identical in these two types of record. Gottlieb Blocker (1863-1949) lies in the cemetery and is recorded in the census of 1885 as born in Kansas. Local tradition has it that one of the first in the immediate neighborhood was Wm. Arnast. In 1885 he had a son aged twenty born in Kansas. An F. Mensel appears in the 1885 census with a son fourteen born in Kansas. Settlers became numerous thereafter including a number of Swiss. The Friedens Lutheran Church, German Nebraska Synod, was organized in 1885. Ott wrote in 1906, "The church is German. It has a parochial school in which the teaching of the German language is made a prominent feature" /ot185. The First World War did not bring too much disturbance to this situation, but the Ku Klux Klan in the early 1920's was a factor in the abandonment of German. The language question was still being agitated within the memory of those born about 1930. In 1949 there were still speakers of German in the community; one man objected to speaking any other language. A non-German born shortly after the beginning of the century learned to understand some things.

Afton Germans (Mid-n, Area G)

German settlement began by 1869 (Stegelin /ch89; Binder 1870 /ch89; Scheibe, to county 1865, probably here 1870 /ch89). The early Germans were largely Lutheran (notably Scheibe /ch89), but there were families of mixed faiths (Binder, Stegelin /ch89). Homesteading was still going on 1886 (Hanke /ch89); land here is not of the best except in the Walnut Creek valley. No large solid stretches of land occupied, many Danish neighbors. The early group, Rhinelanders and South Germans except Mrs. Scheibe, Hanoverian /ch89. Younger members of the Bremen-Horseshoe Hanoverians spread south into this area. For these, Scheibes and others, Lutheran services, Mo. Synod, began in nineties; Trinity Church organized 1906. German dropped from services in the 1940's. The strong influence of the persistently Ger-ling Bremen-Horseshoe Germans kept German vigorous longer than the un-unified character of the settlement would otherwise have allowed. Testimony of Danish neighbors shows the critical date should be 1920; tombstone inscriptions might indicate 1925. (Last inscription in German 1928; until then 4 in English, 9 in German.)

58111

Walnut Danes (Low-v, Area H). For Danes in the county in the 1850's see /tkl74. Five pioneers settled in 1869 in this area (Lund and Johnson filed claims on 4-3-6). The settlement prospered briefly. These people were from Slesvig (Schleswig). Danske Amerika speaks thus in 1916: "In the 1890's it might still happen that the church could not hold everybody. But fate was not such that there should here exist a little Denmark in the general population, for the old passed away or moved elsewhere and part of the young have gone the same way so that most of what is now left of Danish culture is the imprint from the past. It has its influence however on the environment" (II, 24). The writer spoke as a prophet; for the situation in his time as described by others shows more Danish characteristics. While he was writing, however, discord was great. The Slesvigians of the north part of the settlement were violently anti-German because of the events of 1864. Those who settled farther south in the Walnut area were from country beyond the lost provinces and until the United States entered the war were openly and ardently pro-German. Social gatherings such as card parties lasting late became impossible; the Danes were split into such small fractions that it became yet more difficult to preserve linguistic habits. In 1874 a Scandinavian Lutheran congregation was formed /kcl7:301. There were Swedes in it, but most people were Danish; so were the ministers. The preaching in Danish was not welcome to the young about 1895, and there were defections to the Kansas Synod congregation forming in the neighborhood. "In the winter of 1903-4 the old Danish organization was consolidated with the new one" /otl74. Any Danish features in worship afterward were for special occasions and ceased by 1911. During the first decade of this century a number of families kept up Danish with their children, but they

were the less prosperous families so that Danish for children was in low esteem, though adult immigrants continued to use it with each other. Specifically the Soren Bertelsens enjoyed conversation in Danish, but they were bringing up Anderson nephews and nieces in the first decade of this century and spoke English to them through no pressure from the children, but to ensure proper placement in society. The political quarrel that began in 1914 so severed relations that there were few Danish speakers communicating with each other.

Axtell Swedes (Mid-k, Area I)

Special Bibliog.:

Nyquist, Gustav: Minneskrift 1874-1914, Rock Island, 1914, published for the 40th anniversary of Salem Lutheran Church.

Peter Froom (1825-1894) was born at Ockelbo, Geflesborgslän, in Norrland quite far north in Sweden. He came in 1858 from Knox County, Illinois (61, 142), to Kansas and took land somewhat to the west of the later settlement and lived there till 1883; then moved to be with the others. His wife was from Halland. In 1870, Carl Peterson brought 205 Swedes and 4 Norwegians to the area where they thought the Denver and St. Joseph Railroad was about to go through. In the same year, 10 persons, J. A. Hurtie prominent, came from Keokuk. The Swedes of Axtell in later days felt that the people had come from all parts of Sweden. The biographies included in the Minneskrift do indicate a considerable variety of geographic origin as the following table shows:

Småland	8
Halland	6 (besides Nelta Froom)
Västergötland	3
Ostergötland	3
Värmland	2
Dalarna	1
Norrland	2 (besides Froom)

The majority, however, from Småland and Halland, that is from a band across Sweden below the lake country, could maintain something like dialectal unity. Salem Church, founded 1874. Regular pastor 1878. Mission Friends seceded finally 1880 /sd 176-185.

Year of Arrival in the United States of those born in Sweden
resident in Lincoln and Rock Townships, Marshall Co.

1863	1	1871 - 1877 - 6	1893 - 1906 - 15
1868 - 1870 - 17		1878 - 1882 - 33	1907 - 1922 - 3
		1884 - 1892 - 33	1923 - 1924 - 4

About 1878 "Once there was a public discussion scheduled in the schoolhouse when a mighty battle took place between the two persuasions present" /Nyquist 22.

Members of churches:

Salem Lutheran	1906: 506; 1948: 402
Zion Mission Covenant	1916: 91; 1949: 45

Language usage at Salem Church 1914: "The English language has been used in part. In the beginning a Sunday school was held in the afternoons, which was carried on in English. Sometimes the English language has been used in certain classes. Lately part English and part Swedish has been used in some children's classes. Finally in some special cases one or two candidates for confirmation have been examined in English. In Pastor Bonander's period of service [1888-1901] certain English services were held, and in these later years an English service has been regularly held on the evening of the third Sunday in each month. The young people use English most of the time in their meetings, although Swedish is by no means forbidden. In the Young People's Bible Class English is used every other Sunday. We have two members in the congregation of German origin, namely Hugo Kral and C. Breuninger. They use English mostly, though the Swedish language is not completely strange to them, since their wives are both daughters of Sweden." /Nyquist 119-20.

Swedish continued to be important in Lutheran services till 1936; was abandoned in 1943. At the Zion Church English had not yet penetrated even into the Sunday School in 1916. The minister in 1948 was not Swedish. Swedish had disappeared even for secrecy over the telephone by 1948, but at that time those born before 1923 could speak Swedish. Tombstone inscriptions in Swedish ceased early, only one, 1911, after 1899; the inscription of 1911 is of a wife, commemorated on the same stone with her husband who died in 1894 (J. A. and Anna Björk).

Waterville Germans (Low-x, Area J). The Andreas-Cutler history cites Henry Bramer as locating near the site of Waterville in 1858 /a922. He was born in Holstein in 1833, his wife Susan in 1845; seven Kansas-born children were living with them in Waterville township in 1885. The fortunes of Waterville did not, however, develop until it became the terminus of the Central Branch from 1868 till 1878. The Andreas-Cutler history records no German religious or cultural institutions as existing in Waterville in 1882. Beginning in 1869 the Kansas Lutheran Synod had labored in the neighborhood, and had a country church, which came to town in 1883. No other German religious body seems to have made any effort in the godless railroad terminal. Nor did any enter after the railroad had been extended. Even before the First World War little German was heard in Waterville.

Frankfort Germans (Low-y, Area K). The Bavarian, Henry Reb appears in the 1865 census with a child, 3 years old born in Kansas. When the Central Branch went through in 1868 the stations of Frankfort and Barrett were established. There were Germans in the Frankfort town company, but no important German center developed. German seems to have been used only in families. There were no Protestant German churches, and the Catholics were largely Irish.

Cottage Hill Swedes (Mid-n, Area L). The 1870 census shows that Henry Nelson and S. W. Lundblad had children born in Kansas by 1868. In 1871 the group was strong enough to organize a Lutheran Church which in 1906 claimed 134 souls: in 1948 the number was 9 and disbandment followed by 1950. From 1883 until 1908 there was also a Swedish Baptist congregation with a maximum of 75 members. Despite the signs of religious slump, the Swedes are reputed to have maintained group consciousness. Until 1918 Swedish was the

usual family language. In 1942 the Swedes were reported to be using Swedish in small social groups.

Irving Czechs (Mid-1, Area M). Joseph Moses or Mojzis, born in Bohemia in 1820, came to Blue Rapids township in 1868 (Riley /ch90:595; see also there 401). The next year John Pecenka helped friends who had already arrived with the harvest near Irving /chl7:447. The settlement developed typical Czech institutions. There was a Czech Presbyterian Church, a Bohemian hall and a Catholic Church, St. Wenceslaus's, with only Czech membership. By 1948, the Presbyterian Church was out of use, the hall had burned, and St. Wenceslaus's was no more. The Czechs had not disappeared, and had lost little of their national enthusiasm, but communication with the settlement on the Little Blue was easy. St. Wenceslaus's on the Riley County line was first built in 1889 with 20 families /lpA:91. The people were invited to join with the Irving parish in 1912 but refused, rebuilt instead. In 1939 they were served by the priest at Irving every fifth Sunday. He happened to be a Czech and there was preaching in that language. The sons and daughters of immigrants remained proficient in Czech. They were linguistically later in coming over to English than the neighboring Swedes or Germans. In 1942 they were reported as using Czech at public meetings among themselves, in social groups and in the family. In 1948, however, the third generation was incapable of speaking Czech. English inscriptions began to appear in the cemetery about 1905.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Bohemia and Resident in Blue Rapids Township in 1925

1856-62	2	1890-95	5
1866-70	10	1898-99	2
1873-75	5	1903	1
1878-81	9	1912-15	3
1883-86	6	1920	2

Beattie Germans (unlisted in Vol. I)

When St. Malachy's parish was organized in 1879 in Township 2, Range 9, there were eleven Irish families and five German. From 1898 until 1903 of such importance was the German element that Father Burke preached in both English and German. When a new church was built in 1923, three of the five principal contributors were German. Mary Rombeck gave \$1050, Catherine Flanagan, \$900, Henry Rombeck, \$750, John Ruegar, \$725, and Pat Reiley, \$725. But Father Burke's successors, though one was named Schwamm, used no German.

Guittard's Station French. See 197, IV and /tk 169.

Marshall-Pottawatomie Welsh (unlisted in Vol. I)

There was also in 1895 a small concentrated Welsh group in Marshall County in Blue Rapids Township at the southern edge (stock at home 31). The Township at that time extended 3 miles farther east than at present. In that area, that is Township 4, Range 8, particularly near the Pottawatomie County line, the 1940 map shows as landowners persons bearing Welsh names, Edwards, Jones, Griffis and Owen. Over the county line appear the names William and Jones. The nearest postoffice was established in 1875 at Lagrange. The first postmaster was Edmund F. Jones. The lands in question belonged then to the Central Branch Railroad.

48.57 MEADE COUNTY F29

Plains Germans (see 301-IV in Vol. I), located on the west edge of the county are mostly the descendants of Catholic Volga Germans who arrived here in the second decade of this century. The settlement was thus a product of the re-settlement period in the southwest. The Collingwoods from Pretty Prairie and Topeka, who were landowners in the Plains area and financial backers of the settlers through hard times promoted the settlement in Topeka so that it appealed to the Volgan Santa Fe workers. The Volgans, in the beet fields at Garden City who were not part of the Ellis County stock, were also attracted here during bad beet years. Some people were nearly direct from Russia. Plains began to have Catholic services in 1916; there was some preaching in German until 1931. After 1956, perhaps earlier, an informant quite conversant with the whole community heard no conversations in German. The Volgans live mostly to the north of Plains. To the west the Volgan landholdings are not separated sharply from those of the Mennonites (described 310-Area E). The Collingwood interests at Pretty Prairie gave them connections with Mennonites also.

Fowler Germans (Lowest, Area A) came primarily during the resettlement period. The names of landowners indicate that they are mainly from families who had settled in Catholic communities farther east in Kansas. The use of German was not greatly different from that in the communities of origin, on the whole conservative in view of the dates of immigration from Europe but very weak by 1950. Fowler received its first resident Catholic pastor in 1915, Father Anthony A. Hermann; he remained until 1933 and obtained landholdings. He left for St. Mark where active use of German was then still necessary. The Missouri Lutherans claimed fifty adherents at Fowler in 1916, but no permanent congregation developed.

Meade Mennonite Russian Germans (Mid-m, Area B)

The Meade Mennonite Settlement was founded in 1906 during the second wave of settlement in southwest Kansas. The first settlers near Meade gave way to the hard times of 1888-1898. Large landowners acquired the land during this period, and were ready to dispose of the tracts suitable for agriculture when new buyers presented themselves in the years 1906-10. The division of the Mennonites called the Kleine Gemeinde, established at Jansen, Nebraska, in Jefferson County just north of Washington County, Kansas became dissatisfied with their position in the community there and moved as a body to Meade. At the same time came a number of families from Irman, Kansas, in McPherson County (concentrated Menn. District Northwestern Section), and also some EMB (Evangelical Mennonite Brethren) families from Henderson, Nebraska, some 50 miles northwest of Jansen. The foundation of these Nebraska settlements was contemporary with that of the Concentrated Mennonite District. The settlement at Meade is thus a secondary settlement. It was, however, linguistically completely German. It has two churches, the Emmanuel Mennonite Church, 210 members in 1954, and the Meade EMB Church organized in 1910, 244 members. The Emmanuel Church is the descendant of the Kleine Gemeinde congregation, originating in a revolt that began in the parent congregation in 1936. The new church, unaffiliated with any conference, was organized in 1944. The language situation in the early days is depicted in the following:

The first community problem arose in connection with the German language and the school laws. The Kleine Gemeinde was closely attached to the German language which had taken on religious significance through its value in

maintaining its cultural isolation. German schools had their full support, but English schools had their support only because of compulsory laws.

In Nebraska the Kleine Gemeinde had been able to have four or five months of German private school as a corrective to the state district schools; however, two months of the year were spent in the English district schools. In Kansas this same system was begun, but the private schools failed because of financial difficulties. Districts were then organized, but a considerable amount of German instruction was retained even under state control until World War I when German was discontinued.

Religious training was an essential part of the German schools; thus when this training had to be discontinued because of the war, they had to find other means to provide their children with formal religious instruction. To meet this need a Sunday school was begun. This was an innovation that would under ordinary circumstances, have been resisted; but since German religious instruction was at stake, there was little opposition.

At first the Sunday school was held on Sunday afternoon, but because of the difficulties of horse and buggy transportation it was transferred to the hour before morning worship. Sunday school, however, was only for children of school age. The older people sat and waited until the worship service began. Gradually they were included until everyone from the kindergarten to grandparents participated.

In their thinking it seemed proper to stress teaching of the German language in the Sunday school. The German language was essential for participation in religious services. Only the Low German was spoken in the homes; the Sunday school was the only place where the children received their language instruction. From the first to the fourth grades, the primary emphasis was on learning to read the German language. The older children used German Bible story books as texts with the emphasis still largely upon language. The adults used the Bible as texts until the thirties when Sunday school quarterlies were introduced /ml6:14-17.

A month's summer school in German went on until the early 1930's.

The revolution of 1936-44 was not primarily a language revolt. For some time after the establishment of the Emmanuel Church religious instruction in Sunday school went on in German. The whole community, whether its members went to the Emmanuel or to the EMB church, was in about the same situation. The Meade Bible Academy, an EMB institution, was preceded by a German Bible School from 1927 to 1930. No one thinks that Low German is a proper religious medium, and High German became too difficult for the young.

In 1953 religious Engl-izing was so far advanced that at the Emmanuel Church preaching in German occurred only about once in every six weeks. On special occasions in 1962 such events had become very rare. Some pastoral work, especially visiting with the old, was carried on in German, High or Low. As to Low German - its use in 1953 was such that any family whose head was over thirty used it habitually in the family. In 1962 in after church conversations those born in 1930 were about as apt to use English as German. In 1953 Low German was the usual language on the school ground, so that children ignorant of it acquired it rapidly, but by 1962 those born after 1944 tended to shift to English, even in conversations with their elders, though they knew German unless born after about 1955. In 1964 half of those born in 1955 knew some German.

57C

Odee Germans (Low-x, Area C). This group is Lutheran, Missouri Synod, primarily from Cole Camp, Mo. (60-32). They were attracted to this area apparently by the Schmokers, Swiss-born, to Kansas from Iowa. The Schmokers, John, Christian, a widow Elizabeth and their families were in the county in 1880. John was active in the town companies in the north of the county /chl6. Two sons of Christian, George and William, filed claims in the settlement area in the summer of 1882. Henry Wurdeman also arrived from Cole Camp about 1882. Christian and Elizabeth filed in the area at the same time as the people from Cole Camp in the last half of 1884 and during 1885. The Schmokers were Congregationalists (probably Reformed in Switzerland), but, says the Fiftieth Anniversary Booklet of St. John's Ev. Lutheran Church, 1937, the first meeting of the Lutherans took place in Christian's house in 1885. St. John's Church began services in 1887 (62 members in 1890, 225 in 1916, 223 in 1948). They had no resident pastor until 1899; the ministers came from Ellenwood (130 air miles) and Windhorst (half as far). The church was rural (on 22-34-28) until after the First World War. Until then German was used exclusively within the settlement, including all church services. German disappeared from church services before 1948; it had practically stopped by 1927, but later was used for festive occasions. At the time of the Fiftieth Anniversary in 1937 the morning service was in German and the afternoon and evening services were in English. The church maintained a school giving instruction in German until 1926. The district school operated for the minimum number of months under the law, 3 in early days; the parochial school with its German then continued -- for about 4 months in early days. Until

57C
57A

the Second World War German was the usual language of the home of those born before 1900. High school students spoke English with a pronounced German accent in 1920. In 1951 people conversant with Cole Camp could still recognize the German spoken here as akin to that of the Missouri settlement. In 1955 a number of the persons from this settlement active in the business life of Meade could still speak German. In 1962 the use of German was considered by the ^{Lutheran} group as a mark of age or ^{of} the backwardness which they tended to attribute to their Mennonite neighbors.

48.58 MIAMI COUNTY E16

Wea Germans (Low-v, Area A). For early settlement see /tk196n.22. A Catholic church was erected in 1869 and briefly there was a resident pastor beginning in 1871. The period of first prosperity was with the second resident, 1881-1887; there were then 60 families. Toward 1926 Wea was looked on as a "Dutch" parish. An informant of 1942 reported: "Old folks speak German fluently; broken English." By 1948 there were only one or two immigrant Germans left and the language had practically disappeared, though the community was quite conscious of its individuality.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Wea Cemetery

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1869-79	16	8	33%
1880-89	11	1	8%
1890-99	9	2	18%

No later inscriptions in German

Block-Highland Germans (Hi-d, Area B)

The Block section of the Block-Highland Germans is the more important and the more definitely centered part of the settlement. The 1878 Platbook shows L. Bergman (1832-1899) as the owner of land across the road from the Lutheran Church and cemetery where he is buried. The census of 1865 shows him with a five-year old son born in Kansas. He was a Hanoverian. The same census shows five more Hanoverian families, those of John H. Beckman (b. 1805), Frederick Beckman (b. 1834), C. Mahnken (b. 1805), Diedrick Miller (b. 1835), and John Gerkin (b. 1827). Members of the Beckman and Gerkin families too lie in the Lutheran cemetery and appear in later censuses. Mahnken and Miller land adjoined the holdings of the others. Frederick Beckman had a 3 year-old-child born in Kansas, and a five-year-old born in Missouri. John Beckman had an eighteen-year-old daughter born in Missouri. Diedrick Miller had a four-year-old born in Missouri. We may conclude that this small group of families had been established over a decade in Missouri and had come to Kansas about 1861. The seat of the large Missouri element in the settlement is generally recognized as Benton County, Missouri (60, 32), particularly from the neighborhood of Cole Camp. Some had been in Missouri many years, Chas. Mahnken for example was born there in 1839. These people were almost all Hanoverians. There was also an element from Indiana that came from 1867-1869. Most of these people were a group from Laporte (62, 12)--Evert (came 1867), Geury, Gooden, Kehn, Schulz--also probably from there Seibert (came 1868). These Laporte people were from the eastern part of Prussia. The Beikmans, who were Hanoverians, were from Seymour in Jackson County, Indiana (62, 83S). They were well-to-do and influential in organizing the Lutheran Church,

but after a disagreement they moved on in 1884 to Washington County (Linn-Palmer Germans). There have been further exchanges of population with that settlement and the same names occur in both.

By 1869 too the Missouri contingent had been strengthened by the Grothers, by the Blocks who gave their name to the settlement, and by the Prothes who came in 1868 and have been prominent members of it. Other permanent settlers from Missouri who arrived by 1870 were Mindens and Tinkens. Though arriving by way of Missouri, John Prothe (1833-1902) had in 1870 a year-old child born in Germany; Frederick (b. 1835) had no children yet; those to be born in Kansas were to become permanent in the community.

The local reason for the influx of the late 1860's was the availability of additional land. When in 1854 much of the Miami reservation was extinguished, the Indians retained their rights to 72,000 acres, and the north line of their holdings was in the section just south of Bergmann's place (through sections 13-18 of Twp 18 /ch78). In 1868 they agreed by treaty to sell their lands, and while they did not depart from their village 2 miles south of Bergmann's till 1871 /kc8:91-92, the 1878 Platbook shows most of the newcomers from Laporte inside the reservation. The Indians still held some land then. One of the Cole Camp colony, Henry Grother (b. 1812), established himself on the reservation in 1865 before the treaty was made among the Miamis. Grother's daughter was married here to John Viets in 1866 /all39, but he does not appear in the census of 1865. His children played with the Indians. His farm was on 19-18-24 just east of the Miami village. By the middle of the 20th century the community had seen seven generations of Grothers.

The burst of settlement of the late 1860's did not dry up immediately, but in general the new settlers' origins were varied and they did not belong with this Lutheran group. One case may be cited which ultimately was bound in with the others. Wm. Reifel (1845-1932), born in the Rheinland, came to the United States in 1853, and lived at Red Bud, Illinois in the northwest corner of Randolph County (60, 130) south of St. Louis, and came to Block in 1872. He shortly married Pauline Kehn (1854-1894) who had been born in East Germany. Her sister Augusta was born in the Laporte, Indiana, neighborhood in 1857. The oldest child of Wm. and Pauline was George (1874-ca. 1954). Because the parents' dialects were different, standard German was the language of this household. George learned the Hanoverian dialect from the other boys at the parochial school, and his mother's east German dialect somewhat from neighbors, somewhat from customers at the Block Store. The implication here is that the children from the Laporte group were not numerous at the parochial school--probably because these people lived beyond the Marais des Cynes river, and on small holdings with income so small that parochial schooling would be too expensive. The settlers were in general indifferent to schooling if there was any economic pressure.

The influx during the seventies was not great but there was late immigration as shown by the survivors in 1925.

Year of Immigration of Persons born in Germany and Austria
residing in Townships of the Block Highland Area in 1925

Before 1860	4
1860-9	11
1870-9	13
1880-9	23
1890-9	10
1900-9	4
1910-9	0
1920-9	1

Some of the arrivals of the early 1880's are discussed below with the Highland group. Dorothea, nee Pagels (1850-1940) and a son or nephew of hers, Henry Koerner (1882-1946), arrived in 1888. They were from the same village half way between Hanover City and Bremen from which Henry Koopman (1856-1943) came. Koopman had arrived at Block by 1879. He went back for a visit in 1908. (Visits were rather common.)

Dorothea Pagels married Henry Rodewald (1841-1917), and in 1924 she brought her nephew Henry Pagels (b. 1903) to look after her farm. The Pagels family had lost heavily during the German inflation of 1923. Pagels was the last arrival from Germany; he became a potent conservative force linguistically among the Lutherans.

A store at Block corner was built in 1882. The Yockeys from Atchison operated it, and in 1884 Frank Yockey became the first postmaster of Block. The post office endured a score of years. A locally owned store soon developed and passed rapidly through the hands of Lutherans from Missouri--Henry Bergman, Diedrick Miller, Fred Prothe. In the meantime the Yockey store had been conveyed to Jacob Neu (1858-1908), another Lutheran, who had at first been on a farm three miles to the north. In the later 1880's, Prothe and Neu combined forces, but after a few years separated. Fred Prothe, senior (b. 1836) put his son Fred (b. 1878) to work in the store; then , in the late 1890's German was the language most frequently used in trading there. But English was frequent enough so that the English of Fred, Jr., became superior to that of the rest of his family. In 1901

the Prothes turned the store over to George Reifel who had begun to work there after six years experience clerking elsewhere. By then trading in English was normal but gossiping in the store was for some time ordinarily in German. George Reifel's English like Fred Prothe's, was better than that of most of those of his generation, but in his last years he still declared, "I am born in this county." He closed the store in 1942 but continued to reside near its site.

Reifel like most of his customers, was Lutheran. Only a Lutheran could succeed commercially. Trinity Lutheran Church was organized in 1868. An organization was obviously made possible by the immigration of that period. In 1870 Wm. Zschoche, b. 1844, was a pastor in the settlement--probably to the Lutherans. By 1875 there was a permanent pastor, for Jonas Matthias (b. 1849) in the 1878 Flatbook records himself as "minister and teacher" with date of arrival 1875. In 1884 the present church was built. At that time Matthias was probably still the pastor. (He appears in the Statistical Year Book with a congregation of the appropriate size.) In 1890 H. C. Senne was installed as pastor and continued until after 1906. From before 1910 until 1926 F. Drögemüller (b. 1861) was pastor, and from 1926 till 1950 it was O. C. J. Keller; O. Wittig thereafter. These long pastorates with foreign-born pastors were naturally a conservative force linguistically. Even Pastor Keller, who, as the son of Pastor J. C. B. Keller was brought up at conservative Palmer, though American born, was completely at home in both standard German and dialect with his parishioners and Pastor Wittig was also competent.

At the time the church was built, in 1884, the number of souls in the congregation was already large.

Membership of Trinity Lutheran Church, Block

1884--278	1906--385
1890--300	1910--432
1895--330	1916--477
1900--300	1948--386

In 1948 the congregation in Paola numbered 473. It had been founded in 1921, and from the beginning all services were in English.

At Block in Pastor Senne's last years, beginning 1922, an English service once a month was introduced, at first only in addition to German service. In 1927 English displaced German once a month. In 1935 and through 1940 German and English shared equally; in the years that followed though sometimes with English, German was still the language twice a month. Beginning in 1946 a German service followed the English service once a month. In 1950 attendance at the German service was usually 25, at the regular service 250. In that year German disappeared completely from the services. At that time pastoral work with members eighty years old was usually in German.

Though Pastor Matthias called himself a teacher as well as a minister in 1878 the parochial school came fully into its own only in 1882. German was the only language of instruction until 1892, and when the congregation hired a teacher as well as a pastor German was the language of instruction in the morning, English in the afternoon as long as this was legally possible. Instruction in religion was in German only until 1930 and was optional for the next five years. Thereafter English only.

The testimony of the cemeteries as to the language of record indicates in that area less conservatism than in church.

Language of Tombstone inscriptions in the
Block-Highland Area

Trinity Lutheran Cemetery				Highland Evangelical and Reformed Cemetery		
<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% German</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% German</u>
--	4	100%	1870-9	--	--	
3	3	50%	1880-9	--	4	100%
7	10	59%	1890-9	5	7	58%
13	22	62%	1900-9	5	6	55%
17	16	48%	1910-9	6	10	63%
18	2	10%	1920-9	8	3	27%
40	3	8%	1930-9	3	--	0%

No German later

Until 1900 in the daily life of the Block community German was the language of the young as well as the old. The English of George Reifel, born 1874, was quite imperfect in 1895, although he had attended district school for five terms where only a few out of twenty-five pupils were German. At the parochial school the playground language was the Hanoverian dialect. In the first decades of the twentieth century bilingualism became common. Indeed George Reifel's second son, Leo, born 1906, did not learn German. The boy's mother, though born in Germany, had arrived young and had grown up where the German element was small (east of Garnett in Anderson County). Leo was exceptional in the community. Almost all those born before 1917 became proficient, and many of those born in the next five or six years.

Until 1940 the ordinary language of social intercourse among those born shortly before 1913 when speaking with late immigrants or older people was still German, and the fact was still in 1950 apparent in the character

of the English of that generation. Such phrases as "I am here all my life" were common, and the pronunciation corresponded. With the Second World War German disappeared except when the bilingually proficient addressed the few who were left--and there were some in 1950--who followed discourse much better in German than in English.

The membership of the Highland church contained a few dissidents (Geury for instance) from among the Lutherans near the Block center, but in general it was composed of families that lived on the periphery of the settlement. Some of those who belonged to it arrived at nearly the same time as the Cole Camp people. Wm. Kettler (1835-1907) arrived in 1860 and settled (on 10-18-24) three miles southeast. Louis Knoche, a Westphalian, (1845-1899), and George Homrighausen (b. 1834) arrived in 1861 /ch78 and settled five miles to the northwest of the church site. Those who came in the late 1860's were similarly scattered. Geurys were about 8 miles to the southwest. The Koelsch brothers, some of whom were Lutheran, but not Andrew (1845-1923, here by 1871), were two miles west, and probably related to them, the Neus, (Adam, 1818-1882, father of Jacob, the storekeeper, a Lutheran) were in the same neighborhood. There were later comers for some of these families. Fred Homrighausen (1864-1934), who is buried in the Highland cemetery, arrived in 1883, and the wife of a younger George (born Kansas 1886) came in 1894. One of the most important families in the church was the Alpert's. Christopher (1843-1901) arrived in 1883 and settled near the church. He came directly from Germany at the same time as Fred Homrighausen. He was from near Osterburg in Prussian Saxony west from Berlin near Hanover. Zion Church of the Evangelical Synod was organized by 1882. Its membership in

1906 was 60 /ot301, and in 1950 it was 20. Though never large it gave religious instruction in German in the first decade of this century. German services went on until about 1922 after a short transition. In other words this group tended to be as linguistically conservative as the Lutherans, but suddenly gave up the struggle.

48.59 MITCHELL COUNTY N8

Cawker City Germans (Low-v, Area A)

The 1870 census records that John Corden, born in Prussia in 1847, lived in Cawker Township. Settlement began no earlier in this northwest corner of the township though Cawker City was founded in that year. George Tamm, born in Seligenstadt (Bavaria or Hesse) in 1848 arrived the next February. The Germans increased and their concentration became moderately great, but they never developed any institutions peculiarly German. In 1877 the Evangelical Association gathered together a number of "German appointments" and called them Cawker Mission, but in 1880 it was combined with Osborne Mission /pz 115, 133.

Saints Peter and Paul Catholic church was founded in 1878, but German pastors were not needed there, at least not in 1900.

The lack of German strength in religious organizations is partly to be explained by the Germans' participation in secret societies where they mingled with "American" stocks. In 1882 Frank Goepel was recorder for the A. O. U. W. and secretary for I. O. O. F. /a 1927.

Beloit Germans, North and South (Low x and Mid-m, Areas B and C)

The territory inhabited by the North and South Beloit Germans, that is, the northeastern half of Mitchell County, included the areas first settled. German names appear among the earliest settlers, those who went through the Indian troubles of 1868 and 1869. Albert Loop, born Canton Berne, Switzerland, was one of these /co 28. He settled on 15-7-6 on Asher Creek, which flows into the Solomon out of the northeast townships. His wife was Barbara Schungle. Her widowed mother accompanied her, and, presumably Schungle children were also hers. The first marriage in Lulu Township up the creek was between F. Schungle and Linnie Kimberling in 1872 /ag78:317. The Schungles came from Hamilton County, Ohio, where Cincinnati is situated. There Barbara's father, Frederick, an immigrant from Germany, had been a farmer. Similar nuclei formed in the Beloit section, but no strong settlement developed.

The city of Beloit, founded in 1870, did not in its earliest years contain a markedly German element, but at its edge already lived William H. F. Gabe, born in Germany, 1837, to Illinois 1868, Richland County (near Indiana, east of St. Louis) /co 3:152. Luxemburgers formed a part of the Germans /go314. A tendency of rural Germans to make it a center and to move into town soon developed. H. Jermark, born in northwest Germany in 1846, and a soldier from Wisconsin in the Civil War, homesteaded 5 miles northeast of Beloit in 1871 and moved into town about 1878 /a 1025. Peter Eresch (1864-1946), born in Nuremburg, Germany, after a childhood at Aurora, Illinois, came to Mitchell County in 1878 (his parents also came). He moved into Beloit in 1906 to become a banker /ik370. The Germans in and near Beloit

came to include a number from Hunter, presumably attracted by the more fertile Solomon Valley district, and from Tipton because Beloit developed a strong Catholic church. In 1876 "Father John H. Timphaus was sent to care for the settlers in the valley of the Solomon River. He established his residence at Beloit" /b 141. The biggest church in the county was built in 1878 and the parish contained 400 souls in 1883 /a 1024. (The 400 may have included those in mission stations.) The membership was largely rural, for no Catholics were attending Beloit High School in 1885. The pastors (M. Heitz in 1900 and through 1923) regularly bore German names until 1954. Preaching in German ceased in 1923, late for a Catholic parish.

Protestant Germans were not lacking in the area either and in 1886 the Reverend J. G. Trefz founded a Lutheran church in Beloit. "The language was to be German" /ot59, and so it continued exclusively until 1894 when Trefz resigned, and the church joined the Kansas Synod (now LCA). P. G. Tonsing succeeded Trefz. During his pastorate (1894-1901), services "were held alternating in German and English" /ot60. His successor bore a Scandinavian name, Nielson, but he left in 1906, and the next minister's name was John Utesch, born and partly trained in Germany. He apparently preached partly in German, for Ott takes care to observe in 1908 that the young people of the Luther League operated in English, not German.

Rural German families north and east of Beloit are mostly Catholic and include Genglers and Kadels from Luxemburg, and Wesslings from Bonn, and the Schwermans. In these families the generation born in the last

decades of the nineteenth century learned to talk German but in the 1950's had abandoned it except sometimes for secrecy. The Genglers were first established near Tipton and the Kadels in the neighborhood of Hunter. Peter Eresch was also a Catholic.

The linguistic history of the Protestants south of town is similar. William Gabe was a Lutheran. They too are partly families first established elsewhere not far off. The Deschners were first north of Glasco.

In Beloit itself retired people sometimes brought forth a little German in the 1950's, even those born near 1900, usually only for old times sake, but sometimes on the streets.

-1301-

Tipton Germans (Hi-b, Area D)

The village of Tipton was called Pittsburg from 1872 until 1881. The president of the town company was Frederick Sackoff (1820-1902), born in Prussia. In 1875 he had children 22 and 15 years old born in Iowa, whence he had come himself. The Arnoldys and the Tonnes, German-born, appearing in the same census, and buried at Tipton, also came from Iowa, Arnoldy was a Luxemburger, from near Dyersville, presumably from New Vienna or Luxemburg. But the Konzems of that census and the Jacobs, immigrants of 1872, were from Minnesota. Peter Jacobs (1822-1901) was born in Gonz, four miles from Trier very near Luxemburg. He left Germany after 1866 and lived at Caledonia in the southeast corner of Minnesota before coming to Tipton. Jacobs' early history is identical with that of the early Andale-Colwich Germans, whose settlement was also founded in 1872. Many of the Tipton settlers came from Luxemburg (14 families by 1889 /go314) and the neighboring Rheinland /dml42.

The Andreas-Cutler History of Kansas describes Tipton better than it does most communities: "The town is substantially built, many of the business buildings being of stone. There are thirty or forty houses on the townsite and a wealthy German settlement around it. A German subscription school with 35 scholars and a regular district school of about 30 scholars are maintained in the town." /1030. Carruth too mentions the "well-attended" Catholic school (1892).

Of those named above Sackoff and Tonne were Lutherans; the others were Catholics. The Lutherans at one time furnished as much as one-fourth of the population, but later the Catholics took over almost completely, at least in Tipton and its immediate neighborhood. The Andreas-

Cutler History of Kansas says that Saint Boniface's at Tipton was organized in 1879 /a 1027. Burials in the cemetery began in 1876 and Father Timphaus must that year have included the settlement in his missions just organized from Beloit, but there was no Catholic pastor in the "northwest" before 1876 /b 141. The faithful numbered 325 in 1883 /a 1028, 1200 in 1936. From before 1915 till 1947 when he died, the Reverend Charles Menig was pastor of St. Boniface's. He preached in German throughout his career. Testimony on the frequency of his German sermons varies, but it seems that until 1935 there was preaching in German every other Sunday, that until the end there was gospel reading in German, and German sermons on feast days. The Reverend Michael Dreiling was either his assistant or his replacement from 1935 till 1939; Father Dreiling in his autobiography states that "English came to be the only language spoken." An informant said that in these years "the priest was trying to turn it over to English." Father Menig's successor, the Reverend E. D. Weigel, did not use German publicly during a long pastorate, but pastoral work in it continued.

The Zion Lutheran Church, which became an American Lutheran congregation, was organized in 1880. German inscriptions appear in the cemeteries at Tipton as follows:

Catholic	Lutheran
1876 - 1	1879-1880 - 5
1881-5 - 11	
1886-1890 - 8	1887 - 1
1891-1895 - 7	1892-3 - 4
1896-1900 - 5	
1901-1905 - 8	1902 - 1
1906-1910 - 11	none later
1911-1915 - 11	
1916-1917 - 2	
one each for 1931, 1937, 1948	

The sudden abandonment of German in the Catholic cemetery must have resulted from the tensions of the First World War.

In its business and family life as in its religious life Tipton was long faithful to German. Its reputation as a German center was widespread. At the Schulte drug store in Tipton in 1935 50 customers required to be dealt with in German; in 1954 the number was 2. Peter Jacobs' grandson, Ed, born about the turn of the century, and later an influential citizen, found pleasure in German and continued to speak it with anyone proficient outside his family, but in his family it played no part, and his son, born about 1930, learned no German until he joined his father in business when he found that phrases which he picked up from his father warmed certain hearts.

Although children were rebelling against speaking German somewhat earlier, German remained the common speech with the active generations until about 1935. The Luxemburgers spoke in their dialect, but other dialects were nearly enough kindred so that mutual understanding was not difficult. By 1964 only the very old were using it. It had fallen into general disfavor. The nostalgia for olden times had not reached the younger generation.

Hunter - Victor Germans (Mid-m, Area E)

The census of 1875 shows that a number of German families were in Blue Hill Township whereas the census of 1870 records no one in this part of the county. Among them were the Adam Faulhabers, buried in the Round Springs cemetery, Adam (1834-1900) and Martha (1840-1925). Lee Faulhaber was the first postmaster of Round Springs, post office created August, 1873. Adam had a child eleven years old born in Ohio and another nine born in Kansas (no information as to what part of Kansas). And there were the Lutherans Frederick and Mary Schneider who also appear in the census of 1886. The entries agree that their son Powell was born in Kansas in 1875, but say that Barnard (1872-after 1949) the next older was born in Dakota (according to 1875 census) or Iowa (by that of 1885). Their oldest child was born in Germany in either 1862 or 1865. George Kadel (1826-1911) appears in the census of 1885. He had taken a claim in the 1870's, and had brought his Irish wife, Margaret (1842-1942) a family with him. The neighborhood was sufficiently German so that the children of this mixed marriage learned to speak German. William and Bertha Quade, born in Germany in 1872 and 1873, did not come from Missouri to Kansas until shortly after 1895. All but one of their children were born in Kansas. In 1949 one of their grandchildren wrote, "My uncles and aunts, though they once spoke nothing but German, very seldom use the language at the present time." In 1949, almost no one born after 1910 was able to speak German, but many people were still able to understand the language. Religious life was not vigorous. The Lutherans, Missouri Synod, claimed 73 souls in a congregation at Hunter but the group was not

organized till 1925. In 1948 the membership included 173 persons. English had been the language of worship for some time, but the minister found use for his proficiency in German.

48.60 MONTGOMERY COUNTY E26

Independence Germans (Mid-m, Area A) and Chetopa Creek Germans (Lowest, Area C). In 1869 Alexander Waldschmidt built a saw mill near Independence just as the town was organizing. He appears in the 1870 census as a Prussian born in 1823; he had apparently been elsewhere in Kansas, for he had a son fourteen years old born in Kansas, one sixteen years born in Kentucky. By the same census Carl Zinser, a Wurtemberger, was living in the Chetopa Creek area with a son a year old born in Kansas. A much more important early arrival was that of Henry Baden (1844-1927). He was a Hanoverian who opened a store at the end of 1870 /co3:1689. He prospered and many sources other than accounts in subscription histories show -- became very influential through both wealth and personal qualities. He was an ardent German and

Lutheran. He could not moderate all the hysteria of the First World War, but he enabled his fellow countrymen to stand more firmly than in most communities. He attracted many immigrants from Germany to Independence and its neighborhood. There were also people from the Cole Camp region in Missouri. Hanoverians predominated. His wife was also a Hanoverian from Settensen between Hamburg and Bremen and German was the language at home as their children grew up. Their son John born in 1875 remained a permanent member of the community. His successive wives were sisters. Margarita and Sophie Ehlen, born in 1876 and 1886 at Werzin halfway between Hamburg and Berlin. With Margarita, who died in 1914, the home language was German, though her two youngest children born in 1909 and 1911 did not learn to speak, only to understand, German. In 1954 English had long been the usual language of the home. This may be considered a rather normal time table for a family in town. A great niece of Henry Baden born about 1919 and brought up in the

country knew no English on entering school and studied German in the third and fourth grades. The instruction at this period was for an hour a day. It had been going on since at least 1922 (remarkable for the conditions of the time). A relative of Henry Baden's wife arrived from Germany as late as 1932. In 1952 those in their sixties found many people with whom they might converse. In the Lutheran Church, organized in 1872, there was instruction in English for some children as early as 1906. By 1910 announcements were made in English. Confirmations in both English and German were still taking place in the early 1920's. In 1900 the Independence pastor had 12 attenders at worship in services at Elk City near the Chetopa Creek area. All services in German, which had been curtailed at the time of the First World War, were abolished when the Second broke out.

Language of Inscriptions in the Lutheran Section
of the Cemetery at Independence

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1900-1901	1	2	67%
1910-1919	5	16	76%
1920-1929	24	11	51%
1930-1939	22	4	18%
1940-1952	80	9	10%

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Germany
and Residence in the City and Township of Independence in 1925

1855-69	3	1888	3	1905-10	8
1879-85	11	1891-95	12	1919-25	9
		1898-1903	7		

6036

~~-1308-~~

For Independence Mexicans, see 47.84.

Cherryvale-Mortimer Germans (Low-y, Area B). Jacob Blaes, born in Germany, settled two miles northwest of the site of Cherryvale in 1869 /ch81; in 1871 Father Paul Ponziglione said mass for "German settlers" at his house. In the immediate neighborhood Blaes had been joined in 1870 by Frank Steinberger (1838-1916), an Austrian from Ried in the Tyrol. Steinberger had arrived the year before in the United States and had come into the area as a laborer on the railroads under construction. In 1874 Father Paul married him to Anna (1856-1929) Gergen who lived a few miles down the creek. She had been born in New York just after the arrival of her parents in the United States. This couple did not use German in the family, presumably because Anna had been rather well Engl-ized and their German dialects were quite different. Cherryvale received a resident priest in 1877 -- with missions elsewhere; the priests bore Irish names. German was not necessary in the community. The Mortimer area is to the east in Labette County with no discoverable focus.

Coffeyville Germans (Low-w, Area D). The German stock at home in Coffeyville in 1895 was 3% of the population (110 out of 3422), but it was nowhere residentially concentrated. Germans had been there since the town's beginning in 1869, but seem to have attained institutional representation only when in 1892 farmers from the Cole Camp settlement (60-32) became sufficiently numerous in the area to organize a Missouri Lutheran Church. This congregation was linguistically conservative. In the 1930's the services were half German, half English, and German was not abandoned until the outbreak of the Second World War. By 1950 German

was little used except by old immigrants, of whom there were a few,
as the accompanying table suggests.

Year of Arrival of Persons Born in Germany and
Resident in Coffeyville in 1925

1855-69	10	1880-89	29
1871-72	5	1892-95	6
1874-75	2	1898-1904	3
1878	3	1905-12	7

For Coffeyville Mexicans, see #47.74.

48.61 MORRIS COUNTY P15

For Council Grove Mexicans see #47.75.

Marion Hill Swedes (Hi-d, Area A)

Special Bibliog:

White City Kansas, Marion Hill Lutheran Church, 80th Anniversary 1876-1956

First Swedish settler 1869 (Nels Johnson /k596, see also /kq 11:33), 2 others in 1870 census. John Rolph, later prominent, came in 1870. The MKT railway building into 1870, had a crew of Swedish laborers in neighborhood. Percy Ebbutt says, ca. 1872, of Swedish neighbors "seemed good thrifty people... could nearly all work in stone, and...all erected good solid-built stone houses." /eb46. Marion Hill Lutheran Church organized 1876, building 1879, members 175 in 1907 /ot 268, 153 in 1951. Swedish Baptist, organized 1881, lasted till ca. 1890 /lv 59. Its charter members came to the United States 1869-71 from Gotland and Skåne. Many Lutherans from Blekinge. Much of immigration direct from Sweden. English was first introduced in the Marion Hill Lutheran Church once a month in 1901 or 1902 /MH. Pastor Richards says in the 80th Anniversary book: "The language question was very much in evidence in 1923. At that time the English language was used at all evening services and at the morning service one Sunday each month. The young people felt keenly the need of more English while some of the older ones were quite determined not to yield any more. Arguments sometimes heard were that the Gospel could not be as pure in the English language as it was in the Swedish, and that the young people could learn Swedish if they would, but they were ashamed of their mother tongue. However...many of the old yielded very graciously. In a few years the language of the land had prevailed to the extent that we had but one Sunday sermon a year...on Christmas morning-- and this was only for a few years." There were Lutheran services in Swedish

on alternate Sundays as late as ca. 1928. Church business session discussions were partly in Swedish till the same year. Swedish preaching abandoned completely ca. 1940. In 1942 Swedish used only to or by those born before 1900. English dominated in tombstone inscriptions from the beginning, highest percentage in Swedish was in the 1890's, 35%. The last Swedish inscription with spouse buried earlier was 1924 (P. Martinson, here by 1875); the last without spouse 1922. One stone reads

Hvar hvilar Charlotta,
Missis (sic) Moberg.
Född den 12 April 1840
Död den 26 Ockto. 1891.

Critical date 1912.

Dwight-Alta Vista Germans (Low-x, Area B)

Not a unified area. Germans here by 1870 (Swartz, probably Goss). Andreas says no earlier settlers. Considerably affected by neighboring Germans in Wabaunsee County. Early German settlers came (Zimmerman) to Neosho Township, next south, earlier, at least by 1865, probably by 1860 but did not become unified there either; similarly in area west of Neosho Township (Hirt by 1867).

Little John Creek Germans (Low-x, Area C)

This area contains two small groups, one German and the other Russian German. The Germans were on the Creek by 1865 and increased in numbers during the 70's (Haucke 1873 /ch23, Bosch 1878 /ch23, Barth, a Wurtemberger by 1865, Buehman by 78, Borket by 1878). The Russian Germans (Volgans) arrived probably in 1873, certainly by 1879 (Janzen, Litky by 1883, Ohm, Banke). Children in German families were speaking German at home in 1900, but the elongated topography of the settlement meant that the children went to different schools, and spoke no German among themselves almost from the beginning. These people, both Reich and Russian Germans, were all young upon their arrival and had no children born elsewhere. There was preaching, but no church was ever organized. The Russians were Lutherans.

Burdick Swedes (Hi-d, Area D)

Special Bibliog.:

A - Anderson, E. T. A Quarter-Inch of Rain Emporia, 1962.

Census of 1880 shows no Swedes in this area; they arrived in 1881 according to Bergin /kc 11:33, and the Marion Record of 26 Aug. 1881. One or two may have arrived in late 1880 /ch85 and /ch01. First to acquire title to land F. W. Johnson 11 Nov. 1881 (not foreign born); first foreign born J. Gustafson 19 Aug. 1882. Many foreign-born had titles 1884. The land was acquired from Mennonite settlers who had preceded them, from the M. K. and T. Railroad, and less, from the Santa Fe /w33. Some settlers (Bjorback, Setterstrom) very recently from Sweden. John Setterstrom, Senior, became a potent force in the community, particularly among Lutherans. A few had acquired families in Iowa, Illinois and Minnesota, some had lived elsewhere in Kansas, probably at Lindsborg (Forsberg, Gustafson, Anderson). Immigration continued until the First World War (O. Hageberg came 1914, his brother in 1930, 2 others between these dates). Hebron Lutheran Church organized 1884, 219 members in 1907, 245 members in 1951; Swedish Mission Church 1889, members in area from 1885, 20 members in 1917, 9 members in 1949, but about then nearly 100 gathered to hear a sermon in Swedish; Swedish Methodist, 140 members ca. 1949, joined American M. E. conference during First World War. At Lutheran Church Swedish preaching once a month in 1942 and probably till 1946. Some confirmations in Swedish at least till

1936. In 1942 those born in 1890's were speaking Swedish together, those born before 1917 not infrequently. Bilingual conversations were not uncommon, one party speaking Swedish, the other English. Those born between 1917 and ca. 1922 spoke but with difficulty. About 1920 trouble on school playgrounds because children were playing in Swedish and teacher could not understand. In 1961 those born before the First World War still felt competent in Swedish though there was small occasion to use it. Critical date 1925.

The late persistence of Swedish is to be explained by the long duration of immigration as shown on the following table.

Year of Arrival in the United States of persons born in
Sweden and resident in Burdick Township in 1925

before 1867	1
1867-1870	8
1871-1875	10
1876-1880	9
1881-1885	26
1886-1890	13
1891-1895	6
1896-1900	2
1901-1905	5
1906-1910	7
1911-1915	1
1916-1920	0
1921-1925	<u>1</u>
Total	89

Data from /A concerning E. T. Anderson family. Father Victor (1848-1927) born Sweden, to Henry County, Ill. (61, 131) 1869, married Elizabeth Burk in 1873. Son, E. T., born 1878, family with kindred to New Gottland area in McPherson County in 1879. Victor and immediate family thence to Burdick 1885 to railroad land. School beginning 1885. Most of the children at school could not speak English (teacher, Florence Carter), E. T. says: "On my first day of school knew enough English to understand some of what I was told but not enough to make an adequate answer" /A27. E. T. married Cora F. Bjorback, born 1883. Her parents Peter B. (1849-1922) and Elizabeth (1843-1916) came directly from Sweden to Burdick at its founding in 1881. E. T. Anderson at once preserved and evolved away from his Swedish background. The country near Burdick is cattle country, and he became a cattleman, mixed with banking for a part of his career, and he developed more cattleman characteristics than is usual among Swedes. The names given his sons Kenneth, Russell and Robert are evidence of early Engl-izing.

MORTON COUNTY See #48.98.

48.62 NEMAHA COUNTY P4

See Settlement Histories for Neuchatel French (Mid-m, Area E).

North Nemaha Germans (Mid-l, Area A). For early Swiss in the neighborhood see /tkl86. Henry Korber (1826-1901) from Hanover settled a mile or two from the Nebraska border east of the Nemaha River in 1856. The people who settled around him were either Lutherans or Unieters. St. John's Church developed in 1869. It apparently contained both elements at the start; at least St. John's was the name of the congregation of the Missouri Lutherans at Bern which had a membership of 112 in 1895; dwindled to 20 in 1910 and finally disbanded. Its cemetery was needed only once after 1911. The percentage of German inscriptions in the three decades preceding was 56%, 88%, 56%. At a crisis in 1892 members of St. John's, presumably the Unieters, joined with those of St. Peter's Church, likely Reformed, in existence since 1875, to form the Friedens Church of the Evangelical Synod (E-R) one half mile from Nebraska. It too had its lean days, 16 members in 1906 but eventually became rather thriving, 150 communicants in 1942. English was introduced into its services before the First World War and German was abandoned before the Second World War. The hysteria of 1918 had its effect. One member said in 1949: "We started to teach our children German, but that First War came and we weren't supposed to use German; so we just dropped it." Other families reported the same phenomenon.

Language of Inscriptions in the Friedens Cemetery near Bern

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1869-79	0	3	100%
1880-89	2	0	0%
1890-99	2	12	86%
1900-09	6	5	46%
1910-19	6	4	40%
1920-29	14	4	22%
1930-39	19	3	14%
1940-49	12	2	14%

Bern Swiss Germans (Hi-b, Area B)

The Bern area is more complex than most districts of foreign settlement. It may be divided into two parts both predominantly Swiss but of different age and religious affiliation, territorially distributed into a northern and southern area. Along the border to the west of the Bern area the north Nemaha Germans are mixed in among the Swiss. They mostly became members of the Evangelical Synod (more recently ER). Samuel Menger who settled in Nemaha County in 1858 belonged to the Reformed Church /ch16:623. But most of the early Swiss became members of the Evangelical Association (now EUB). The Apostolic Christians came later; they are to the south; the older church of the Evangelical Association lies to the north.

Settlement in other parts of Nemaha county began as soon as the territory of Kansas opened in 1854, and the first Germans along the Nemaha River arrived by 1856 /ch87. By 1857 the Swiss settled somewhat north of the future site of town of Bern. The newly widowed Catherine Lehman (1810-1882) moved out from Andrews County, Missouri, the county St. Joseph is in, in 1857 with five sons, three of whom were grown. After participating in the gold rush in Colorado (1860) and the Civil War, the sons returned to the community for life /ch16:444. In 1858 the family of Jacob Spring (1817-1897) /ch16:616 joined the Lehmans, and by 1859 Christ Blauer was there with several grown sons. In that year the Evangelical Minister Philip Porr began to serve the group, which included Henry Ott who had settled a few miles to the southeast of the others. The nucleus of settlement was on Four-Mile Creek and the Evangelical Ministers so labeled this appointment, but the people in 1867 christened their organization Emmanuel.

In 1888, two years after the town of Bern was founded, an Evangelical "class" was organized in it; the church in town prospered and absorbed Emmanuel, which was only a mile and a half away.

Bern came into being only with the advent of the Rock Island Railroad in 1886. There was a sharp struggle over the name. Three of the appellations proposed, Lehman, Basel, and Bern, reflected the origin of most of the people. The post office department tried Taylor and Collins before capitulating to Bern. In population Bern has never been large, never enumerated separately from the township in state censuses, in federal censuses listed thus: 323 in 1920, 236 in 1940, 206 in 1960. When Tennal's History of Nemaha County was published in 1916 the town boasted of its lively business. Not all the business men were German or Swiss but many were, and the building erected by the Turnverein, over which Jacob Spring presided, was of imposing proportions. The only church in the town itself was that of the Evangelical Association, though the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, 2 miles to the Southwest was still in existence. The Lutherans had numbered 112 souls in 1895. The yearbook of 1910 claims only 20 and notes "Wegzug", that is, "exodus". The stresses of the First World War were evidently too much for the group, for the organization soon disappeared.

The Evangelical Association Church was listed in the 1895 census as numbering 40, which probably meant the number of voting males so that the number of souls was greater than 150. The congregation was wealthy enough to erect an \$11000 church after a fire in 1918. In 1948 it had 189 members. The large Swiss membership differentiated the Bern congregation from that of most other Evangelical Association churches, for the members of that

denomination were usually of Penn-German^{or} north German extraction. The linguistic evolution of the congregation was such that by 1915 it could have as pastor G. W. Landis, a young man more at home in English than in German, and German services appear to have ceased in 1918. Inscriptions in the cemetery used by the members of the Evangelical Church in early years (1875-1915) are in English except for three cases, women who are commemorated in German in 1881, 1889, 1899. Susanna Gugelman has the German inscription of 1899; that of her husband, Samuel, is in English; he died in 1901. Pioneering Catherine Lehman received an English inscription in 1882. The linguistic atmosphere of the town of Bern just before the First World War was cheerfully bilingual; people brought up there born before 1912 have a Germanic accent in English. With the war the use of German became difficult, and when the time of toleration returned its use was regarded as a sign of age and backwardness.

There were in 1870 in Washington township no foreign born Swiss whose surnames appear in the cemetery of the Apostolic Christians, but the immigration had begun by the next year. At least Mathias and probably Christian Strahm (1829-1886) arrived from Indiana in 1871.

Both Matthew and Christian Strahm are in the census of 1875. The 1887 Platbook records two sons of Matthew, Tobias (1858-1917) and Matthew, Jr. (1847-1917), as having arrived in 1871. The Strahm families probably came together. Nicholas Bieri (1847-1923) is recorded by Tennal (p. 618) as arriving in 1871 and moving to Nebraska in 1882 returning in 1887. He does not appear in the census of 1875, therefore probably went to Nebraska in 1872.

An earlier link perhaps exists in Abraham Nusbaum (born 1845 in Ohio). Tennal's article on his son Andrew says that Abraham "made one of the first settlements in Washington Township and developed a farm west of Bern. After some years he returned to Ohio" (he does not appear in the censuses of 1870 and 1875), thence he went to Wells County, Indiana where he married Susan Reisen (1846-1902) who is buried in the Apostolic Christian Cemetery. Andrew was born in Indiana in 1870, but brought up near Bern. His father, who seems not to have been an Apostolic Christian, quite possibly directed the first of this congregation to the district, for they too were from Indiana. Andrew Nusbaum became one of the merchants of Bern.

The settlement did not at first grow rapidly. With the Strahms, the only Apostolic Christian families present in 1875 were the families of Jacob (1834-1895) and John Meyer, from Indiana like the Strahms. But between 1875 and 1880 these few were joined by a number of others so that by then the community was thriving. By 1887 in Washington Township, that is, Township 1, Range 13, the Apostolic Christians held most of the southern half and fringes beyond. The Bern Church by tradition was organized in 1876, though the first entry in its records was made in 1880. It was so prosperous that in 1895 when hard times were barely at an end it built a church, very large for its constituency. Almost everyone was of Swiss origin. In 1882 the settlement received John Plattner /chl6 T413, born in Basel, Switzerland, in 1853, who was one of a group that arrived then. He became immediately a pastor of the Apostolic Christian Congregation, and remained so for at least 34 years. He had come to the Apostolic Christian settlements near Peoria, Illinois in 1873. The Strahms and the Plattners came from the two principal sources of settlement in the United States, Indiana and the Peoria region. Others, (Adolph Marti, 1849-19, here 1875, Jacob Wittmer, 1823-1902, here 1892) came from

Elgin and West Union Branch, Iowa (61, 12). All those so far mentioned, like the majority of the congregation were Swiss, but there was also a South German element with dialects appreciably different. They settled largely to the east of the others.

Toward the end of the 19th century part of the congregation established themselves in the town of Sabetha, and an Apostolic Christian Church was founded there in 1907. The church in town increased in importance with the passage of time, but both churches remained prosperous enough so that after mid century they replaced good structures by large new churches (country 1956, town 1961).

The language of church and family until 1917 was uniformly German, normally in dialectal form. The social habits of the group explain this universality. Tennal said in 1916 "The Amish Church [i.e. Apostolic Christian--this is one of the sects sometimes called Amish] is very much like a big family. They go to church early in the morning on Sundays. They remain there and eat their lunch, have church again in the afternoon and then go home. The Amish never forget their relatives in the old country. Every few weeks some one sends over to his native land for some relative left behind. When they arrive the entire Amish community gathers in the church to welcome them and give thanks for their safe arrival" /chl6: 313. The church-going habits have remained the same, and while there are no new immigrants, visits to Switzerland have not died out. The linguistic shift that began in 1917 was not caused exclusively by the stresses of the First World War as in some communities. It was already becoming apparent that children starting to school might have an easier first year if they

16286
162C

knew English. And those who were already in school began to require preaching in English about this time. However, sermons in German continued until a year or so before the death of the Rev. Locher in 1949. Even he, however, preached partly in English. In 1942 half of the sermons were in German. In Sabetha preaching in German continued until just before the Second World War.

At home, families with growing children seldom used German after the First World War, though children born before 1925 heard enough German to learn to understand it.

Families which had established the use of German as their medium of communication did not abandon it easily, however; in 1962 certain families still employed it habitually. In them the youngest members were born by 1914, and most of the speakers were born before 1890.

In the 20th century the severity of the mores of the Apostolic Christians led to some of the young leaving the church. A number of these dissidents have joined the E. U. B. church which therefore came to represent the whole community. Among its older members, particularly of this stock, the use of a few German expressions as a sign of camaraderie persisted in 1962.

Seneca-St. Benedict Germans (U-Hi, Area C). For the beginnings in 1857 see /tkl81. This Catholic settlement spread in every direction except toward Bern. The process is thus described in the parish history of Baileyville: "The farmers hereabout loved broad acres. . . . Parents had the ambition to give their children a start and thus an eighty was

added to an eighty and a quarter to a quarter. The children of course helped to pay for the land. . . . Every reason then that these parishes should expand in ever widening circles; farms should be bought closer and closer to Kelly and Baileyville" /lp A:33. The writer might have added Corning, Centralia, Axtell, and St. Bridget. Baileyville's farmers participated in the later outspread. Baileyville was not originally a Catholic village. In 1909 it held but one Catholic family; the next year their organization dropped "down into Baileyville like a bee into a strange beehive." St. Bridget was taken over not by a Catholic invasion but by buying out the original Irish Catholics. Kelly, despite its name, probably bestowed upon it by the railroad of 1887, seems to have had no significant Irish element at any time. Its first postmaster named in 1887 was Abram Funk. There were Germans in the neighborhood

from quite early, and among them Catholics, later of Kelly parish, in 1881 and 1888 (Eisenbarth, B. H. Rottinghaus /ch16:4680, 488). There was, however, no Catholic parish until 1902. Seven out of nine of its founding families were German. At least two of them (Rottinghaus and Ketter /ch16:488; 675) had spent two decades near St. Benedict. At Corning there was an early Irish element. Half of the building committee in 1892 was Irish, and the German half was not from the St. Benedict area. The building committee of 1929 was all German; at least one of its three members was closely connected with St. Benedict. The parish of origin was aware of its hegemony. Its Centennial Souvenir of 1959 said: "The nationality has settled down to people of predominantly German extraction. . . . Practically all are land-owners and have enough land so that when their children are grown up and ready to start their own families, these children have been able to live on one of their father's farms. It is only in recent years that some of the young men have had to move out of the community to start elsewhere" (p. 13). In 1958 the parish counted 117 families and 603 souls. One third of those souls were attending the local schools.

Seneca became the residence of part of the small fraction of the St. Benedict Germans who chose occupations other than farming and ^{was} also a common place of retirement. There were also some Germans attracted from elsewhere by the opportunities of trading with Germans. They were already partially Engl-ized. The original non-German stock of the town was never obliterated. Still, a young informant from the town with only one German grandparent said in 1949, "There is a slight German element around the community which has caused some 'Dutchy' speech." The Germans of 1925 were, it seems, loath to give data on their background; 73 persons then said they were born in Germany

but only 12 answered the question as to when they arrived in the United States, nine before 1890, three after 1900.

Benedictine immigration was stimulated by effort. "In 1878 and 1879 Father Emmanuel advertised the place to a great extent by sending articles to different Catholic papers. . . . At the beginning of 1880 there were here about 60 families" (Centennial Souvenir 6). The European area furnishing most of St. Benedict's immigrants was Oldenburg; there were some from other predominantly Catholic areas, but the south Germans were few: the Westphalians outnumbered them, and so did Rhinelanders from near Luxemburg.

The old parish was no more linguistically conservative, perhaps less so, than some of the daughter parishes. Preaching in German at St. Benedict went on into the 1920's at one mass. Germans could then be heard on the streets. By 1949 no public use persisted; the active generation was not using its German. In 1964 a dozen persons were still currently speaking German. Those aged sixty-five or over were capable of doing so.

Seneca, as usual with places favored by those retiring, was at once more advanced and more conservative.

At Kelly, German sermons went on until the time of the Second World War for half of the masses. German was more commonly heard there than elsewhere in the district in 1950. But in the families living in the village the children were saying to their parents "Talk United States" in the 1890's. The developments at Baileyville are well recounted in the parish history. When the parish was created in 1910, "most of its members constituted an American generation; if they were not American they had learned English quite well. However, many clung to the German language and ways. A belief was present that religious faith was bound up with language and customs,

that the loss of the tongue of the fathers would quickly be followed by the loss of the faith of the fathers. . . . There was some ground for this contention, for as long as German remained the vehicle of conversation at home and at social gatherings, the language in which they learned their catechism, prayed and sang, they would live in isolation. They would associate with the non-Catholic Americans only as much as necessary. Mixed marriages came not into question. Furthermore the tendency of the younger generation to cities, which has weakened so many Irish communities, was hardly felt The language question had been discussed at the first meeting of the parish-ioners, and the parish representatives who waited on the Bishop impressed upon him the need of a German-speaking priest. As long as the conditions required it, the parish desired sermons and prayers in German and English ~~n~~ on a 50-50 basis"/1p4337". Conditions went on so until 1920 with a priest anxious to carry out the program. He was suddenly removed, and after he was gone there remained hostility toward him, even after he died in 1925. His successor, the author of the history, came to Baileyville with episcopal directions to use German as much as seemed necessary. He made a preliminary survey, and found: "Three or four old ladies could not understand or speak English readily. About two dozen claimed to understand German better than English. Whereas about 150 stated that they understood both languages equally well. . . . I promised for the time to preach a German service twice a month and to say the prayers about half and half. . . . As slowly German was being abandoned in the neighboring parishes, there was less clamor for it in Baileyville. With the beginning of 1930 German was preached only once a month and the next year it was dropped altogether. . . . Very little was said. All people of judgment realize that German is a waste of

time and energy" /lpA:38-53 . In 1942 some of the old were still addressed in German. In 1949 in 150 families there were some 20 persons who wished to confess in German.

Language of Inscriptions in Cemetery at St. Benedict
(Excluding 45 Persons with English Names, Only 5 of Whom Died before 1900)

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1872-79	3	3	50%
1880-89	12	12	50%
1890-99	18	16	47%
1900-09	21	28	57%
1910-19	22	20	48%
1920-29	65	9	12%
1930-39	19	1	5%
1940-49	23	1	4%

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Germany and
Resident in Marion, Richmond, and Mitchell Townships

1868-1871	7	1886-1890	20	1901-1904	27
1876-1880	15	1891-1894	24	1908-1909	2
1881-1885	32	1896-1900	10	1911-1913	3
				1923-1924	10

Granada Germans (Low-x, Area D). Granada, originally Pleasant Spring, was on "the old freight route to Denver" /a963 in the northeast corner of the township (12-4-14). It therefore drew population early. With the building of railroads that passed it by, it disappeared. Because of its origin its early inhabitants were of various stocks, and Germans did not have outright dominance of the area. They were among the earliest arrivals, however;

Jacob Geyer born in Baden in 1830 appears in the 1860 census with a child three born in Kansas and one five born in Iowa. He had come to Iowa in 1851, to Granada in 1856 /ch16#734. Chas. Liebig, born 1814 in Baden, specifically at Kork across from Strassburg, is also in the 1860 census with grown German-born children. Both families became permanent residents. Other Protestant Germans partly from the same area, joined them, and mostly became Methodist. There were also Penn-Germans; a Church of the Brethren had 111 members in 1957. Early Catholics were the Pfrangs, and Catholics ultimately became strong in the area. The Pfrangs were conservative linguistically, and so were some of the Protestants. In 1918 those connected with German families could at least understand German. There were families using German habitually even after that date, and persons proficient in German were still to be found in the 1950's.

Sabetha and Vicinity (Low-y, Area F). Sabetha, besides accumulating the Apostolic Christians from the west, also other Swiss, was the shopping center for a considerable Penn-German settlements to the north somewhat connected with those in Brown County. The Church of the Brethren has congregations in town and to the north. In the first decade of this century Penn-German was abandoned when children entered school. There were Germans in the Sabetha neighborhood in territorial times, Wesmand by 1857, Althouse by 1859. In 1874 there was a Reformed Church in town, 30 members in 1882. The Apostolic Christian Church was organized in 1907 by those who had retired from the district treated under Bern. German was common in the first years, and about 1930 was still heard too often for the tastes of some of the members. Its use in preaching was a matter of debate for another dozen years. Then, at least for a time, those who wished to worship in German were a separate

congregation. In 1949 once in a great while there was a short exhortation in German. Informants of 1942 noted in other groups a number of cases in which German was used with the old. In 1949 a young man, while protesting that there was no foreign language influence in Sabetha, stated that two of his four German grandparents spoke German.

13A1

48.63 NEOSHO COUNTY E24

Chanute Swedes (Low-v, Area A). Swedes arrived in this area in 1868 before Chanute existed. Swede Center, six road miles northwest of present Chanute, identifiable today by the cemetery in the northwest corner of the county (se 2-27-17), was momentarily the focus. The development of the Vilas community (Wilson County Area A) turned part of the Swedish interests in that direction, and the founding of Chanute in 1870 with the coming of the railroad, made that town rather than the country community the center of our interest. The settlers of 1868 included a party of five men from Dalarne, at some distance northwest of Stockholm. They had come from Lawrence ~~18~~9. They were very shortly joined by another party from Nerike, in the center of Sweden at the latitude of Stockholm /~~1~~ and co3-1469. They had gathered in Iowa. The ~~people~~ from Nerike ultimately became more numerous, it seems. American letters brought many. They, and in general those whose interests tended toward Chanute, were mostly Baptists who had become established in that faith at least by the 1850's. We may name Anders Ahlquist (b. 1826) and Anders Nelson (1820-1896). A Baptist Church was organized with services in the country. But 1873 was a bad year and some Swedes went to Concordia and some to Iowa. There was a reorganization in 1880 and a church was built in the northwest part of Chanute in 1885; the Swedes live in that quarter of Chanute. The Swedes were in town by the time it was four months old, at least John Wimer, who became a real estate promoter; he was born in Karlstad, Vermland /co4-1753. The ministers of the Baptist Church until 1918, and particularly G. Blom, 1911-1918, were enthusiasts for the Swedish language. Lovene tells of the manner in which the language question was handled by the Baptists: "As the next pastor, A. E. Carlson, coming

from Arthur, Iowa, moves on this field, great changes take place. That same year, 1918, the Sunday School decide^s to use the English language, the evening services are conducted in the same language, and after some time only two Sunday services were held in Swedish. . . . The name of the church is changed from the Swedish Baptist Church to the Grant Avenue Baptist. . . . Such sweeping changes are generally accompanied with considerable difficulty, but with Christian love and wise leadership all went well" /110. The next pastor (1922-1925), however, saw the membership sink to 70, and in 1926 the pastor who accepted the call stipulated that there should be no more Swedish services. Throughout the community children were becoming desirous of using English by 1900; those born before 1910 learned to speak Swedish, but did not use it in their families. By 1953 Swedish was hardly used by those under 60 except occasionally for secrecy. For Chanute Mexicans see #47.73.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born
in Sweden and Resident in Chanute in 1925

1857-1864	2	1877	2	1888-1890	6
1867-1869	10	1880-1881	10	1891-1894	4
1870-1872	15	1883-1884	10	1907	1
1873-1875	1	1886-1887	5	none later	

Rollin Germans (Low-v, Area B). The German settler of 1867 was Wm. Miller, a Hanoverian, who came with his father-in-law, Ewing, to a farm located somewhat to the east of the area shown. He was probably well Englished, but in the district strictly speaking L. Burghart, born in France, presumably Alsace, with wife Mary born in Germany settled by 1869 or 1870. He was soon joined by a brother, similarly married. Carruth (216) remarks that this group was having "church service (Lutheran) in German"; no permanent organization developed. German was lost very early among these

people. At any rate one man born in 1887 learned very little German. His parents were immigrants.

Osage Mission Germans (Low-w, Area C). The name of the town at the site of the old mission became St. Paul in 1895. Before the Osages had moved, settlers came into the region. The Andreas-Cutler history records the biographies of Jacob Beechwood, born 1818 in France (presumably Alsace, since his wife was born in Baden, and his name in the 1870 census deciphers as Buchwald), and Stephen Beck, born in Baden with a Prussian (presumably Rhinelander) wife. They arrived in this area in 1865 /a831. Sebastian Groner born in Baden, with a Badenese wife arrived the next year /a832. The form of Beechwood's name indicates speedy Engl-izing. The Germans were strong enough in the parish so that there was a German sermon about once a month in the late 1880's, none later. There were some confessions in German up until about 1916. In 1949 there were a few old people capable of speaking German, but none was actually using it.

Parsons Germans (Mid-m, Area D). In 1867, Adam Spiess, born in Germany in 1838 settled 7 miles east of the site of Parsons. His wives were named Bell and Coffield, indicating little use of German in the family. Closer to Parsons there were Germans present by the time it was founded in 1870 (Geo. Sellmansburger by /ch01). Parsons was from the beginning a MK and T railroad town, and Germans gathered both in town and in the surrounding country. There was a Turnverein that expired about 1915. The Germans were mostly Catholics and in spite of a large Irish element in St. Patrick's established in 1872 they prevailed. The parish was in charge of the Jesuits till 1888; they sometimes provided German priests. The pastor from 1892-1916 was N. Neusius who preached in German every other Sunday. There were no

German sermons later. German in the home was common in the 1890's, but only immigrants, among whom there were some late arrivals, continued to speak German. At Ladore five miles to the northwest, Protestants became sufficiently strong so that a German Methodist Church was organized. After a short career it merged with the United Brethren.

For Parsons Mexicans see #47.93.

48.64 NESS COUNTY N15

Ransom Germans (Low-v, Area A) are of varied character. The people who were the first settlers were from Germany and the East Fringe, but of no specific group; there arrived ultimately Volgans both Catholic and Protestant; there were Mennonites from Switzerland, and there were Old Mennonites of Penn-German stock. C.F. Schreiber recorded in the Ness County atlas /ch06 that he arrived in 1879; the census shows that in 1905 he was 31 years old and born in Austria. There were other Schreibers; the oldest were Frank (1820-1902) and Josephine (1836-1904) who lie in the Catholic cemetery. The Catholics did not immediately become very strong. They built a small church in 1900, but were still a mission in 1915. Their population was strengthened by the Volgans who came after 1905 almost direct from Russia. The Protestant Volgans are an overflow of late arrivals to the Lutheran Trego Center settlement to the north (Trego, Area E). In 1949 Volgans and their descendants were reputed to be currently using German. Not all Germans were church affiliated; this was the case of Senator Schoepel, mother Bohemian German, father son of an immigrant to Indiana. Some of the Germans were from as far to the northwest as Schleswig where anti-ecclesiastics were not uncommon. With no religious center to ~~encourage~~ encourage cohesion Reich Germans did not persist in using German. The Mennonites from Switzerland spied out the

164 AB

land in 1885 and arrived the next year; they settled mostly to the south of town. They had been in Gentry County, Missouri, since 1876 where they were "dissatisfied with their damp low land" /ch55:483, probably in the flood plain of the Grand River. They seem to be the same group that Smith says came to Pulaski, Iowa (61-73) in 1873 /ss572. The leaders of the group were Abraham Ummel (1851-1921) and Jacob Aeby (b. 1844). Services among these Mennonites who were joined by certain Lutherans /me, Aeby had been Reformed, -- were exclusively in German till 1912 when an English Sunday School began; services in German ceased altogether with Ummel's death in 1921. Now one else could preach in High German. By 1953 all forms of German had been abandoned by the group; the members of the church board were unable to speak it. Among the Penn-Germans, the Old Mennonite's preacher, E. M. Shellenberger, was from the area around Freeport, Ill. (60-101) and presumably other families were from that region. Connections with the Old Mennonites at West Liberty, McPherson County (Area C) were maintained until 1925. The use of "Dutch" seems to have ended early with these people. To the northwest in the next township there was an Amish settlement of 12 families from about 1893 to 1913 /ch55:482; among them the use of German was probably habitual.

Utica Germans (Lowest, Area B). There were settlers in this area by 1879 but no Germans till 1886. The infiltration of Volgans was mainly north of this area. These people were largely Reich Germans. The settlement did not become strong enough to encourage preservation of German.

Bazine Russian Germans (Hi-d, Area C)

This settlement is Protestant Volga German. "In 1900 the first four families came from Russell and Rush County and settled near Bazine in Ness County" /sa36.

The first ones [Russian Germans] came soon after 1900 and settled around Bazine... they did not come directly from Russia but from earlier settlements around Claflin, Russell, and Bushton, Kansas, which had been made in the '70's. First among these were Adam Borger and Henry Schroeder followed by Frank Stieben and A. Kindsvater. In 1904, the Rein, Mehler, Foos, and many other families came /ch55:84.

Adam Borger was born near Milberger in Russell County in 1885, the son of Reinhardt (1851-1936) who is buried at Bazine. Presumably it was all Reinhardt's family that moved to Ness County in 1900; since Adam was fifteen years old at the time, he probably did not come alone. Henry (1875-1925) and George Henry (1862-1931) Schroeder and Franz Stieben (1856-1926) are buried at Bazine. Franz was in Bazine Township in 1905; he came to Kansas from Russia between 1883 and 1890. George Kindsvater (1854-1926) is buried at Bazine, and was also in Bazine Township in 1905 (none of his children then had the initial A). Representatives of the other three families that Mrs. Milbrook mentions were in the 1905 census and are buried in the cemetery. The Foos family are numerous at Bazine; the first-comer was Andrew (1860-1940) in Kansas by 1892; nine other Fooses born between 1860 and 1880 are buried at Bazine. Though it appears that we must accept 1900 as the year of origin of their settlement, there were two families of Russian Germans in the area in 1895. In 1905 there were 137 foreign-born in the group; with them lived 86 children; 1915: 514, 230. Eighty-five percent of the families present in the settlement in 1905 had arrived in Kansas after 1890. A third of the immigrants had left

Russia after 1899, that is, they had come directly or almost directly to Bazine. After the close of the Russo-Japanese War particularly in the period of anxiety just before the beginning of the First World War in 1914, the families which account for the great growth of the settlement between 1905 and 1915 arrived direct from Russia. A number of people originated in the villages of Husenbach and Merkel, a smaller number from Walter and Eckheim (on map 71, 29; the others are on the Bergseite, Husenbach is at the south end of the most western frontier, that is, some distance to the west of 41; Merkel is on the Medvitsa River at the northwestern corner of the area outlined in broken lines. Walter is just east of Kratzke, No. 40). The immigrants who came to Bazine were thus predominantly from the settlements in Russia established after the middle of the nineteenth century, the restless sons of those who had been restless a generation earlier.

Bazine was not the creation of the Russians. Its history began about 1878; there was a boomlet when the railroad came in 1887 and almost complete erasure during the hard times of the 1890's. The Volgans found the commercial life so prostrate that they could enter into it immediately. "J. J. Schenkel established a store in the early 1900's that had operated over fifty years," says Mrs. Millbrook /ch55:272. John Schenkel (1848-1913), his son J. J. (b. 1876) and his wife, all born in Russia were living in Bazine in 1905 with two children of J. J.'s, born in Kansas; they were four years old and two years old.

The Statistical Yearbook of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, did not claim a congregation at Bazine in 1906. Ott, in his history of

1907, lists Bazine with the congregations of the Missouri Synod as having 82 communicant members, that is approximately 150 souls. The yearbook of 1916 lists Bazine, 146 souls. Its church, St. Luke's, had 143 souls in 1948; German disappeared from its services by 1950. The American Lutheran Church, originally Iowa Synod, was in little better position; it had an official membership of 89 souls in 1950 and about fifteen attenders in 1953. It too had primarily English services, German occasionally, in 1949. Neither of these churches list a year of organization, probably because each of its old members felt that the group that he happened to be worshipping with in early days was the originating body. The early comers to the town came from communities in Russia where in addition to belonging to the very large, imperfectly served "Lutheran" official churches the people were frequently part of small pietistic groups that met in the houses of their members. Such groups seem to have served as the only church organization among the settlers at Bazine until 1906 or 1907. Organizations that extended beyond the community meant little to them. Within the community they were frequently uniting or splitting or shifting membership.

"The German Evangelical Lutheran Congregationalists" are everywhere persons that belonged to pietistic groups like those described above or their descendants. Of the fourteen churches of this denomination that once existed in Kansas, only two are left, Bazine and Dighton (Area G). (For an extinct example see Herndon Hungarian Germans.) St. Paul's, the Bazine church, was organized in 1907. In 1937 there were 131 members /ei. It remained completely German until 1950. It therefore attracted the older generation away from other churches, and lost the younger. In 1953 it had

few members between thirty and forty years old. "People of that age," one of the old men remarked in 1949, "understand German preaching better, but prefer English." In 1953 preaching at St. Paul's was more German than English, but there were "double-headers" on Sunday morning. The records were entirely in German until January 1953; then became English. Business meetings were bilingual. Baptisms were German, but confirmations were English. In 1961 German services were dropped. In 1964 there were people aged 90 or older unable to speak English, dependent on pastoral visits for their religion.

The German Methodist Church was organized at about the same time as, perhaps a little earlier than, the Congregationalist. It built a church, which until very recently was the largest in town, and labeled it over the doorway: "Deutsche Ev. Meth. Bischofskirche." Its Engl-izing began with the First World War and became complete upon its merger with the English Methodist Church, which had been organized years before the arrival of the Volgans. The nostalgia for German was not abolished, however, from the old, and in 1953 Methodist ministers were sharing with German-speaking colleagues in other churches the conduct of funeral services upon the death of certain Methodists. Evangelistic denominations have their appeal at Bazine, and several have a history there. The Seventh Day Adventists who are linguistically conservative and were among the early churches, continue on.

Persons born after 1940 rarely learned more than a very little German although most of them understand it. Couples born after their parents' arrival in the United States were seldom using German with each other in 1953. When their parents were living they even conversed sometimes in

English with brothers and sisters in the presence of their fathers and mothers. At least so it seemed to the parents, though small children may have had the impression that the same conversation was going on in German. Children born after 1955 knew practically no German at all in 1964. People born before the First World War, however, were taking it for granted that all of "theirs" were bilingual. The incidence of German speech was high because so many of the young were leaving the community.

Ness City Territory Germans (Low-x, Area D). There were men with German names in Ness City and its vicinity from the time that the town was founded in 1878, but the important German speaking population began to appear about 1910. They were Volgans, and a reliable estimate of 1949 placed 95% of them as Catholics with connections in Ellis County, most often at Munjor. The rest were Protestants who had come from Rush County or from Bazine close by. The Volgans took over the south part of town. In 1942 they were reported to be using German in buying and selling, in small social groups and especially to old people. In 1949 German was seldom used except to the old. Persons in their thirties and forties knew how to speak German, but did not do so among themselves habitually. Their children rarely knew German. In 1964 the people who knew it in 1949 had had enough practice with the old so that they were still proficient, and a few of the old immigrants were still to be found. There was little difference between the Catholic and Protestant Volgans in this respect. A noteworthy Reich German element in town maintained their ability to speak German as long as it was profitable to do so with the Russians.

Nonchalanta Germans (Lowest, Area E). The Petersillies were in the eastern part of this area in 1878 /ch06. They and the Switzers, who arrived about 1883 have members of their families buried in the city cemetery at Ness. Protestants in general seem to have been from the first oriented toward Ness City though some Germans were members of a Methodist Church that collapsed. The Ferckings, Catholics from Westphalia, were near the town before 1880; Louis established himself in the Nonchalanta area in 1902. It was then that the little Catholic Church, Saint Ignatius, was built. Its chief supporters were the Fehrenbachs who had settled in 1892 (Konrad 1846-1930, Agatha 1855-1926; Florian 1843-1916). They were from Freiburg in southwestern Baden. The German inflation of 1923 brought at least 5 persons. The early immigrants required those living with them to use German, but their children, though they had learned the language, abandoned it upon the

death of the old. At the church until 1949 the Gospel was read in German and even after 1939 the Capuchins provided an occasional sermon in German. There had been a penetration of Catholic Volgans.

High Point Germans (Low-w, Area F). Three Swiss families settled in High Point Township in 1878, those of Gottfried (1850-1906) and Gottlieb (1852-1934) Kueffer and Alfred (1875-1947) Antenen. These men and their wives are buried in the High Point Baptist cemetery. There were other Swiss and a few Reich Germans. The earliest inscription in this cemetery bearing a German name is that of Henry Wybrant (1844-1883). The spelling of his name suggests a Penn-German background. Most names are English and the inference is that the Swiss were soon Engl-ized. The Baptist Church ceased functioning about 1945. Protestant speakers of German at High Point were in this century mainly the Volgans spread from the Bazine settlement. In the Catholic Church, St. Johns, Volgans from the Ellis County settlement appeared. The original Catholic nucleus appears to have been mainly Irish, though one or two names indicate the presence of Reich Germans. The Irish have been mostly displaced. In 1953 the one Irish boy at school, aged ca. 11 years, found that his schoolmates generally knew a few words of German. Two or three old ladies, one born in 1865, knew no English. Their sons and daughters habitually spoke English to those outside their group. In 1953 little talk in German occurred after church, but this was a late development. There was in 1953 no longer preaching in German at St. John's Church built 1914. The Capuchins were in charge here as at Nonchalanta, and had preached sometimes in German.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Russia and Resident in High Point Township in 1925

1876-1880	13	1896-1900	29	1906-1910	20
1885-1895	8	1901-1904	11	1911-1914	22
				1920	2

648
357

There were also four Swiss who had come to this country in 1877 and 1878, one German from Germany who had arrived in 1924 and six who had come between 1878 and 1888.

Southeast Lane Russian Germans (Lowest, Area G). The patrons of the Lane County Atlas of 1920 included for Township 19, Range 27, J. Bahm who arrived in 1917, J. W. Beahm -- 1905 and S. Reifschneider 1905, all born in Russia /ch20. They were all Volgan congregationalists, one family from Saratov, others from Kutter. After meeting otherwise, they organized a church in 1919 which was served regularly by ministers till after 1933 and irregularly at least till 1953. The membership in 1937 was 38. The church was originally located 2-1/2 miles west and 3 south of Alamota. (6 miles west of the Ness County line and 5 or 6 south of K96). It does not appear on the Highway Department Map of 1940, and therefore must already have been moved to Dighton. To this town and to Bazine its aged members retired. Services in 1964 were carried on by lay ministers. The sons and daughters of immigrants were proficient in German unless born after 1925, but the younger ones spoke with difficulty. Even immigrants by 1953 were sometimes using English with their families.

48.65 NORTON COUNTY N1

Garfield Township Germans (Lowest, Area A). The 1917 Platbook records H. P. Drullinger as having arrived at the northeast corner of this district in 1891, but he does not appear to have initiated the Lutheran settlement here in question. Darius N. Bowers says that "among the first Lutherans to settle here was August Wegener [1868-1948] who came in 1906" /ch42-156. There were other arrivals in 1906 and 1907. In 1942 the group counted some 25 families. They came, Bowers says, from Nebraska, Illinois,

and eastern Kansas. Several names indicate North German origin. As a home language half of the settlement spoke a Low German dialect, the others a High German. They organized a Missouri Synod Church in 1907. Services were still half in German in 1938, but in 1940 German was completely abandoned. In the parochial school there was instruction in German until 1930. August Wegener was unrepentantly pro-German through two wars. He was a "master farmer" and acquired much land, but did not speak English. His children were bilingual. His grandchildren were not proficient in German. At about the time of his death the church was moved into town. In the early 1950's persons 20 years old used German with their parents. In 1967 the "old-timers" were still speaking German together.

Grant Township Germans (Low-x, Area B). "Conrad Straus, a jolly Dutchman" /ch94:79, settled 2 miles east of Almena in 1873. He became a hotel keeper known for his rich brogue in speaking English, accommodating enough in religion to shift from the Lutheran to the Christian church. He and his wife were south Germans. He was born in New Ulm in 1835 and emigrated in 1851. John A. Schesser, born in Holstein in 1842, came to the county in 1873 /ch94:116. He had been preaching as a Methodist and a Presbyterian and he continued to do so for some time. In 1875 he took a claim a little to the southeast of the area marked in Vol. I. Between 1881 and 1890 "thirteen German families came from Wisconsin and settled near him." They were still there in 1894.

Several of these families were Roeders who by family tradition arrived in 1878. Frederick (b. 1823) and Christina (b. 1820) Roeder came from Brandenburg, Germany to Brandon, Wisconsin some 15 miles west of Fond du Lac in 1867. Their three sons (born 1850, 1854, 1858) and a daughter (probably born 1844) ultimately founded families in the Kansas settlement. One of them, August, born 1854, married Anna Bach, born in Germany in 1868, of parents who had settled in the Stuttgart community. Anna was still speaking German in 1955 to her daughter Clara, born 1896. Clara answered her in English though she spoke German and learned to read and write it. She had seven brothers and sisters. Those born before 1905 learned to converse in German. By 1917 she and all her contemporaries were conversing with each other in English.

In 1881 the Evangelical Association had a mission, named Fair Haven, in the area /pz141, ch42:76, (post office at 36-2-21; 220, I, 3). Services exclusively in German took place until 1915 when the Germans united with an English Methodist congregation.

Except for the old, German was rare by 1915, and complete abandonment was hastened by the departure of most German families.

New Almelo-Lenora Germans (Low-v, Area C). German settlers appeared at New Almelo in 1878 (Stenger /ch94:78). In 1925 ten of the twelve ~~xxx~~ people born in Germany and resident in Almelo township said that they had come to the United States between 1879 and 1888; the other two arrived in 1915 and 1921. There were also two Luxemburgers who had come in 1912, two Swiss 1907; 1910. Father Augustin Reichert, born Heidelberg, Germany 1832, brought up in Ohio, in 1878 made New Almelo (called New because its Catholic establishment drew off the inhabitants of budding Almelo a little to the

65C

-1740-

east) the center of his missionary work in all northwestern Kansas. A few French Canadians arrived in the area, but Germans and Irish soon overwhelmed them. Both these nationalities furnished permanent stocks that eventually intermarried. Reichert labored in this vineyard for a decade; his successors were also German. The most important was Father J. B. Vornholt (1865-1951) who came to New Almelo in 1904 (monsignor 1930) and died in the community.

He had retired some years before. He was born in Everswinkel near Munster in Westphalia. Until 1902 German and English sermons alternated with the Sundays, though by 1900 the catechism was taught in English. "The Irish didn't mind some German used in the service, but they objected to all German."

The next step was to read the gospel in both German and English and many times to have two sermons, one in each language." In 1924 preaching in German was dropped, but the gospel continued to be read in German until about 1946 when Father Vornholt completely retired. He was definitely a conservative linguistic force; he kept up his relations with Westphalia all his life, and he heard confessions in German at least until 1949. In 1908 he revived a parochial school that had closed because of small attendance and taught it himself until 1917; the regular program was English in "school" hours, but there was instruction in German at other hours during those years. New Almelo was known in the surrounding country for its strong local patriotism and the splendor of its church celebrations. Most children of German parents learned German until the First World War, few afterward. Those young in the post-war period heard German so often, however that the young men who served in Germany during the occupation after the Second World War learned German easily. In 1967 a few old people still knew German, but a woman of that stock, born in

the 1880's in the community, had difficulty recalling her vocabulary. Such persons ceased using German altogether about 1945.

The family tradition of the Austerman family was that the father came from Westphalia to Illinois in 1877 and went on to Kansas in 1884 to homestead near New Almelo. The census of 1885 does not show him and the 1917 Platbook says that J. H. Austerman arrived in 1886. In that year his bride arrived from Westphalia. Their two oldest children, born in 1887 and 1888 knew no English on going to school; these older children taught it to their younger brothers and sisters. The youngest, born in 1900, did not acquire German so firmly as to have it ready for use in 1955. Only the two oldest learned to read and write German. Henry, born in 1888, married Melanie Klein, born 1896, who came directly from Germany with her parents in 1905. Her mother spoke only German for many years. Henry and Melanie's first born arrived in 1917 and learned to speak German at home, the next two, 1920 and 1922 to understand it; the youngest born 1925 acquired almost none till he served abroad. Two daughters-in-laws, sisters, were using German once in a while to each other in 1955, but none of seven grandchildren knew any German.

Densmore Germans (Lowest, Area D) are "a small and scattered group of German Catholics who settled in the 1880's and 1890's." They live mainly to the east of Densmore and were as much oriented toward the Catholic Church at Logan as to the one at Densmore. Both churches were missions of Cawker City in 1900, and Logan had the resident priest in 1915 and later -- at least till 1960. German played no part in church services. German was used only by immigrants in their families. John Kitzke married a Glennemeier in 1903. Both were the children of immigrants. He had lately come from Ohio, and she had lived at home till she was 29. They spoke partly German

to each other and to their children until 1917; the latter never became expert and later avoided the language. The war and Mr. Kitzke's shift from farming to commerce in Densmore caused the shift. The Catholic church did have one effect conservative of German. In 1928 it attracted from Ellis County the Bittel family, Russian Germans who had spoken German habitually all their lives. The parents, a son and daughter of immigrants, were married in 1897. All their children but one son married in the stock, and the grandchildren learned to speak German. In 1955 the family of Peter Bittel, children as well as parents, that is, great-grandchildren of immigrants, were frequently speaking German at home.

The community was, however, never German speaking and the Reich Germans did not use it at home after 1917; in most cases they abandoned it earlier.

South Almena Scandinavians (Lowest, unlisted Area). This scattered group contained in 1895 14 Norwegians with whom lived 27 children and 15 Danes with 21 children. The most nearly concentrated area was in Almena township near the city, but the point^{of} origin was to the south. The Danes attracted more attention than the Norwegians, but the latter became permanent earlier. The 1875-1885 censuses record the presence of O. M. Dannevik (1829-1894) /ch94:96&286 and Ed Hooverson (b. 1840). Major Dannevik who was active during the Indian troubles on the Solomon was in the area in 1872 and returned in 1873. He had been a sailor and a wanderer, in the United States since 1852. His wife had relatives near St. Joseph in Buchanan County and he was attracted there, moving into the Doniphan County Norwegian settlement as the Civil War broke out. A Dane, Peter Hansen, was in this area as early; he 'opened the first farm in 1872' /ag78,341, but he

established himself in Logan in Phillips County in 1875. The Danes at this
western
^ end of the Central Branch kept in touch with the Danes at Waterville,
Marshall County. A 1942 report said that the very old in Norton County
were still using Danish.

48.66 OSAGE COUNTY E14

See Settlement Histories for Osage City Mining District (Mid-k, Area G),
West Osage Swedes (Hi-***, Area C) included, and Arvonnia Welsh (Mid-k, Area F).

Carbondale-Auburn-Scranton Germans (Low-w, Area A). Charles Rubow
(1830-1909) came from Mecklenburg, Germany, to Chicago in 1849, was there
a very short time, and then began to work as a wagonmaker. For a while he
plied his trade at the Santa Fe Trail Crossing on 110-Mile Creek southeast
of Scranton, (7-15-16). In 1857 he took a claim on 110 Creek and his brother Henry
(1825-1897) joined him shortly. Charles was a Lutheran, Henry became a
Catholic. The settlement that later developed at Carbondale is several
miles to the north, but Charles and his family had much to do with this
group. His second wife and mother of his children, Minnie Finn (1847-after
1925) born in Lillersdorf, Germany, came to the United States in 1856,
married 1865. The parents spoke German at home until their older children,
born 1866, 1868, 1869 were in school; then they abandoned it. The Scranton
Catholics, Irish and Germans, were not numerous and Henry Rubow is mentioned
by the parish history as being an arrival of the 1880's; he was probably a
Catholic through the influence of his wife Theresa, an Austrian. An early
German among these people was Franz Goebel (1824-1871) who appears in the
1860 census with a child, three, born in Kentucky. The German language
seems to have played no part in Catholic development; about half of the 25
families of 1885 were Irish.

66A2

At the other extremity of this area, near Auburn in Shawnee County, the Germans were the whole supporters of the St. Bartholomew's, but the number of families was less than at Scranton, never more than 6 or 7 ~~1A~~. Services were discontinued in 1935. Bartholomew Imgrund provided the funds for the church in 1890; previously he and his had attended at Scranton. Imgrund was born about 1832 at Kleinblanchenbach, Bavaria. He came to Bedford, Penn- sylvania about 1846 and so did his future wife Sophia Zeller, married 1854. They settled at Auburn in 1858. Other Germans who came here were well Engl- ized on arrival. The Imgrunds spoke German together all their lives. Their daughter Mary married a man, Thomas Slusser, who could also speak German, and they did so in their family until their children were in school. Their son, Tom, born 1890, knew no English on beginning his school career. He married an Irish girl and became completely Engl-ized.

The core of the north Osage County German settlement came to be in the area a little west of Carbondale. The group that became permanent settlers of this area began to arrive in 1868 or 1869 and continued coming until after 1880 . They had consciousness of being a group, but no religious institu- tion became dominant or even very seriously regarded. At least during the twentieth century the Farmer's Union was the rallying point, in no way con- sidered a German unit, but providing with its hall (2W, 1/2N of Carbondale) a focus of social gatherings. Among the first arrivals were the Kramers from Ohio; Gablers came from that state in 1871. J. J. Dietrich came from Peoria, Ill., and at least 3 families arriving later were from neighboring Pekin. J. J. Dietrich (1825-1915) was born at Eltville on the Rhine near Mainz, to New York 1853, soon to Peoria, here 1870. His son, August, born 1869, spoke German until his father's death, but he and his wife, Mary Gabler,

used German so infrequently that even their older children never became truly proficient; Ray, born 1899 learned to speak only a very little. The young Hergs and Wuerhles did not learn German. The children of several other families did, notably the Oberles. Fred Oberle (1846-1926) was born in Hesse Darmstadt. He came to the Carbondale district from Pekin, Illinois, in 1881; married Ottilia -- (1866-after 1954), who was born near Berlin. They used German together all their lives, and their children, numbering at least 9,

all were expected to answer them in German when addressed in German. The parents, however, fell into the habit of addressing the three born after 1905 more frequently in English. Of their grandchildren only one, born in 1927, learned any German.

The town of Carbondale played little part in the linguistic development of the Germans, for from 1869 when the Santa Fe railroad came through until about 1900 it was a coal mining town, and the Germans did not become miners. The Andreas-Cutler history locates two of them as merchants, Stoltzman from the Uckermark north of Berlin by way of Pekin, Ill., Shaefer from Coblenz on the Rhine at one time resident in La Salle County, Ill. /a1558.

The rural community seems to have exhibited a generally hospitable attitude toward bilingualism, but the habits of school and business finally invaded the most conservative homes.

Scranton Swedes (Low-v, Area B). The two groups designated in Volume I as B' and B'' (222, III) are virtually two settlements. Some intermarriage has taken place, but no more than with outside groups. The Fairfax Swedes, B'', the more eastern group, are the earlier, and are so called for a post office (SW 20-15-16) existing from 1871 to 1883, previously Lindale 1869-71. Charles Lindahl, a Swede appearing in the 1865 census, owned land just

1681

across the Creek. Lindahl was not the first Swede to settle; the Petersons were earlier, 1858 /tk176,kc19:254,265,a1554-55. No religious or cultural institution grew up among these ^{settlers} but they were conscious of their group existence. Their religious indifference kept them from amalgamating with Swedes to the west. This group was all made up of farmers. In 1954, there were still persons alive in it conversant with Swedish but these few were all born before 1885.

The second group became mainly rural, but all had a history of coal mining in addition. Besides the holdings represented in Volume I there were scattered farms acquired as the fortunes of coal mining allowed. The cultural center has been the Mission Covenant Church at Scranton. In his article in Strödda Drag on the Scranton Church, J. A. Alberg says: "Until 1880 there were no Swedes at all at Scranton. But at that time the immigration began to turn even out here. Particularly people from Västergötland came, most from Seglora, and they have developed as a majority. Between 1882 and 1892 many Swedes came, for then work in the coal mines was plentiful" /sd228. Two of the half dozen families represented in the charter membership of the church which began activity in 1886 were the Eklunds (Herman 1856-1942) and the Segelquists (John 1861-1937), Klauss, 1858-1952). Their names have remained numerous in the community. They were apparently joined by their parents, for the cemetery at Scranton contains the graves of Johannes (1829-1923) and Anna Kristina (1826-1889) Segelquist and of Peter (1833-1914) and Johanna (1831-1913) Eklund. The spiritual leaders of the group were ^{J.A. Alberg} ~~Gust~~ and Larson who eventually moved to Oklahoma and thereby became completely Englishized save on visits or in letters. "Out here in Oklahoma," he wrote, "there are no Swedes but I work [as a missionary] among the Americans" /sd232.

666

John August Alberg (1862-1932) was converted at Scranton in 1890. He became a merchant in town, and doubtless aided in holding the group together because of his residence in town and his continuous presence. Larson, like many Swedes of the period was a rolling-stone, came from Enterprise, was X frequently away on missionary activities, moved to and returned from Oklahoma, before finally settling there. During the 1880's when there were many Swedes in the mines the Mission Covenanters were a handful in a large body. With the decline of the mines they lost two-thirds of their membership. But the decrease as compared with that of the total of Scranton Swedes was small. The decline of coal mining which began in 1890 may be regarded as completed in 1920, though the last shaft did not close until 1964. The Swedish Mission Church did not introduce English until 1922; Swedish was abandoned for services in 1926 when a minister knowing none arrived. At Ladies Aid conversation in Swedish was common until 1942; songs in Swedish occasionally till after 1954. The longevity of the immigrants explains the persistence of Swedish in a community as small as this. Family usage is illustrated by two examples.

Ellen Carlson (Eklund) b. 1892 in Sweden. Father died there ca. 98. Mother, Selma, b. 1865, brought family to Scranton, 1900, where she married at once a widower, John A. Klarberg -- (1856-between 1919 and 1925), farmer and miner. Ellen married Oscar Eklund born here 1886 of Herman (1856-1942) and Margaret (1860-1946), immigrants, who came here shortly before Oscar's birth. Herman was also a miner and farmer (south of Scranton). All persons mentioned were members of Scranton Mission Covenant Church. Ellen still spoke Swedish in 1954 with her mother and -- for secrecy -- with her

husband. Their children -- oldest, Alfred, b. 1913 -- learned very little Swedish, their grandchildren none.

Peter A. Bogren (1860-1936) was reared in the village of Born in Vestergotland. He came to America in 1885 and after four years in the mines of Pennsylvania and working on the Lackawanna Canal he came to Scranton and its mines. He was chairman of the board of the Mission Covenanters in 1892-3. Exclusively a miner until he married and acquired a farm, first south, then one mile north of Scranton, in 1906; partly a miner thereafter. His wife, Selma J. Johanson (1870-1950), born in Viskafors, Vestergotland, in factories from childhood, came to Chicago in 1902 and to Scranton in 1906. Their children born after 1907 all learned to speak Swedish. Carl, the oldest, learned to write, his sister, Ethel, to read Swedish. Selma Bogren used Swedish with contemporary friends until her death in 1950. The grandchildren did not learn Swedish.

In 1954 at Scranton very old Swedes still spoke Swedish together, their children rarely except sometimes to their parents.

Vassar Germans (Low-v, Area D). In 1875 the Evangelical Association (EUB) organized a class at Vassar of six families, those of Storbeck, Kersten, Ulrich, Schindle, Ed and Henry Brecheisen /pz112. August Storbeck (F. A., 1832-1904) came in 1869 /ch79. He and Frederick Kersten (b. 1839), who arrived between 1869 and 1872, appear in the 1875 census as born in Germany, their wives too. The Brecheisens and Schindles (Schendel, Schindell) were presumably American born representatives of the same stock as settled at the Clearfield church in Douglas County. (The Vassar class was organized by the minister serving the Lawrence Circuit). There are other families that came from Douglas County. Among them were George (1859-1935) and

-1355-

Elizabeth (1856-1943) Scheid. They came from Germany in 1879 or 1880 to Douglas County and moved on to Vassar about 1887. Elizabeth never learned

to speak English. Their daughter Katie (1880-after 1955) married Carl Hubener (1878-1950) from Hanover in Germany, who ~~xx~~ had arrived in 1894. The Hubener children, born 1900 till after 1905, learned to speak German and remained proficient in 1955. They probably represented the most conservative element in the Evangelical congregation. The only German inscription in the cemetery is of 1902 (burial began in 1889). [¶]The Zion Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, counts 1894 as the date of its organization. The yearbook of 1890 however, records that Pastor Grabner was serving from Topeka 53 souls at Vassar. It seems that 2 miles north of Vassar where the Lutheran church stood at the turn of the century, there was first a Mount Zion Church that was unaffiliated. The cemetery contains graves from 1880 on. In the cemetery there is a section including about one-third of the graves; in it all names but Anderson are German. In the other section there are a few German names, some Swedish (including those of Fairfax Swedes) and a variety of English names. In the German section inscriptions go back to 1891 with the exception of those on one lot. On it Christian (1819-1902) and Elizabeth (1826-1881) Stockmann along with Fred 1888 are commemorated. The section also contains the inscriptions of two couples who are recorded as born in Germany in the census of 1875, Frederick (1818-1903) and Elizabeth (1817-1900) Mathias and William (1846-1926) and Louise (1848-1932) Wischropp. Inscriptions of 1891, 1892, 1896, and 1904 contain German. There are none in German later; those of 1881 and 1888 and two of 1900 are the earliest examples of English. In church services until the First World War, German was almost always employed, thereafter for ten years German half of the time, none later. The German influence was strengthened by the advent of people from the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans, Marshall

County. In 1949 Lutherans born in America before 1917 understood German; those born later did not.

Lyndon Danes (Low-x, Area E). Soren Pedersen (1844-1916) settled near Lyndon in 1869 /kc8:127. Christensen thus describes development: "At Lyndon, Osage County, a small group began to collect in 1869. It never consisted of more than 14 or 15 families. . . . These people belonged to that fraction of the Danish Lutheran Church called the Grundtvigian [like the people at Denmark, Kansas]. . . . A branch of the Grundtvigian nationalist organization in the United States, the Danish People's Society, existed for some time at Lyndon" /kc17:301. In 1925 the four Danes who said when they came to the United States recorded 1869, 1871, 1872, 1882. A Danish cemetery was established southeast of Lyndon. Two stones one of 1888 the other mutilated bear Danish inscriptions. About the end of the nineteenth century there was a Danish school for a short time. In the same period a minister sometimes preached in Danish at schoolhouses. In 1949 Peter Jochumson, born in 1881, said that use of Danish was "just a stunt now." He did not learn to speak Danish, though his sisters did. By then almost all the Danes had moved away.

Arvonian Welsh (Mid-k, Area F)

Special Bibliog.:

G - Green, C. R. Around Home Gossip

The reservation of the Sac and Fox Indians of Mississippi was extinguished in Kansas by a treaty proclaimed, July 25, 1868. Squatters had already begun to move in on the land, but the majority of it fell into the hands of "land sharks," "land speculators." In 1869 the speculators who had gained control of the southeast corner of Osage County were J. Mather Jones of Utica, New York, "the Welsh Capital of the United States", and Joseph F. Whitaker of Chicago. "They sent over to Wales and brought over a colony of Welsh people to settle around Arvonian" /G 14. This statement of C. R. Green reflects the opinion of neighboring settlers. "Over to Wales" is not to be taken quite literally, but Jones and Whittaker did set out to found a Welsh colony, and located the town of Arvonian where they thought a railroad line would pass through. The Santa Fe, however, built a few miles to the north, and Whitaker and Jones departed. The land agent who remained and identified himself with the colony was John Rees, born 1822, at Conway on the north shore of Wales /a 1550. There were others at Arvonian from the same town. He had been in New York City since 1842 and had just lost his wife in 1869 when he came to Kansas. The year after his arrival, he married for his second wife Margaret Jenkins Williams, born 1841, a widow with two small children newly from Wales. By November of 1869 the Rev. Hugh X. Hughes said, "We are to start building a stone chapel. It will be a united chapel of all denominations with everyone trying to forget his sect . . . The population is about 100 but hundreds of others are coming in the spring" /con 128. He had

written in July that there were two other preachers in the settlement and a "chapel" a-building. The Drych, the widely read Welsh journal, spoke well of Arvonnia /con 134, but against the colony was not only the disappointment as regards the railroad, but also the general belief soon current that the land was poor. The founders of Bala in Riley County were first in Osage County but departed because of "poor land." In January 1871 even before going to Bala, Henry Davies wrote to an editor in Wales concerning Arvonnia: "I would advise everyone to see for themselves before believing everything they see in the advertisements"/con 134. The people in Emporia spoke similarly: "The land sharks have bought some thousands of acres about 20 miles from Emporia and they have called it by the Welsh name of Arfonnia, but what is left after the land sharks have been there is pretty poor land" (a letter of 1870 by D W /con 30). This low opinion did not, however, furnish a lasting handicap to the growth of the settlement. The birth dates of children recorded in the 1885 census show that arrivals were common about 1872, and that others at that time had very recently reached the community. The census of 1925 shows that six Welsh inhabitants of Arvonnia Township came to the United States between 1881 and 1886, only one later (1904). The eleven other Welsh who recorded their year of arrival had immigrated between 1866 and 1869. In 1885 many of the children not natives of Kansas were born in Wales, but five families had children born in Pennsylvania, 3 in Illinois, 3 in Wisconsin, two in Ohio, one in Vermont. "Arvonnia was surveyed and settled by a company of Welsh from Utica N. Y." /ag78, but except in the case of J. Mather Jones, the statement seems unfounded,

although the center of propaganda was probably at Utica. Among those born in Wales the age groupings of adults, that is, persons living alone or as husband and wife, in 1885 was as follows:

Year of Birth	Number of persons	Year of Birth	Number of persons
1815-19	3	1845-9	39
1820-4	16	1850-4	22
1825-9	12	1855-9	16
1830-4	9	1860-4	23
1835-9	17	1865-9	5
1840-4	22		

This table shows an oldest generation most of whom were in their early sixties, a second generation nearly forty, and young people just past 20. The oldest generation was composed in part of parents who had come to join their children, in part of early men of importance like Rees. Another founder in this group was Evan Evans born 1820. The bulk of the population were people quite young when the settlement was founded. One of the men of 1869 of this generation was L. Humphrey, born 1835, another William O. Davies, born 1844, in Denbighshire on the north coast of Wales. John J. Davis, born 1841, came the next year. These people were still reproducing in 1885.

This population, most of whom were recently from Wales,^{fn}

^{fn}The settlement ultimately contained a few Welsh who had been born elsewhere in the United States. An example was William A. Jones born 1847 who came in 1877. He was born in Oneida County, New York (that is, the Utica neighborhood) and brought up from the age of six in Aurora, Illinois, where he worked 14 years in the Burlington shops before coming to Kansas. Though his wife too was of Welsh origin, they were doubtless one of the forces for anglicization. The names of their children indicate as much (Frank, Jessie, Arthur, LeRoy, Leon, Fred).

would naturally contain, as was actually the case, a majority of adults habitually speaking Welsh. Since almost no new accretions from Wales

arrived after that time, the forces for assimilation had free play.

The platbook of 1879 shows that the solid holdings of the Welsh were south and southeast of Arvonnia. Presumably the town was located where it was, partly in the hope that the Santa Fe railroad would be put through it, partly also to be on the banks of the Marais des Cygnes River, and perhaps too because the coal outcroppings were in that neighborhood. Coal stripping furnished to John Rees part of his income as entrepreneur and to others wages in the early years. Others worked independently; coal land sold for five dollars an acre /con 140. The Welsh after the first influx did not congregate closely, however, as the concentration bargraphs of Vol. I show. This fact made for faster Engl-izing.

Arvonnia as the cultural center of the Welsh of this area was without rival until about 1882 when the construction of the "Santa Fe cut-off" from Kansas City to Emporia gave rise to the town of Lebo.

Commercially Arvonnia started off with stores, a saw mill and cheese factories. With the early deflation some of these disappeared. However in 1879 Mrs. John Rees "opened a millinery and fancy store, which, upon being extended into general merchandise, increased the business so as to require his [Mr. Rees's] chief attention." Stores at Arvonnia continued for many years.

As regards churches Cutler-Andreas records: "There are three church organizations: The Welsh Congregational, Welsh Calvinist Methodist, and a Congregational Church, composed of Americans. The first two named societies have neat and substantial houses of worship" /a 1550. Services began as soon as the town was founded, for the Rev. J. M. Burrows was one of the town's founders. His successor was the Rev. William Thomas, born 1821, who was

there by 1878 and still incumbent in 1885. The Congregationalist Minister at that time was the Rev. David Todd Jones, born 1840. He was educated in Carmarthen, South Wales. "He served pastorates in Pennsylvania before coming west in 1884 to take charge of the Welsh Church in Arvonnia" (History of Sardis Church, Emporia, Kansas, p. 16)

The more important of the churches was the Calvinistic Methodist, which ultimately became Presbyterian. Its building was dedicated in 1878 / wms 242. Its pastor from 1926 until after 1949 was the Rev. W. W. Carnine, not of Welsh extraction himself. Preaching in the church was still all in Welsh in the early 1890's; it became exclusively English about 1918, but a Sunday school class conducted in Welsh lasted nearly a decade longer. A song in Welsh was customary at funerals until at least 1949. In the cemetery there are tombstones furnished with inscriptions in Welsh bearing dates as late as 1892.

One records in Welsh that Elizabeth Jones died in 1891 at the age of 65. On the same stone the inscription for her husband John Joseph Jones, 1822-1908 is in English.

For a number of years, 1870-1885, the regional Welsh festival and contest in singing, elocution, and writing of verse, i.e. the Eisteddfod, was held at Arvonnia, probably because of its central location between the settlements at Osage City and Emporia. After 1885 urban forces triumphed, but the public celebration of St. David's day on March 1 continued till 1945. The emphasis was on singing in Welsh. In 1874 David Protheroe wrote: "The Welsh here . . . have not forgotten their language. During the winter literary meetings are held when old and young develop their talents, composing, singing, dancing, etc." /con 142.

In 1949 not more than four or five persons were able to speak Welsh. They enjoyed a certain prestige on that account.

Downs Germans (Low-x, Area A). There was no settlement in Osborne County until 1870 /a934,ag78:350; Christian Baertsch, born in Switzerland in 1835, settled in that year; three years before, he had been in the land of his birth. Others, including H.C. Ise, born in 1842, were there by 1875. Ise settled on ne 18-6-11. Life in this settlement, as described by John Ise, born in 1885ⁱⁿ Sod and Stubble, put no stress on conservation of German. The preachers of the Evangelical Association were riding circuit there along with the rest of Osborne County. For their linguistic habits see the Mid-County Germans. Their efforts were particularly strong from 1885 to 1889 /pz170,201. The eventual outcome was the organization of the Rose Valley congregation on ne 7-6-11 northwest of Downs. The 9 persons born in Germany and resident in Ross Township in 1925 stated dates of arrival in the United States scattered between 1862 and 1893. Use of German habitually enough to make children proficient ceased about 1890.

Osborne Mid-County Germans (Low-x, Osborne B)

Special Bibliog.:

R - Ruede, Howard, Sod-House Days. Ed. John Ise. New York, 1937.

A very few settlers - the first comers - arrived in Osborne County in 1870. The Germans and Penn Germans appeared in the county the next spring. John Jacob Guyer settled then and in 1872 became the first postmaster of Kill Creek. He was born in Schwerzenbach, Switzerland, in 1840 /a939. Also in 1871, John Kaser settled 2 miles east of present Osborne. He represented Penn-German stock and furnished a rallying point. In the same year the city of Osborne was founded by "Thirty-five men from Berks and Lancaster Counties" (63,34,35). Their officers bore English names and most business men were not of German extraction, but the number of Penn-Germans in the area grew. Near Kaser the Schweitzers from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, settled and were hospitable to all of their stock. To the Kill Creek neighborhood also the Penn Germans came; Germans born in Europe too, for instance Aug. Hackerott born in Germany in 1826, to Iowa by 1859, to Kansas between 1872 and 1876. The Neuschwangers were there by 1877, for Howard Ruede from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, became acquainted with them in March of that year and wrote "Mr. N. is a Mennonite preacher. He and four of his children have their claims all in one body, and they all work together. Here are 800 acres all belonging to one family" /R 16. Henry Neuschwanger, born in Illinois in 1837, was not the patriarch; his wife was Anna born in Switzerland. Besides the Guyers other Swiss came to Kill Creek Township, Henry Ruthl and John Mischler for instance. With Hackerott there were Germans from Germany, the Heisers who had been in Nebraska, and Aug. Fritsche for instance. People with all these names were landholders near Kill Creek about 1940.

When Howard Ruede (1854-ca. 1922) came out in 1877 and took a claim 1 mile north of the Kill Creek post office, those with whom he associated the most frequently were the Schweitzers, the Neuschwangers, and the Snyders, Penn Germans who had the claim just east of his. But he was speaking of a larger group in his remarks on language. More than 40 German surnames born by settlers appear in letters home. He himself refused at first to speak German or "Dutch," but he understood it, inserted phrases into his letters, and he read German readily. His English was not without traces of German construction, for instance he says, "I have slept on the floor so much since I am in Kansas that I don't mind it" /R232. Such lapses were rare. His most general statement was, "The folks here all talk German more than English, but they can all get along, even if they cannot use the latter tongue very fluently. I talk English altogether and they may talk what they please" /R 31. He found later that not everyone was proficient in English. "This morning Mrs. Neuschwanger and Mary came up (to Snyders') to spend the day. I had a little hard time talking to them, because they don't understand English" /R 35. "There are a couple of things in which I am deficient--one is a lack of Dutch, and the other is cheek. Mrs. Snyder says she feels lonesome now that L(evin) and J(im) are gone. [L. and J. were comrades who had come to Kansas with him.] I am almost a nobody because I can't jabber Dutch, but all the family understand English" /R 35. Apparently young ladies did not at once reveal their full conversational powers, witness this passage:

"When I got to Neuschwanger's I stopped a bit to talk to Barbara, and she said she'd ride along . . . You better believe I didn't talk Dutch to her because I found out she could talk English. . . She is just like all the other girls I know--when you get 'em started they can talk well enough" /R 117-118.

This letter was written in July, and the implication is that by this time Howard Ruede had in spite of himself achieved a certain proficiency in "Dutch." German was used in sermons more frequently than not. The thirst for thoughtful discourse and religious fellowship was such that people traveled long hours to hear a sermon and listened sometimes for snatches through a window because the house was full. An example: "Last night we were down at Kasers' to meeting. There was an Evangelical preacher there and he was a preacher! He would begin in what he called English. . . ; by the time he got warmed up he would spit out Dutch as fast as he could work his tongue" /R87. The Evangelical Association was early active in the neighborhood. Sunday school at Kill Creek in 1872 furnished attenders for L. Wenger, an Evangelical preacher in 1874. Postmaster J. J. Guyer was one of them. John Bowers was serving in 1877 when a church was built. Howard Ruede says that Bowers "has the true German opera sing-song" /R 74. On one occasion, Ruede says, the word went through the neighborhood that there would be Mennonite services at Hackerotts'. They were extraordinarily well attended and turned out to be Lutheran. "The preacher wore a black surplice and white tie . . . The service was in German and was very long, but that did not tire us, for we were all used to rather long sermons . . . About 11 o'clock the Lutherans vacated the room and the Mennonites took over. Mr. Yoder, the Mennonite preacher, preached a very disconnected sermon in English, at the close of which Bish Neuschwanger made a few remarks in German" /R 237-238.

^{fn}A Lutheran church Kansas Synod was organized at Osborne in 1873, "but owing to inability to connect it with another church as a pastoral charge it could not support a pastor and soon lapsed" /ot 195. In the Kill Creek area a congregation of the Missouri Synod existed in an organized state from at least 1906 to 1916. There were 20 souls in 1916. The services were then half-English, half-German.

The Dunkards also held services in the neighborhood. Henry Landes, for whom Ruede worked for several months, was one of their preachers; he performed in English /R 90. The Dunkard activity eventually created the Victor Church of the Brethren (27 members in 1955). Howard Ruede himself was a "Moravian." A German-born member of his sect, Charles Herzog, did much for him when at various times he was in Osborne, where Herzog was a merchant. A Moravian minister, the Reverend Charles Steinfort and his wife, nee Freeman, appeared in Osborne in May, 1877, forerunner of a group to come from Northfield, Minnesota. Steinfort apparently preached in English and German both; his

sermon was in German on October 21 /R 169. The work flourished so that a church was organized in 1880, but by 1883 Steinfort and a successor who "was for a long time pastor" had both left and a new man was in charge (Ricksecker and Romiger) /a 935). No direct evidence is available concerning the disappearance of "Dutch" among the Penn Germans, but by analogy with similar communities of this stock, we may conclude that its use became rare by 1905. In families more recently arrived from Europe in the Kill Creek area the state of preaching in 1916 leads to the conclusion that German remained comparatively strong among them until the First World War.

Natoma Germans (Mid-n, Area C) are Lutherans, Missouri Synod. Wm.

Luhman (born 1855) arrived in 1875 /ch17; ~~at~~ and in this part of the county there seems to have been no earlier settlement. J. D. Pfortmiller (born 1826) settled in 1879 /ch17; at least from 1868 he had been in Minnesota, and appears to have been in Illinois in 1859. He and his wife were Hanoverians. Their grand children were still using German often enough so that a great grandson, born in 1925, learned to understand the language somewhat. An older brother knew no English on entering school. These lads' mother was the grandchild of Germans who had lived in Indiana.

St. John's Lutheran Church in the country was not organized till 1893; Immanuel in town was a filial church established in 1907. German sermons continued to be delivered in both for nearly the same length of time, till 1940 and 1941. By 1937 German services were infrequent. If the pastors at both churches had been proficient in German, there would still have been need for pastoral work in that language in 1949. But the need was for only the very old, and only those people or a few dealing with them were still adept. The 11 persons born in Germany and resident in Round Mound Township

who in 1925 stated the year of their arrival in the United States all came between 1881 and 1887.

Language of Inscriptions in the Cemetery
of St. John's Church, Natoma

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1880-9	3	0	0%
1890-9	3	3	50%
1900-9	9	5	36%
1910-9	10	2	17%
1920-9	18	1	5%
1930-9	14	3	18%

No German after 1941; the 3 of the 1930's all in 1936

48.68 OTTAWA COUNTY P6

Delphos Czechs (Mid-n, Area A). Joseph Boucek (1843-1915) and Joseph Cervený (born 1838) settled in this area between 1873 and 1876, probably 1875; their names remained common among these Czechs. In the 1880's the group became numerous. The oldest inscription in the Czech National Cemetery (on s 32-9-5) was for 1883; a smaller cemetery not far away contains Czech names with inscriptions of 1882 and 1883, perhaps one of 1876. In the National Cemetery, so labeled by a sign in English of about 1920, two stones of 1887, one of 1888 bear inscriptions in Czech, no others. About 1909 a chapter of ZCBJ was organized. Its Bohemian Hall built in 1937 was so labeled in English. It was built so that the young Czechs might be kept together, but by 1950 there was only an annual meeting of the lodge and very few dances occurred there, rather meetings to discuss public affairs. Religious interests among the Czechs of Delphos were as usual among Czechs;

in the 1950's six to twelve families attended the Catholic Church. Examples from the Kosar family illustrate the development of family linguistic usage. The family of Andrew (1849-1892) and Theresa (1858-1935) Kosar, Jr. perhaps other Kosars too, arrived in the settlement between 1875 and 1878. Their parents Andrew, Sr. (born 1815) and Mary (1816-1883) were soon with them and so were Frank (born 1854) and Ileana (born 1862), husband and wife. This Frank had a son Frank (1891-after 1954) who married a girl who came from Bohemia at age 14. All these people were habitual users of Czech, except that Frank (1891) in his later years spoke English with his sons. These sons Frank (born 1920) and Andrew married girls not proficient in Czech; they continued to speak Czech to their mother, but did not like to use the language, because the old Bohemians laughed at their bad accent. Testimony from other sources indicate that their linguistic knowledge was typical in the early 1950's. At groups gathered to trade work the old spoke Bohemian, but those in their thirties knew little, "mostly cuss words." The wife of Frank Kosar (1920) was Margaret Cervený, also born 1920, daughter of August (born 1889) the son of Jöseph, the immigrant mentioned. Margaret's mother was not of Czech origin, and the little Czech that the girl learned was from a sister of her father's. As happens in many similar cases, she and young Andrew's wife were somewhat piqued when their mother-in-law unthinkingly addressed them in Czech. Her grandfather Joseph spent part but not all his last days at Crete and Wilber in Nebraska. Connections with the Nebraska settlements were numerous in this area; there were also some with Prague in Oklahoma. Many of the original settlers had been for a while in Ohio or Pennsylvania before coming to Kansas; Jöseph Cervený had been in both Pennsylvania and Nebraska. Many later came directly from Bohemia, only one or two from Moravia.

671
B' B'

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Bohemia and Resident in ~~Stanton~~ Township in 1925

1866	2	1883-92	4
1871-2	2	1909-13	5
1874-7	5		

Delphos Germans (Low-x, Area B' and B''). This scattered community was of early origin. Gerhart Krone (born Prussia 1829) appears in the 1870 census with a daughter 3 months old born in Kansas. The people were both Catholics and Protestants. Catholics were represented by Theodore (ca. 1855-ca. 1932) and Catherine Anna (born ca. 1870) Gronewoller, he from Munster, she from Oldenburg. Their daughter Anna Mary, born 1891, learned only to understand somewhat, though her parents habitually used German at home. The case of the Protestants was not much different. Henry Steinbrock, b. 1866, knew some German, but he was born in America. His children knew none. Inter-marriage with other groups became common, and by 1956 German was mainly a reminiscence.

Delphos Swedes (not rated, Area B''). Gustav (b. 1855) and Mary (b. 1854) Hurtig were in Sheridan Township in 1871 /ch18. They were born in Sweden and came from Illinois. Gustav's parents (born 1813 and 1812) who came to Kansas from Sweden, were living with them in 1875. (In Volume I 228 I the holdings of this family are represented as German sandwiched between Swedish holdings which are all Nelsons'.) In 1870 Enis Nelson (born Norway, 1825) was farther south in the county but in 1875 was in Sheridan Township. Susan Nelson (born in Sweden in 1830) was also there in 1875. In 1895 the census for the township shows ten persons born in Sweden with whom lived eight children. The American-born children of the Hurtigs and

Nelsons were then reproducing. Later than 1895 there were also Swedes in Delphos. In 1942 an informant reported, "Swedes speak their language only when talking around home." In 1956 old immigrants were actively using Swedish, and their children born as late as 1925 were able to understand the language. There was no Swedish religious institution, but on great occasions Swedes attended the Lutheran Church (ULC) ^{later LCA} in Glasco up the river in Cloud County. The two southwestern townships of Cloud County just to the north contained a number of scattered Swedes.

Minneapolis Germans (Low-y, Area C). Mary Linck, born 1841 in Wurtemberg, daughter of Catherine Linck of early Saline County /kq24;307 married Israel Markley an Englishman, who began work on a mill at the site of Minneapolis in 1864 /al428. Her sister Anna (1841-1916) married Jacob Geisen (1831-1925). The Geisens were on a homestead in this area in 1870 with a child aged 11 born in Kansas. Their descendants continued to live in the area. The third generation did not know whether the second generation was acquainted with the German language. Another family was the Zukers; Jacob and Frances Zuker (born in Germany in 1805 and 1808) were living here in 1870 and their sons Joseph and C. L. (born in Pennsylvania in 1835 and 1837) recorded that they came in 1868 /ch18. The family continued to have landholdings in the area. John Santner did not come until 1880. The Santners seem to have represented the most persistent of users of German in the neighborhood. Of one of them an informant of 1954 said, "There was Old Man Santner who used to blurt out German instead of English sometimes. He was born in Germany." The early dates of immigration of most of the families as well as the smallness of the settlement explains its weakness in conservation of German.

Coal Creek Germans (Low-y, Area D). There were Germans in this general area by 1871, but homesteading was still going on in the 1880's. In the area marked in Vol. I and on farms still occupied by them in the 1950's the Neaderhisers (already using this spelling) settled in 1885: There were John and Fred both born in Switzerland in 1858 and 1860. They had come to the United States about 1870 and John had taken a wife born in Buffalo. Their son Louis was born in 1884 in Illinois. In this family German never was the family language and in 1954 no tradition of the use of German remained in the area.

Tescott Danes (Low-x, Area E). The fragmentary nature of the landholdings of the immigrant Danes of Tescott did not prevent them from having an acute consciousness of their identity. The only one of them to appear in the 1875 census was Christian Nelson (born 1850). He was then a bachelor. In 1885 he had a wife Mary, born in Denmark in 1846, and three daughters, the oldest six. There were then thirteen Danish families in Morton Township plus one Danish bachelor, more later. One of the families was that of Andrew (1857-1927) and Margaret (Greta 1858-1913) Berthelson with a child aged two born in Kansas. Andrew had probably arrived in 1878. Their son Frank born in 1890 learned to speak Danish, though he learned to understand better. In 1954 he had little opportunity to use the language. His parents, however, spoke Danish till their death. The social institution best preserving the general use of Danish was well attended birthday parties and "coffee drinks." These were still flourishing in 1910 but gradually diminished thereafter.

The religious institution to which the Danes affiliated was St. Paul's Lutheran Church. In 1906 it was an Ohio Synod Church /ot300, later ALC. It had been organized in 1890 with a membership partly German, partly

Swedish, partly Danish. It was about half Danish in 1950, and had never been an institution conserving the use of Danish. Danes of more nationalistic and pietistic tendencies moved on to the Denmark settlement 30 miles to the northwest, Danish held on longer there. There was some connection with the Danes-Norwegians in Doniphan County. In 1950 the young of Danish extraction and non-Danes in the community heard no Danish. Those born in ~~XXX~~ Denmark and resident in Morton Township in 1925 stated their year of arrival in the United States as follows: 1872-1890, 5; 1892-4, 8; 1900, 1; 1911, 1.

Bennington Germans (Low-w, Area F'). The 1865 census shows Michael Hind, born in Wurtemberg, resident in the county with a daughter aged 3 born in Ottawa County. In 1864 Al and Ed Schellenbrand (Swiss) helped to build the fort on the Solomon River /a1425. Ed, born 1843, became a settler in ~~h~~ the county. A name of early settlers that became common in both the eastern and western sections of the settlement was Rehberg. William, born in Prussia in 1833 and Albertina (b. 1843 also Prussia) appear in the census of 1865 with the notation that Emilia aged 3 and Wilham aged 2 were born in Dickinson County, Kansas. They, like the Lyons Creek Germans, had been in Wisconsin earlier. Daniel Rehberg (b. 1824) arrived with wife and child in 1868. Both families had many children and were generally prosperous. The German-born (8 persons) resident and reporting in Buckeye township in ~~192~~ 1925 had all arrived in the United States before 1887. No German institutions developed, neither religious nor social. Commercially the Reich Germans did not establish themselves; their needs were taken care of by J. E. Herr, a Penn-German merchant. Penn-Germans were early important in the neighborhood as in the adjacent parts of Saline County. German was sufficiently current in the neighborhood so that in 1913 an immigrant who had resided elsewhere

in Kansas for many years found people to communicate with in German (particularly among the Rehbergs). This man's son, however, born about 1913 never heard German spoken in the area; no public use was made of it after the shock of 1917. In 1950 there were persons aged about sixty who "knew words, but couldn't put them together."

Bennington Scandinavians (Low-y, Area F"). Christian Nelson (1823-1897) a Norwegian from Bergen, who had come to Dodgeville, Wisconsin in 1850 came to this area in 1870, and with D. Struble laid out the town of Bennington in 1878. His wife Nancy Heirford was born in Illinois./a1429,co3:1578. This mixed marriage did not conserve Norwegian. Other Scandinavians appeared, but none seemed to have used a Scandinavian language outside the family as soon as they ^{had} learned English. In 1950 younger citizens did not know there were Scandinavians at Bennington. However a man brought up in a Danish family had been able to speak Danish, he was aged ca. 50.

48.69 PAWNEE COUNTY N21

In 1870 the only inhabitants of the county were those attached to Fort Larned.

North Border and Rozel Germans (Lowest, Areas A' and A" and C). For Area A" Andrew Seeman (born in Germany 1823) appears in both the 1875 and 1885 census (Ash Valley) with many children and the surname appears repeatedly on late landowner maps. In 1925 6 of the 7 German-born reporting the year in which they came to America had arrived by 1887, the other in 1892. German seemed to be hardly a reminiscence in 1950. For Area A' and C David Spreier (born 1847 in and direct from Russia) was in Browns Grove Township in 1885 with a son David, aged eight born in Kansas. David's wife

Eva (1849-1920) is buried at Rozel. They had connections with people at Pawnee Rock. Late landowner maps show the surname on se 7-21-20. In the townships of this area there were in 1885 a dozen families of Ger-ling origin, but none other from Russia. Charles and Caroline Bruntzell (born in Germany in 1819 and 1817) may be mentioned (name on ne 4-21-19). There was a German Congregational Church at Burdette in 1904; its life was short. Kate, the wife of David Spreyer, Jr. was remembered in 1956 as one who spoke English with difficulty and her family was more conversant with German than others of German stock in the neighborhood. Those born after 1890 almost always learned little German.

Walnut Township Swedes (Low-x, Area B). John Olson (born in Sweden in 1829) appears with wife and family in the 1875 and 1885 censuses in this area. In 1875 his was the only family. There were more in 1885. A church never became flourishing, but the Lutherans assembled. Non-Swedish neighbors heard Swedish in the area in the second decade of this century. In 1956 at family gatherings banter in Swedish established fellowship. By then, however, intermarriage had long been common, and habitual Swedish had disappeared.

Larned Germans (Low-w, Area D). The Germans of this area are partly of the Polish Mennonite stock at Pawnee Rock. Not many had penetrated into the area in 1895, four families. Other Germans were in the area by 1876, but the rural group was not large and the group in town was not concentrated. Some Germans of the second generation, living in 1950 to the south of Larned, were related to families at Bushton. Reports of habitual use of German in 1942 and occasional use in 1967 seem to apply in particular to the Mennonite families. There were, however, immigrant families from Germany that spoke German long enough so that children born in 1930 heard them.

Garfield Swedes (Low-x, Area E) came to the neighborhood of the town, founded six years before, in 1879 as an organized colony. The people came mostly from the island of Gotland. Bergin in 1909 said of Garfield: "This was once quite a prosperous colony, but a large number, scared by the droughts left . . . [but] the last years have been blessed with good crops: /kc11:33. The Lutheran Church was organized in 1879. Its services were exclusively in Swedish until about 1910. After 1938 except occasionally at funerals, there was no use of Swedish in services. The appeal of Methodism was so strong that in 1950 more people of Swedish blood were Methodists than Lutherans. In family use, Swedish was not so well preserved as at Lindsborg. At a family gathering about 1950, ^{except} to the six oldest, aged 75 to 97, those present spoke English together. One reason for abandonment of Swedish was that the families were few though prolific so that marriage with those outside the group could not be unfavorably regarded.

Year of Arrival of Persons Born in Sweden and

Resident in Garfield Township and City in 1925

1858-1869	6	1890-1892	6
1875-1885	10	1894-1920	6

Zook Germans and Penn-Germans (Low-y, Area F). Germans born in Germany do not appear in this township until between 1875 and 1880. The Penn-Germans grew sufficient in number to establish a Dunkard Church on SW 33-22-17. There was Catholic activity in the area /mo50. Presumably German in active use did not survive the 19th century.

48.70 PHILLIPS COUNTY N2

For Prairie View Dutch (Hi-d, Area A) see Settlement Histories.

Stuttgart Germans (Mid-k, Area B). The first four Germans to arrive in this area in 1872 bore names that were to remain permanently in the community Mueller (M., b. 1843), Merklein (Leo, b. 1851 and Michael, 1852-1928), and Veeh (George, b. 1856). They all appear in the census of 1885, all but Veeh in that of 1875, and the surnames appear in the Atlas of 1917 and the landowner map of 1940. Merklein is the name most frequently recurring. Other families soon joined them. With the arrival of the Rock Island railroad in 1887 a town was formed, and its merchants were almost all German. Most of these people were from Wurtemberg, and the name of the town is appropriate. The Merkleins and a few others were for a time in Marshall County, Kansas, partly among the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans. There were others who had been in Minnesota (Veeh), in Iowa (Mueller), and Illinois. A contingent direct from Germany appeared by 1874 (Vogel). Soon those already here were sending to Germany for relatives. The community is Lutheran; the American Lutheran church is much larger than that of the Missouri Synod. The Iowa Synod (later ALC) began its work in 1878 and organized in 1881. Services were all in German until 1928 except for a short period during the hysteria of the First World War when a pastor untrained in English sought to preach in that language for a short time. Beginning in 1922 children were given confirmation instructions partly in English. English services were as often as German in the 1930's. In the 1940's the German service was reduced to once a month, and in 1954 on Sunday afternoons there was still an afternoon service in German for 20 old people, some of whom had not taught English to their children. The tardiness in the adoption of English was in part caused by conditions within the church, though the community was undoubtedly conservative linguistically. The Missouri Lutheran Church

organized in 1892. They were soon operating a parochial school, and it was the only one in the village until the First World War; it ceased to function shortly after the war closed. In the country there were rural public schools. In 1948 90% of the population was able to speak or at least understand German. The third generation generally understood. Many spoke only the Schwabisch dialect. Such people addressed in High German responded in English.

Among the Merkleins, William, son of John, who was the brother of Michael and Leo, was born in Marshall County in 1874 and brought to this area in 1877. He became a farmer himself and married Emilie Grote in 1901. She was born in Marshall County, came to this area in 1898 with no knowledge of English. Their two daughters, Lydia born 1904, Mary 1906, learned no English until they began to attend school; then it was the parochial school while it lasted. Emilie eventually learned English sufficiently, but in 1955 she, her husband, Lydia, and Lydia's husband, Wm. Ehm, all living together often used German. Mary's children in Phillipsburg learned no German.

John Vogel, the immigrant of 1874, had a daughter Margaret born in 1875. After she learned English at school, she spoke it only "when she had to." In 1900 she married Marten Kistner, born in Minnesota in 1867. He came to Stuttgart when the town was founded in 1887 and became an entrepreneur in 1900; he retired in 1952. Two daughters and a son born in 1905, 1907, and 1911 married and lived in the community. They spoke only German at home at least to their parents as long as they were there -- "no use for English until they started to school and then only to get their lessons." On marrying, the daughter of 1905 spoke German at home for a time but soon dropped it. At family reunions there was little German in 1955 because the

702 /
(continued)

grandchildren did not understand, though most of their grandparents were still using it at home.

Cemetery inscriptions were sometimes in English from near the beginning, but German grew uncommon only in the 1920's.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Those Born in

Germany and Resident in Mound Township in 1925

1854-1867	7	1886-1894	14
1870-1875	9	1906-1909	8
1877-1884	14	1922-1924	6

Logan Germans (Low-w, Area D). This area is the fringe of the Stuttgart area, and its history is bound up with that of the mother settlement. It has the characteristics to be expected from a fringe group, particularly dispersion and lack of unity. The dispersion is such that two divisions should be distinguished, the Belmont group to the east, called for the township in which most lived, and the Logan group to the west, named for the township rather than the city of Logan. The Belmont group was more solid and more definitely German for a long time, but it was also in closer contact with populations of older American origin. The pressures from Eng-lings were more actively exerted than was the case of the Logan group where there was an admixture of Swedish, Czech, and Dutch elements. In general in the Logan area individual families were freer to follow their own bent, while the community tended sooner to use English as the necessary lingua franca between its various-elements. Family and church use of German continued about the same length of time in both sections and on the average fell away perhaps a decade earlier than in

70P2

the Stuttgart center. There were Germans who became permanent residents in the Belmont area by 1875. The census shows G. Groff^Tborn in 1841 and from Wisconsin, with a child aged two, born in Kansas, and Fred Kinter born in Prussia in 1831. His wife was born in Maryland, their children in Iowa and Nebraska. Their late landholdings are on the south edge of the area. These, at least originally, therefore had little relation with Stuttgart. People in close contact with the Germans at Stuttgart became numerous enough for the organization of the Belmont Church, Zion, Iowa Synod (later ALC) in 1893. In that church no English was used until the First World War. From then until 1925 services were half German, half English, but the pastor called in 1925 would not preach in English, and therefore all sermons were in German, though not all work with children. The fifty-fifty division returned from 1931 to 1935 and all confirmation classes were in English. By 1940 German was heard but once a month and in 1942 abandoned. In 1946 the church moved into Phillipsburg. Inter-marriage had become common and except for certain old people no German was used.

In 1910 and in the child-bearing years that followed Arthur J. Beckman and his wife spoke High German as frequently as English and their children were bi-lingual on entering school. Mrs. Beckman, Margaret Fritsch, had acquired German outside her family and A. J. Beckman was of a Low German family originally east of Phillipsburg outside of German settlement influence. It is testimony to the preference of the community for German during the second decade of this century that they used German as much as they did. Their children did not continue its use in the home and their grandchildren learned none.

7013

In the Logan and Belmont Townships in the census of 1885 there appears none of the names of families represented in the organization of St. Peter's Lutheran Church (1902) nor on the landowner map of 1940. The permanently occupying stock was in 1885 just moving in. St. Peter's Church used only German until 1925 with a small intrusion of English in 1908 by a pastor who remained but a year -- he even confirmed one class in English -- and during the First World War. The introduction of English once a month in 1925 filled a great need "particularly among the younger people in the church congregation as most of them were speaking English the majority of the time." English became more and more frequent until 1932. A German-born pastor held firmly to German for a year in 1934. English did not receive equal status with German until 1943. By 1945 German was reduced to one service a month. By 1948 all German services had disappeared. The congregation met in the town of Logan after 1952. During the struggle to conserve German many of the young ceased attendance. At least one of the church's charter members Christoff Fritsch, was resident near it at its inception. He had settled on land just north of the church site in 1883. He had been born of immigrants in Wisconsin. He married a wife, Josephine of Bohemian stock (parents also immigrants) and English was the language of their home. Josephine's brother, Novak also a church charter member, was married to a German wife with sisters in other families of the area. In their home German was the language, and the daughters of the Fritsches learned German with their cousins. One of these daughters, Margaret became the wife of A. J. Beckman whom we have already met. The other, Anna in 1909 married Adam Zillinger, born in 1884 of immigrant parents, reared in the Belmont section. His parents, Phillip and Margaret, learned little English

(she less than he), and Adam Zillinger was a habitual speaker of German. The Fritsch farm became theirs. Their home language while they reared their children, born between 1910 and 1928 was consistently German and was still largely so in 1955. All the children learned to speak German, but the youngest later answered in English when addressed in German, and they all seldom used German together after receiving their early schooling. In the family of Edward, born in 1914, however, his two oldest daughters were bilingual on entering school, presumably about 1940. Other grandchildren know at most a few words of German. This history was one of the preservation of the use of German through the third generation and into the oldest of the fourth in spite of an early intermarriage.

As another example consider Carl Schiller, born 1886, who came from Wurtemberg in 1896 with his family to the Logan focus (aunts in the area including Mrs. Novak). German remained the language of the parents all their lives, though they learned some English. In 1913 Carl married an immigrant Dane, Anna Christensen. She learned German afterward. Carl's second wife, after Anna's death in 1932, was a German from the Gaylord community, Smith County. They still spoke German together sometimes in 1955. Carl Schiller was then receiving two publications in German and reading frequently. He was a man of influence particularly in Lutheran circles.

In the community as a whole in 1941 there was a majority of families with young children who were not using German at home, but the inability of a number of children entering school then to use English effectively is testimony to the frequency of exceptions. In 1955 conversations in German over the telephone were still going on. Daughters caring for old women were dealing with them in German. People in their late forties still able to speak German but not doing so habitually were numerous.

700
71A

Plum Creek Settlement (Lowest, Area C). This area has not been labeled German because the Danes nearby (see 242 IV) are as important as the Germans here and because the Penn-Germans who have part of the landholdings appear to have been Engl-ized before arrival here. At least one family immigrating from Germany (Ehm) has connections with the Stuttgart Germans.

48.71 POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY P9

Duluth-Wheaton Germans (Mid-k, Area A). Wm. F. Kolterman (1821-1882) and his wife Hannah (Brunkow, 1824-1893) and Daniel Kolterman (1817-1862) and his wife Mary (Cesmus, 1822-after 1890) came with families from Pomerania to Wisconsin in 1856 and 1853, and thence to this area in 1857 /ch90:203,930;02:106. Michael F. Hartwich (or-wick, born 1814) and Anna (Strunske, born 1813) also came from Pomerania to Wisconsin in 1856 and on to Kansas the next year /ch90:176,395,653. Koltermans, Brunkows, and Hartwicks later became numerous here and form half of the charter members of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, organized in 1875 at the site of Duluth /ch54:12. Bertha Kolterman was first postmaster of Duluth, 1912. Duluth is reputedly named for the Pomeranian town of Doelitz /ch54. There were other ^{settlers} in the territorial years, but the next wave to arrive was in the years immediately following the Civil war, examples: Kufahl (August, 1834-1904 /ik664, also from the Berlin area), Gurtler (John 1818-1880 /ch90:475 from Bohemia), Teske (Fred in 1866 /ch02:110, Ferdinand, b. 1834, Pomeranian, mother a Hartwick /ch90:704), and Wegner (a child died in 1872, Maria 1806-1880). As usual in German settlements the arrivals were numerous between

1880 and 1884. Immigration stopped in the early 1890's. The settlement eventually included many of the inhabitants of Onaga. It spread to the south into cattle country which led to the organization of St. Luke's Church in the open country in 1897. Wheaton to the west was beyond the settlement but when St. Luke's was moved about 1950, it was established in Wheaton. At St. Paul's in Duluth German first yielded somewhat to English at the time of the First World War. Sermons in German occurred once a month at the outbreak of the Second World War. Until 1918 German was a language of every-day intercourse. Certain families taught their children German after that date; most of the young learned to understand for another decade. A baker in Onaga who had grown up as a Milberger Russian German settlement habitually spoke German to his employees in the late 1930's; there were among them teen-agers who understood him. In 1964 families with parents in their eighties talked German with sons and daughters when they returned home, but even occasional use of German was limited to three or four families.

Language of Inscriptions in Duluth Cemetery

	<u>Confirmed Persons</u>			<u>Unconfirmed Persons</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1870-9	2	3	60%	7	2	22%
1880-9	1	5	83%	0	12	100%
1890-9	2	6	75%	3	8	73%
1900-9	2	6	75%	3	2	40%
1910-9	13	4	23%	No later cases		
1920-9	17	2	11%			

One German in 1930, none later

In the St. Luke's cemetery to the south, ten infants were buried between 1899 and 1913; two inscriptions for the first year, one of the last are in English, the rest in German. Later cases, numbering two, are in English. Four inscriptions ^{in German} for adults exist, one undated, the others 1903, 1912, 1953, -- the last for a man whose wife still lived in 1955.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in

Germany and Resident in Lone Tree and Mill Creek

Townships and in the City of Onaga in 1925

1856	1	1885-87	5
1865-69	12	1892-94	4
1870-79	8	1897	1
1880-84	14	None later	

On the eastern edge not all Germans were Lutherans. There was Evangelical Association activity beginning in 1866. John Moll, born 1828 in Ohmden, Wurtemberg, was an immigrant to the area in 1857; he belonged with the Association. The group did not become strong.

715

Flush-St. George Germans (Hi-c, Area B). On the first days of settlement see /tk 184. The early termination of German settlement to the Flush area is indicated by the following table.

Year of Arrival of Persons Born in Germany and Resident
in Pottawatomie Township in 1925

1854-1865	8	1878-1884	8
1870-73	4	1921-2	2

There were also five persons born in Russia who arrived in 1879 and 1901. The Catholics were able to build their first church at Rock Creed (Flush) in 1867 /^{lpA:142} and received their first resident pastor in 1877 /b141. The pastor from 1884 to 1897 was Albert M. Weikmann, born in Wurtemberg 1850. Many of his parishioners came from the same province or from one of its neighbors. Michael Floersch was from Hesse Darmstadt, his wife was from Bavaria. The hamlet did not receive a post office until 1899. Michael's son Henry, born here in 1861, was the first postmaster, and for him the place was called Flush.

Preaching in German went on until about 1913. German was commonly used as a community language until nearly then. In 1936, however, the parish history stated: "The parish is made up of people of German extraction but the only thing German about them is their names "/lpA:142. By 1948 German had so completely fallen out of use that people aged fifty were unable to use it and "even the oldest ones don't joke so much any more." Yet at about the same time outsiders who came to festivals at Flush remarked that the old people still used German. This was probably the exemplification of a phenomenon that is not uncommon. People brought up in a settlement return from afar for festivals and to

118

show that they are still part of the old community they make an effort to resume the olden ways. Apparently the First World War hastened a process that was already far along.

Saint George to the south in the current which was moving along the Kaw Valley contained many non-German elements and was not notably German linguistically. Germans arrived there very early however, in 1856 Gottlieb Schurr born in 1825 in Wurtemberg /a983; the surname appeared in 1938 on the landowner map near the river (15-10-9).

Kaw Valley Germans (Mid-n, Area C). There were Germans here in territorial times, for example, among permanent settlers, John Ubel, born 1849, John Thirolf, born 1829, who both arrived in 1857 and A. Uhlrich, born 1833, here 1859 /ch05. The Germans of the area cannot be considered to have unity nor to have dominated any section of it. The situation at Wamego perhaps deserves most attention, though it has been affected by the Kaw Township division of the Great Wabaunsee German area to the south of it.

In 1925 in Wamego there were 63 persons born in Germany and 16 born in Russia. The latter were presumably of the same stock as those at St. Mary's, that is, Catholic Volgans. The Germans were not recent immigrants:

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born
in Germany and Resident in Wamego in 1925

1853-1860	6	1892	1	Not stated	44
1871-1875	4	1902	2		
1880-1883	4	1909	2		

The Russian born did not say when they arrived except for

1901	1	1923	2
------	---	------	---

In the town and in the area under discussion there were no specifically German churches until 1948, though the Catholic pastors bore German names till after that date. For a long time after definite organization in 1875 their parish was struggling, particularly in 1890 "when Wamego lost the division center" /lp B:299.

The Germans in 1925 included a considerable number of retired farmers who may well have come from across the river. The presence of these people may well account for the active use of German reported in the 1940's. Two informants of 1942 reported that German was used in small social groups and in speaking to old people. In 1950 German was still heard sometimes on the street on Saturdays. At that time in one grocery store there was an employee aged about 50 who traded with several customers in German.

St. Mary's and Vicinity, Polyglot (Low-w, Area D)

Special Bibliog.:

S - S. J. Sackett, "Flemish Folklore in Kansas", Western Folklore XX
(1961) 175-178

When the Pottawatomies came to their reservation on the Kansas River in 1848, the Jesuit Missionaries established themselves with part of the tribe on the site of St. Marys. The village and mission together became the most important Pottawatomie center. The priests erected buildings and maintained not only a religious establishment but also a prosperous farm. St. Marys Mission was from 1851 to 1855 the see of Bishop John B. Miege, whence he ruled the vicariate apostolic of Kansas until, after the opening of the territory, he chose to make his headquarters at Leavenworth. The Jesuits drew their personnel laboring in Kansas largely from the Low Countries and neighboring Rhenish country and from the western Alps. Bishop Miede was from the latter area, from Savoy; and one of the most faithful of the fathers at St. Marys, Maurice Gailland (1816-1877), was born in Switzerland nearby. The most famous of the Jesuit Missionaries, Father Peter de Smet from Termonde between Ghent and Antwerp, was only occasionally present in the Kansas Missions, but other Flemings were important at St. Marys, Felix L. Verreydt (1798-1883), the first superior, was born at Diest, Belgium, and the second, John B. Duerinck (1809-1851), was another from Termonde. The third superior was a German, John Schultz, and the fourth a Fleming, John Diels (1821-1878), born at Turnhout, Belgium. He served from 1861 to 1869, an efficient business man and administrator. During the last years of his ~~tenancy~~ the Pottawatomie lands were disposed of. Only the Prairie Band remained in Kansas, and it was on the present reservation in Jackson

County. The period of white settlement began. A humbler Fleming among the Jesuits remained to welcome the Flemish immigrants who shortly arrived. Brother Louis De Vriendt (1820-1883) labored incessantly in many capacities.

Bishop Miège brought other Frenchmen into Kansas and Father Gailland ended his days at St. Marys, but these speakers of French were much less responsible for a French element that has been present in the area than others drawn by the Pottawatomie reservation. In Miège's first years his despair was a village of half breeds a few miles to the east on Soldier Creek, and most of its inhabitants bore French names. They were traders and trappers. More reputably connected with the tribe were Benjamin /ga 2:699; 3:26ff and Joseph Bertrand /ga2:601, 604, 605, 612, Michel Nadeau /ga2:612, and Alexis Coquillard /ga2:626. These men accompanied the Pottawatomies from their Indiana reservation to Kansas. Joseph Bertrand and Michel Nadeau came early to the reservation on Sugar Creek, which the tribe occupied for a decade before being moved to the Kaw valley. Benjamin Bertrand and Coquillard brought another contingent after the arrival at St. Marys. The Bertrands were partly Pottawatomie, partly French /ga2:698, and were liaison agents between the Indians and the whites. Andreas Cutler says: "St. Mary's was laid out as a town by B. H. Bertrand [b. 1812] August 8, 1866." In the 1940's certain landholdings near St. Mary's bore French names, Nadeau among them. Another French speaking element was found among the Belgians. The larger number of them were Flemings for whom French was only an auxiliary language, but a few are reported to have been Hainaulters and would naturally have used a French dialect. There were also a few French born in France,

L. Germonprez (1892-1926), for instance, in both the 1885 census and the Catholic cemetery. French as a home language did not, however, it seems, much survive the Indian period. But it was sometimes used by the few French, the Belgians and the French Canadian mixed-bloods. Still residents in St. Marys since before 1900 have never heard French spoken there.

The census of 1870 shows that all the for-ling born except the Jesuits were German (43 adults, 3 children) together with an Alsatian and a Hollander or Swedish (17 adults, 3 children). The Swedish couples had 2 children born in the United States, one in Illinois in 1867 and the other in Kansas in 1869. The children who were natives of Sweden were born in 1862, 1864, and 1865. Their parents had, therefore, immigrated rather recently. The census of 1885 showed 53 foreign-born Swedes, and 12 children. There were only three children of Swedish parents born elsewhere in the United States (Illinois for all three). Their natal years were 1871, 1875, 1875. Elias Holvorsen had, however, come from Wisconsin in 1877. The 12 children were in 7 families; the youngest born abroad was for each family, 1869, 1872, 1873, 1878, 1879, 1879, 1879. In 1885 as in 1870 the majority of families had rather recently immigrated. The arrivals stopped abruptly then. In 1925 no Swede at St. Marys recorded that he had arrived in the U. S. later than 1883. According to Andreas-Cutler (p. 979) the Swedish Lutherans met as early as 1874. Ott says "organized in 1872" /ot264. A church was built in 1877. In 1906 membership amounted to 76, in 1950 to 31. About 1952 the Lutherans united with the Congregationalists, and in 1954 their church was torn down. There had been no services in Swedish for many years, not since 1917. The early families did however, make an effort to keep up Swedish among their

descendants. Confirmations in Swedish occurred as late as 1910. Most of the children confirmed near that year, however, did not speak Swedish with each other or even with their parents. By 1917 fewer among the young were acquainted with their ancestral language than in other linguistic groups at St. Marys.

The Germans of 1870 recorded their native provinces thus:

Austria	1	Frankfurt	2	Poland	1
Baden	3	Hanover	10	Prussia	14
Bavaria	4	Hesse D	2	Switzerland	1
				Wurtemberg	3

7105

There were then persons from almost every part of Germany.^{fn}

^{fn} Among the early speakers of German in St. Marys there was a Jewish family which became permanent residents. Aaron Urbansky, b. 1839, came from West Prussia to Chicago in 1856, to Eudora, Kansas in 1857, to St. Marys in 1869. His first wife ~~Erika~~ Emma Wollmann Urbansky (1844-1887) is buried near Eudora. Her tombstone is bilingual, English and Hebrew.

No dialect dominated. There were children born in Ohio and Missouri, several each, one in Michigan, and one in Iowa. Only one child was born in Germany, in Prussia in 1867. One German had a wife born in Ireland, another had one born in Missouri and a third one in Pennsylvania. Herman [b. 1815] and Mary Wilber [born Hanover] had been in Ohio since 1842. He was a brickmaker at Cincinnati and came to Kansas in 1870, bought 1500 acres. Two sons born in the same state in 1843 and 1846 resided with Nicholas Ritquer, a Bavarian. Mathias and Christine Peak, Prussians, had sons born in Missouri in 1857 and 1858. In other words many of the Germans at St. Marys in 1870 were not in general recent immigrants, and presumably were already rather expert in the use of English. There was, however, a wave of later immigration. In 1925 the foreign-born Germans gave their year of arrival in the U.S. as follows

before 1880	- 9
1880-2	- 10
1883-7	- none
1888-1892	- 4
1893-1901	- none
later	- 4

The wave arriving in the early 80's furnished a linguistic German nucleus of some strength, but the forces wearing upon it were from the start great.

Marriage with earlier comers was one force, for example Frank Luebble (1854-1933) married Anna (1860-1928) who was born in Kansas. No children living in St. Marys learned German after 1917. There was, however, an early effort by the sisters teaching at St. Marys to preserve German as a cultural language. In 1892 and 1893 a class after school hours was held in German. The children who profited most from this class belonged to a much more linguistically conservative element, furnished by Russian Germans from the Volga settlements. In 1885 in the

city and township their foreign born numbered 61 with whom lived 49 children. The birthdates of the children of these families indicate that they arrived in Kansas between 1876 and 1880. The first to come in 1876 were four young men, including Peter Gassman (1855-1940), Nicholas Kinderknecht (1855-1932), Nicholas' brother Anton and perhaps Nicholas Hansen (b. 1854). Natives of the Catholic village of Marienthal (72, No. 13). They left other immigrants proceeding directly from Russia to the Catholic Russian German settlements in Ellis County. The relations with that county remained close. Intermarriage and exchange of population took place. The connection with the Catholic Volgans in Topeka, on the other hand, seems to have been practically non-existent. They were soon joined by others. The birthdates of their children indicate that John (b. 1836) and Peter (b. 1839) Seitz were in Kansas by 1877. Peter Gassman married Peter Seitz's daughter, Margaret (1863-1925). The dates of arrival in the United States of immigrants from Russia recording that fact in 1925 were:

1874-1880	- 15
1881-1892	- 5
1893-1898	- none
1899-1902	- 8
1903-1907	- none
1908-1911	- 6
1912-1921	- none
1922-1923	- 10

There were in large part railway workers. The linguistic conservatism of the Russian Germans is to be explained largely by the persistence of immigration, long-lasting though spasmodic. But, though perhaps also because of the constant infusion of new blood, at least a part of the Russian Germans stood somewhat apart from the rest of the population of St. Marys. This aloofness was not true of the first comers, for Peter Gassman's daughter, Elisabeth, married

Achille de Backer, born in Belgium in 1875, and one of the Seitz family early married a Bohemian Cerney. Persistence of German among the Volgans must not, however, be exaggerated. School children of the stock spoke English to each other and parents active in the business life of the town joined them. However use of German was not uncommon till almost 1930.

Unless we count the Jesuits as the beginners, the last immigration to appear in St. Marys was the Flemish. Their first representative, other than the Jesuits, was Leonard E. Ronsse, b. 1839, who came in 1874. Leonard Ronsse settled just south of St. Mary's (on 9-10-12) in Wabaunsee County. He appears in the 1875 census and records the date of his arrival in Wabaunsee Co. Atlas of 1885. After a few years he moved to California. He was earlier than the Russians, but no other Belgians came until a decade later. Sackett tells us: "Hoping for wealth and social status in the New World, and frightened by anti-Catholic demonstrations in Belgium, August Verschelden and his family emigrated from Volkeghem, near Audenarde, in 1883 according to Achille A. Ronsse of St. Marys, whose parents traveled with the Verscheldens and who was seven at the time they were attracted to St. Marys by the Catholic St. Mary's College and by the fame of Father De Smet, a Belgian priest in the town. [As remarked above De Smet was at St. Marys Mission only incidentally. Leonard Ronsse was a more immediate link.] With the Verscheldens and the Ronsses in the party were the De Donders, the Loberts, the Crieses, and the Pessemirs(sic)" /S175-6.

The Nogels family (Leon b. 1870) also arrived 1885 /ch05. August Verschelden and his wife returned to Belgium in 1898, but left descendants.

Of these families the Ronsses (Peter 1841-1928, father of Achille and brother of Leonard) and the Pessemirs (Charles 1824-1894) appear at St. Marys in the census of 1885. The others settled to the east in Shawnee County (August Verschelden, b. 1825, Vital De Donder, born 1846, Desire Crez, b. 1853, also Vital De Backer, b. 1834, who remained permanently in the settlement.)

In 1925 the Belgians then resident in the area said that they had arrived in the United States as follows

1883	- 8
1884	- 1
1885	- 1
1886	- 2
1899	- 2

Habitual use of Flemish persisted only among immigrants who were adults upon arrival, and even they gave up rather early, in part because of marriages into other groups. Shortly after the First World War its main use was for secrecy in discussions before children.

At the end of the First World War about 15% of the high school students at St. Marys were able to speak some language other than English. The St. Marys Star of October 21, 1948, carried this editorial by Frank Miller, reared in the town. He is half-Belgian, the son of Willis E. Miller (1879-1921) and Pauline De Backer (1879-1961), whose father was Vital De Backer named above. A great many other marriages between the various stocks (examples, Holvoson-Uhlig, Gassman-DeBacker) help explain the phenomenon he discusses.

"Among the few foreign-born citizens who remain in St. Marys, how many would you say were bi-lingual? The half-dozen we know all confess they have practically forgotten the language of their mother country--so rare

are the neighbors who could carry on a conversation with them in their European tongue. As late as 1920 there were several hundred emigrants who were able to switch languages whenever they had a thought the children shouldn't hear."

The exception to the statement by Editor Miller was the Czech element of the town which was connected with neighboring settlement in Delia.

48.72 PRATT COUNTY N26

For Pratt Mexicans see #47.94

Preston-Natrona Germans (Low-x, Area A). Settlement in this area did not begin till 1877 /al268. The typical German institution here is the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, located at Natrona. It had no services until 1890, and was not formally organized until 1900, but the Hoeme family, represented in its cemetery, appears in the 1880 census in the person of Herman Hoeme, born in Saxony in 1850. Three infants of this family who died in 1906 and 1908 provide the only inscription in German.

The services were in German till 1917; there were then nearly 200 souls in the congregation. Public pressure during the war forced the partial use of English; German was reduced to once a month before many years. At communions German persisted until 1945. The Jorns family represents conservative usage. William, north German, and his wife, Hessian, spoke high German in their home while they brought up their children and continued to do so with them and with each other in 1950. The youngest of the children was born in 1900. He was not confirmed in German, but the other four were. One of the older married a girl who immigrated from Germany in 1908 at the age of 17. Two sons of this couple learned to speak German; one was born in 1918. In 1950, however the immigrant of 1908 was habitually using English and her younger children were not proficient in German. Neither were their cousins.

Sawyer Germans (Lowest, Area B). The Bethel Dunkard Church appears in church records with a membership of 23 men in 1893; there were Dunkards there by 1885.

48.73 RAWLINS COUNTY F2

See Settlement History for Herndon Hungarian Germans (Hi-b, Area E)

Burntwood Danes (Lowest- Area A), South

Achilles Danes (Lowest, Area I) and Chardon Scandinavians (Low x, Area I)

These groups are small, scattered, and without cultural center, but the settlers were conscious of unifying origins, and made efforts to see each other. In 1885 there were Danes who became permanent settlers in Area I (Larson, Knudson), a Swede in Area A (Johnson). The parents in one northern family taught their daughter, born about 1918, to speak, read and write Danish. She remained proficient in 1952. The immigrants continued to use the language of their youth, but the next generation not habitually.

Burntwood and Driftwood Czechs (Mid-n, Area B)

These Czechs are in reality Moravians and faithful Catholics. They were probably attracted to this section by early Catholic activity. Francis Studer (1824-1918), a Swiss, arrived before the Czechs, somewhat to the South (see Area C). In 1884 the first Czechs arrived (Harvanek, Skolka). By the end of 1885 these people definitely held the district to the north and northeast (for example, Prockazka. Sramek). Most of them had spent a comparatively brief period in Nebraska since leaving Moravia. St. John's Church, which replaced earlier Immaculate Conception, has a cornerstone stating in Czech its erection in 1916. But this installation was not near enough the center of the settlement - or perhaps not sufficiently Bohemian. To the northeast, mass was said till 1895 in a schoolhouse. In 1895 a first church and in 1906 a second church were dedicated to St. Cyril and St. Methodius. Until 1904 the churches had no Czech priest; they were served by Germans from Herndon till 1901 and from Atwood by Irish Father Glynn till 1904. Then Atwood was recognized as a Bohemian center and three Czechs served town and country till 1910 when the Capuchins took over the whole district. Among them Father Placidus Walker had studied Czech, and served St. John's and St. Cyril's for a number of years (left after 1913, before 1921). Since 1930 except at mission times the parishes have had to content themselves with English, although in 1952 there were still a number of women hardly able to speak English with the priests. The abandonment of Czech by the Church was a less reliable index of linguistic conditions than it usually is. The number of Czech inscriptions in the cemeteries represents a higher degree of persistence of Czech than corresponding data from most other cemeteries because the church here was for much of the time definitely not recognizing Czech as an official language.

Language of Inscriptions in Burntwood-Driftwood Cemeteries

	<u>St. John</u>			<u>St. Cyril and Methodius</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>% of Czech</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>% of Czech</u>
1889-99				0	1	100%
1900-09	1	5	83%	2	1	33%
1910-19	1	11	93%	4	7	64%
1920-29	13	4	24%	10	5	33%
1930-39	9	1	10%	20	7	26%
1940-52	20	0	---	13	4	24%

Intermarriage between the various Catholic stocks here and at Atwood have become increasingly common in the 20th century. The faster decline in Czech inscriptions at St. John where the parish has a German element is probably to be explained by this factor. The decline in the Immaculate Conception farther from the Czech focus was more rapid. Czech appears in only one third of the inscriptions in the decade 1910-1919. The wife of a man who died in that decade is the only subject of a later inscription. She died in 1936.

In general usage until after 1925 the settlement was linguistically completely Czech. People who were old at that time very frequently did not know English. The first real break in the use of Czech did not occur until about 1941. Children reaching school age before that time knew no English. After that parents of small children usually spoke English in the home, and children acquired what Czech they learned from their grand-parents. The English of children in the 1950's was still affected by the character of the English that they heard in the settlement. In 1964 at church social gatherings Czech conversations were not infrequent, but persons younger than thirty were not proficient and some six or eight years older only understood Czech.

Blakeman Germans (Lowest, Area C). While most of the landholdings bearing German names in this area are north of Blakeman, apparently grazing country, the kernel of the German population was on the western edge north of Beardsley and formed what was called the Studer Settlement. In 1880 Francis Studer, born in Switzerland in 1825 and long resident in Illinois, at least from 1851, appears in the census. He was a widower with six children at home, and a seventh, Moritz, born in 1851, lived in the community, with a wife and two children. Francis was a Catholic who drew other Catholics to him, principally Czechs. Priests from New Almelo soon began to say mass at his house. The church location that he chose where the Immaculate Conception cemetery still is was five miles straight north of Beardsley, three miles southwest of St. John's where Czech influence finally located the church. The Studer descendants eventually moved into Atwood if they stayed in the county, and exerted influence. Another family of German origin that soon arrived was the Reehs. They occupy places on the landowner map of 1940. In 1952 a member of the family born in 1929 was reputed to still understand German. But the German of the Reehs was different from that of the Robrechts, who also arrived very early. Among the Robrechts a representative, born about 1912, was still able to use German, but he had never used it with his wife also of German extraction, and did not know whether she had learned it.

Ludell Germans (Mid-n, Area D)

The Ludell Germans are Lutherans (Missouri Synod) mostly from North Germany, Hanover in particular. Under the heading Rawlins Co., the Andreas-Cutler History of Kansas says: "August C. Blume, August Deitleff, Albert E. Lange, Charles Nast and Antone Stermer, five Germans, made the first settlement in the county in 1875 . . . Three of the men remained in the County [Blume, Lange, Stermer] " /a1607. Stermer was killed by the Cheyennes in 1878. August Blume (1842-1922) was located at the southern edge of this area. He was prominent in the county (commissioner in 1882), and though not a Lutheran, probably influenced settlement in the district near him. The first Lutherans in the neighborhood were certain of the Hungarian Germans at Herndon. (Nemitz, Andarka here in 1880.) Most of the Lutherans among these people lived southeast of Herndon. The exceptional cases on the west edge joined with other Lutherans who soon arrived to overwhelm the Hungarian element completely. J. G. Weinmann was here in 1880 /ch06; a child of his is buried in the Trinity Lutheran cemetery, but he is not among the signers of the first constitution of Trinity Church. H. Guetting, who did sign the document, came direct from Germany in 1883. Another signer, F. Moers was probably here by 1881. As said above, these people are mostly Hanoverians, and as might be expected, a large proportion stopped or have relatives in other Hanoverian centers in Kansas and Nebraska, particularly among the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans, the Lanham Germans, who are found on both sides of the Nebraska line and those near Odell, Nebraska, which is close at hand. Some of the early families had a stage in Iowa or Illinois. A few Alsatians and South Germans moved out from Stuttgart, Kansas, a linguistically conservative center.

After organization in 1886 Trinity Church grew to have 160 souls in 1889. The hard times of the 1890's decreased it to 140 souls in 1895. Prosperity which brought new settlers increased it to 210 in 1900. In 1948 it had 238. But in 1910 the congregation split, and Immanuel Church was founded in Ludell (192 souls in 1948). The Immanuel people asked for separation so as to build a school close to their homes. Preaching in English began, however, at once; German services persisted there until 1945. Trinity was more conservative. The Rev. O. Moellmer, who served from ca. 1912 to 1924 was not a young man, and did all his preaching in German. The crisis of the First World War, as recounted in the 50th Anniversary Booklet, was taken care of in this wise: "In Sept. 1918, Student L. Theimer from the St. Louis seminary was given charge of the school. On account of the war hysteria it was decided at that time to have all subjects taught in English, while up to that time religion and also some reading and writing had been given in German. It was also resolved at that time that Student Theimer should preach two sermons a month in English. Permission was procured to continue the instruction for confirmation in German, the lessons to be given on Saturdays." Confirmations in German went on until 1928. When Pastor Moellmer resigned, he was succeeded for a period of fourteen years by the Rev. George Lehenbauer, who was skilled in both English and German. By 1925 he was preaching once a month in English, a few years later twice a month. When he compiled the Fiftieth Anniversary Booklet, he wrote in English, and then appended a two-page summary in German. In 1938 English and German services were equal in number. In 1949 German disappeared from services. By 1952 only six old women required German in pastoral work; the old men had died in 1958, the old reading German had been reduced to two, and they soon died.

The evidence of the cemeteries runs parallel to what appears above:

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in Lutheran Cemeteries at Ludell

	<u>Trinity Church</u>			<u>Immanuel Church</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1890-99	1	18	95%			
1900-09	3	11	79%		1	100%
1910-19	3	5	63%	5	4	44%
1920-29	8	8	50%	7	2	22%
1930-39	17	5	23%	7	1	13%
1940-49	11	2	15%		No German Later	
			No German Later			

The evidence of church and tombstone usage are a better index of the fate of High German than of Low German. In 1948 all people over fifty were bi-lingual and used German with each other. During the Second World War, however, the younger generation abandoned German. In addition to the spirit of the times, the conviction that the quality of English was affected by daily use of German became strong. They did not relish the generally received opinion of their neighbors, some of whom were of more recent foreign extraction than themselves, that they spoke with an accent. The change was rather sudden. College students born in 1931 felt that most of their contemporaries knew German; those born in 1933 were of the contrary opinion. Their elders passed very similar judgments. In 1964 the old were still conversing in German, but the German of those younger who attempted conversations with them was bad.

Ludell - Herndon Czechs (Low-y, Area F)

The Andreas Cutler History of Kansas says: "John Bande from Bohemia came to the county in the spring of 1877, and his boy Karl is the first child born in the county" /a1607. In 1880 the census shows that John Bodah, born 1836 (in 1885 Census Bouda, born 1830) with son Charles, born 1877, was living in Township 3, Range 32 at that time. Among his neighbors in 1885 were Frank Bingo (born 1856) and Paul Janousek (1840-1916) both born in Bohemia. Both appear in the 1880 census as living in Township 2, Range 32; in 1906 two sons of Paul Janousek owned land on sections 21 and 23 of this township /ch06. This places the group in the midst of the Ludell-Herndon Czech area. The census records cited above reveal that Barbara Springler (born 1846) and husband and three children, the youngest five years old in 1880, came from Bohemia to Kansas by 1877, that a son Edward was born to them here in that year, that he, the husband, died soon after, and Barbara married Frank Bingo, a decade younger, by whom she had a son before census time in 1880. Frank had come to Kansas from Texas. By 1880 the Czech settlement numbered 18 families. It did not grow. It was smaller in 1895 and the personnel had changed; of the families here in 1880 the Janouseks, Petteras, Havels, and Cerneys remained. Of other arrivals before 1885 there were left only the Browns and the Pitners; probably both of these families arrived late in 1880. Landowner maps current in 1948 bear for this neighborhood only the names; Janousek, Pettera, Pitner; J. Havel has land a few miles south. A number of these people including the Janouseks came directly from Bohemia; some were in Nebraska or Wisconsin for brief periods. There are Browns, a Havel, Janouseks, Petteras, and Pitners (and also Soukups; John was a widower in the 1895 census) buried in the Catholic cemetery at Herndon, Cerneys and a Havel in the city cemetery at Ludell. A small unstable settlement surrounded by Germans, with whom it shared cultural institutions could

not be expected to maintain linguistic autonomy long. The Browns regarded German as their cultural language so much that in 1889 they had German inscriptions made for two children they lost. On the same monument, they used English for two who died in 1896 and 1897. The neighbors of the Czechs had in 1950 never heard them use anything but English.

Atwood German, Czechs and Scandinavians (Low-y, Area G). Atwood from its beginning, 1879, contained foreign elements in its population.

It became a center for retirement and for urban careers of the settlers' sons and daughters. In 1952 the various languages were thus being spoken within its borders, by the old, habitually in some cases, by the young very occasionally, never habitually. The Czechs here represented were sometimes from families to the south and west not dwelling in either of the Czech districts, but as faithful linguistically as those in Area F.

Year of Arrival of Persons Born in Czecho-Slovakia and Resident
in Atwood City and Township and in Beaver Township in 1925

1867-72	2
1880-85	7
1887-89	6
1892-94	7
1901 and 05	2

Enne Swedes (Mid-k, Area H)

The 1880 census shows seven married Swedish couples and seven bachelors in the eastern tier of townships in Rawlins County and in Township 3 adjoining to the west. A. B. Johnson, who is reported to be the first of the Swedes to arrive, was not among them. Of those in the census, the Henningsons and the Olsons became permanent members of the community. Two of these Henningsons (Alfred 1837-1920, and Maria 1842-1889) and two of these Olsons (Andrew 1854-1933, and Ole (1849-1920) are buried in the Swedish Baptist Cemetery. The Alfred Henningsons and Andrew Olson came from Nebraska. Alfred had left Sweden only the year before, Andrew in 1877. Andrew went to Saronville, some 50 miles straight north of the point where the Republican leaves Nebraska and enters Kansas, very nearly on the 98th Meridian. The census takers of 1880 found Andrew shortly after his arrival with his brothers Peter and Ole. Ole had come out the year before /ch06. Solomon Olson and John Walinder (1839-1913) were with them in 1882 to found the Swedish Baptist Church. The church, 40 members in 1895, was never wealthy enough to have a full-time minister except for a year or two about 1900. Missionary pastors and local brethren served, among them Andrew Olson from 1917-22. The Seventh Day Adventists converted part of the membership in the 1920's, and when the organization was disbanded in 1931 most of the others went over to the Mission Covenant Church. The Baptists had a building and a cemetery near Enne, which was a post office that existed from 1882 till 1891 where Highway 36 enters Rawlins County from the East.

All the accounts of this settlement emphasize the amount of change in the population. Many of those who were there in 1880 had departed in

1895. The natural tendency of Swedes to move readily was increased a great deal by the hard times of the 1890's. But between these two dates the population grew from less than 30 to 300.

The change of personnel among the population is particularly evident to one examining the membership of the Enne Lutheran Church, Augustana Synod. The church was organized in 1885. Among the names of adults appearing in the census of that year, which was incomplete to be sure, only Peter (1831-1909) and Kagsa (1836-1924) Pearson appear also in the Lutheran cemetery, and yet in 1895 the Lutheran Church was the largest (55 members) of the three churches in the settlement. The Pearsons arrived by 1882. John Hanson (1867-1945), another Lutheran, came in 1883. In the confirmation class of 1889 there were two Petersons, Anna (1873-1949) and Fred (1870-1934), children of Adolph (1844-1916) and Louisa, (1834-1918), who came to the settlement between 1880 and 1885. Adolph, Louisa, Fred and his brother Oscar are buried in the Mission Covenant cemetery. Only Anna remained a Lutheran, wedded to August Henningson (1866-1934), son of Alfred who was buried with the Baptists. August's brother Hjalmar (1869-1942) also lies with the Lutherans. The choice of a church seems partly to have been a territorial matter; Lutherans live mostly in the east and southeast part of the settlement; Mission Covenanters in the west. The Lutherans numbered 88 in 1948.

In 1952 the Mission Covenanters had 73 members, 42 in 1895. The earliest recorded arrival of a member of this church is that of Herman Bergling (1847-1907); he came in 1882; he was not, however, a charter member. The Mission Church was organized in 1887. In 1917 it congratulated

itself in Strödda Drag on having most of its charter members still active. None of them appears in the census of 1885; the four mentioned by Strödda Drag are in the census of 1895 (O. W. Erikson - Strödda Drag has O. N.) 1856-1939 , A. L. Holmdahl 1863-1927 , A. H. Larson 1857-1933 , Mons Johnson 1840-1919 . Only A. L. Holmdahl had a mate; they had a child born in Kansas in 1893. All but one of the 18 charter members appear in the 1895 census, which means that they stuck to the country during the bad years of the nineties. Only one family lived outside Union Township, the western part of the area. There were few children among them. The case of S. G. Carlson (b. 1867) who was not a charter member is typical. In 1886 he bought a relinquishment on a timber claim in Union Township and lived alone nine years before he married Hulda Hoagland who came to the area with her family in 1889. The Mission congregation worshiped first in a sod building, graduated to wood in 1901, and began having regular pastors soon after 1903.

Strödda Drag says of its members at Enne: "A part of these first Swedes came from other states Iowa [at least one from Chariton] and Nebraska, others came from [Scandia] Republic County, Kansas. Some came direct from Sweden" /sd233. With exceptions the statement applies to the whole settlement. The great majority of those who were here in 1895 came directly to Kansas from Sweden; the stay at Scandia, if any, was usually short. They were from various provinces and sometimes had difficulty in understanding one another's Swedish. The immigration went on until about 1908.

Linguistically all three churches remained purely Swedish until the First World War. Then the Baptists began having one service every Sunday in English. The Lutherans allowed English to intrude into sermons only about

1923, but the last confirmation in Swedish took place in 1918. The services became all English about 1938. As might be expected from the stability and longevity of its membership, and also from the tendencies of the church everywhere, the Mission Covenanters kept Swedish much longer than the others. English was first introduced into preaching in 1935. By 1942 or 1943 it was completely victorious.

The evidence of tombstones indicates that the community early accepted English as the public language. There is almost no Swedish on them. To be sure, a great many of the oldest stones have no inscriptions, a testimony to the poverty of the community at that time. Only one - that of C. G. Johnson who died in 1916 has the words for born and died "född" and "dödd" in Swedish. It also has a Swedish Bible verse, but these are inscribed on a stone which those who sold it provided with a representation of heaven's gates and the English words "at rest in Heaven". Presumably Johnson, himself, would have preferred English, since he used that language on his wife's tomb of 1906. When Andrew Olson lost his first wife and a son in 1894, he put on the stone "born" and "died" in English, but quoted the Bible in Swedish.

Children were using English with each other by preference by 1910, often answering in English when addressed in Swedish. Most of them learned Swedish with a limited vocabulary for some time to come, but could not understand abstract ideas in that language. With a few exceptions, those born after 1930 were completely ignorant of their ancestral tongue. In 1952 the old talked together in Swedish, but with others they often preferred to use English because of the inexpertness of those they were talking to. In 1964 not even the old were using Swedish.

Rotate Germans (Lowest, Area K). There were enough Germans in Rotate Township in 1895 to justify considering them an area, but they developed no institution and the landholdings are scattered.

48.74 RENO COUNTY N23

See Settlement Histories for Concentrated Mennonite District,
Southwest Section (Super****, Area C)

Sylvia Germans (Low-x, Area A). The first settling family and later one of the most considerable in this area was that of the Yusts. Three German-born heads of family of that name appear in the census of 1875. Fred, born in 1817, C. L. F., 1844, Charles 1848. They had arrived in Kansas the year before, coming from Missouri. Fred 1817 had been born

in Graefenhainichen in Prussian Saxony. He and his wife Amalia 1817-1904 had come to the United States in 1955 and with the other Yusts came to Kansas from Missouri. C. L. F., who became known as Fred married Dora Kreie 1850-1917, born in St. Louis /ik1265, daughter of foreign born parents, Conrad 1822-1901 and Henrietta 1832-11, who also came to this area and left descendants whose name frequently appears on the landowner map. Katie (born 1872) Yust Snowbarger, daughter of Fred 1844 and Dora, used German frequently enough in her family so that Ed, born 1894, and Carrie, born 1897, could speak the language somewhat, and Esther, born 1899 could understand it. Clarence, born 1912, did not become proficient. Another son of Fred, 1817, was Henry, 1862-1943, who married Maria Ahrens at the Woodbine German Methodist Church (see Lyons Creek Germans); they spoke German in their home until the First World War. Their youngest son, Willis, born in 1914, retained some ability to understand German in 1956. Other families present in the area had no foreign born children in 1895. In other words there were no recent immigrants. The conservation of German was then good considering the size of the settlement. The principal cultural institution was a German Methodist church. There is only one inscription in German in its cemetery which dates back to 1881; the inscription is for Charles (1845-1915) and Wilhemina (1851-1891) Ankerholz who came here in 1882 /chl8.

Huntsville Germans (Low-y, Area B). The characteristic institution of this area is the Sterling Evangelical Mennonite church (152 members in 1955 /me); it belongs to a larger organization made up of those long called Defenseless Mennonites, earlier still Egli Amish. Amish linguistic conservatism characterized the group for many years. Public conversations in German were, however, abandoned during the

7482
B"

First World War. Still , certain families were using German at home at the time of the Second World War.

Henry Rabe, 1842-1923, characterized by Ploughe in 1917 as "one of the most influential members of the Sterling Mennonite Colony" /ch17:620 arrived at a claim five miles south of Nickerson in 1872. He continued to live there ten miles from the church, but he is buried in its cemetery. He was from Hanover via Carbonville, Ill. Daniel Schmucker (1830-1906) and his family from Illinois were among the first immigrants to the typical area of this group; they arrived in 1880. Jacob (1860-1942) presumably Daniel's son, was pastor for fifty years (1883-1933). Such stability explains in part conservation of German. Schumucker was most other members have been south German Alsatian; though a few of the people from Russia penetrated into the territory. The area in Illinois furnishing settlers was probably that at Peoria and to the east where several Defenseless churches are located; certainly this was true in the case of the Oyers (Andrew, 1829-1916, and numerous descendants). On the fringes of the Mennonite area, other Germans or Penn Germans formed churches, Plevna Lutheran, Missouri Synod (35 communicants in 1906) to the southwest, Salem Church of the Brethren (148 members in 1955) to the northeast. Younger Mennonites to escape rigidity, sometimes joined these and more purely "American" churches.

Nickerson Germans (Low-x, Area B"). Aaron Sievert, b. 1846, in Kansas before 1872 was one of the promoters of Nickerson in 1878 /al378. In 1880 there were with him there five German families, mainly Prussians from Iowa, and a bachelor Joseph Chesky born in

1853 in Posen. His parents were named Jaroch, and the name Chesky probably describes his Czech origin, remarkable among Poles and Germans. He married a wife with a German name (Arndt) from the same city, and became prosperous. The Germans of Nickerson were mostly of the merchant class. They developed no characteristic German institution that lasted, although for a while from before 1906 till about 1950 there was an Evangelical (E-R) church and the people there appear to have Engl-ized early.

Hutchinson Swedes (Low-v, Area D). Bergin says "Hutchinson received its first Swedish citizens in 1868 [he names nine] . . . Never large, there is here a little congregation which has existed since 1886" /kcll:33. Since Hutchinson did not exist till 1871 /al371, the citizens of 1869 must have been rural or have arrived later. In one case at least later arrival occurred. Frederick Ryde, born 1841, was in Leavenworth in 1866 but did not come to Hutchinson until 1872. Bergin adds, "Sven Eskilson [1826-1916] came in 1871." Ploughe (1917) confirms this date /chl7:155, says that he was born in Wexo, Sweden, and describes him as "one of the very earliest settlers . . . regarded as one of the leaders of the Swedish Colony." His father was Eskel Swanson, and it appears that ~~Svens~~ sons John and Peter, born 1848, who had come from Sweden to Topeka in 1869, followed earlier Swedish usage and were Swansons (or Swensons). At least John (born 1846) and Peter (born 1848) Swanson were also among the earliest. The family became extensive landowners. John's son Eskel, born 1887, married a girl from Sweden; their sons John, born 1928, and Donald, born 1931, learned to understand a little

Swedish. John's wife talked Swedish with her daughter until her death in 1946. Second generation Swedes from elsewhere in Kansas, at least Lindsborg and Axtell, joined the people at Hutchinson. The Hutchinson Swedes were mainly rural in the beginning. The Lutheran membership in 1949 was half rural, half urban, but the urban included a number of retired farmers. Swedish as a language of services was not completely abandoned until 1942, and the Swedes remained enthusiastic for their language longer than was usual in a settlement of this size. An informant of 1942 reported: "Swedes use their language in family and social groups."

[GERMANS] The same informant, who appears to have been exceptionally well-grounded, said that German was used in the same way. She located the Mennonite and Haven settlements correctly and may have meant the statement to apply particularly to them, but the city of Hutchinson contained more Germans than Swedes. To be sure they were scattered, and the foreign-born were frequently married to native-born in 1895, but they were reinforced by late arrivals. There were 128 persons born in Germany in 1920 as compared with 108 in 1910, born in Russia 75 against 41. Corresponding figures in the state census: Germany, 1915- 121, 1905 - 87; Russia, 1915 - 56, 1905 - 18. The General Conference established the First Mennonite Church in 1913; the Missouri Synod, Our Redeemer Lutheran in 1922. German newspaper 188-1890.

For Hutchinson Mexicans see #47.83.

Yoder and Partridge Amish and Old Mennonites (Low-w and y, Areas G and E).

[Bibliographical Note: Some details have their source in a series of articles by Clarke Thomas and Glenn Williams appearing in the Hutchinson News Herald on Sundays from 20 May 1951 to 24 June 1951. These are referred to simply by the day and month of the article.] Yoder is

called for Eli M. Yoder, the son of an Amish bishop in Maryland who arrived in 1870 /me (1874/20 May m16:2:20), and who eventually left the Amish, but continued to be an economic force in the community. There were no other Amish until 1883 when families began to arrive both near him and near Partridge. By 1885 there were nine families at Yoder. The settlers of 1883 were from Shelby County, Illinois, but later many came from the Indiana and Ohio settlements. "By 1918 there were four Amish congregations with perhaps 80 to 90 families" /me; in 1955 two congregations and about fifty families. The reduction in number had two sources. In 1919 Amish severity of customs had alienated enough families so that 65 members organized the Yoder Mennonite church, 260 members in 1957. The other source of reduction was the construction in 1943 of a Navy air base just adjoining the town of Yoder; the town (population in 1957 about 100) had existed since the Missouri Pacific built through in 1886. It had provided and, with the departure of the war installation, continued to provide a focus almost exclusively Penn-German.

At Partridge the situation was not the same as regards the focus. The village there was founded in 1884 enough to one side of the Amish so that it sheltered few Penn-Germans, and drew trade from other groups too. Here there were at one time four congregations, later three with 192 members in 1955. The discontent with severity here was less because under the leadership of Bishop Dan E. Mast fewer things were intolerably worldly. However, in 1948 the Plainview Conservative Mennonite Church was formed

(24 members, 5 families); in 1958 it had 105 members. The others are Old Order. The Conservatives, less severe, allow cars and telephones.

Linguistically these Amish and Mennonite settlements have conserved the use of German--especially their dialect, "Dutch"---better than any settlement of Europeans in Kansas has preserved its immigrant language. As described in the Hutchinson News Herald series of 1951 the situation among the Amish at Yoder was then "[At] church services . . . everything is in the German dialect of the Amish . . . [they sing] from a German hymn book, the Ausbund" /27May. "When they first enter school some Amish children are hampered by the fact that they know little or no English. 'Low German' is spoken almost exclusively in many Amish homes and, in addition, the children attend three-week summer courses to learn what is called 'High German', the language used in church services" /10June. "Neighbors . . . get their dander up at the perverse way in which the Amish will persist in talking their German dialect even when non-Amish are working with them" /24June. In 1966 the situation at Yoder was the same, according to a reliable informant, had been for forty years except that there were fewer Amish. But the Mennonites were also conservators of "Dutch." They, unlike the Amish, could go to high school, and in the 1940's the Mennonite students in Haven High School knew "Dutch," but the Lutheran students there found it so different from their own German that they could communicate only in English. So much for the south. To the north in 1956 six Mennonite families lived beyond the Arkansas

River. In one of these which had come years before from Kalona, Iowa, a girl aged 14, could understand "Dutch" well but not speak it. A sister aged six, knew only a little. When these girls associated with those their own age they found that the ^{others} still played together in "Dutch." All Mennonites of the region except a few young children were then proficient in "Dutch." A student of Hutchinson High School of the 1960's asserted that Mennonite fellow students of his could speak German. (He might have been referring to people from the Russian-German settlements to the northeast, but the teenagers there were then not often proficient.) In 1966 the informant at Yoder cited above said that the children in many Mennonite families were speaking "Dutch." He himself was born in 1921 of Amish-born parents and learned to speak "Dutch," but had come to answer in English those who addressed him in dialect. His parents had retired (father born 1898) to Sarasota, Florida, and the Penn-Germans gathered there used "Dutch" together exclusively.

The linguistic conditions at Partridge have been slightly less conservative. In 1949 outsiders reported that all Amish used "Dutch" together. The family of an Amish minister said that "Dutch" was their first language; a child of two was then able to speak it, but also understood English. Her father, aged ca. 25 contrary to the custom of most ministers of the group, kept his notes in English. In 1964, an Amish university student, a rare phenomenon, born ca. 1943, reported that he spoke German himself and with those his age, and that two younger brothers spoke German. Among the Conservative Mennonites at Partridge another university student spoke "Dutch" well, and he gave others the impression that even little children were still speaking the dialect.

Arlington Galician Germans (Low-y, Area F). The date of arrival at Arlington of Galician Mennonites is not specified by the usual Mennonite sources /me, ml, sc, ss. There seem to have been people born in Germany there by 1876 (Fehr /ik385), but the Galicians first appear in the census of 1895 with children no more than ten years old born in Kansas; there were then five families (2 Miller, 2 Langscheid, 1 Linscheid). The five individuals born in Austria and resident in Westminster Township in 1925 said that they had reached the United States, one in 1883, four in 1884. The Mennonites were not strong enough to form a church until 1905. The minister until 1937 was John P. Linscheid. He was succeeded by George Kopper. The Koppers were of Swiss Volhynian Mennonite stock at Pretty Prairie, and the main reenforcements came thence. Preaching in German went on until shortly after 1937. German seems to have fallen from general use rather suddenly. A boy born in 1917 was unable to speak English on entering school. In 1949 the language was little used. The small cemetery contains five inscriptions in German, 3 of 1909, one each of 1916 and 1922.

Haven Germans (Mid-m, Area H). Among the earliest settlers born in Germany were John (1839-1914) and Maria (1848-1909) Harms. They arrived in 1872 /ch17:612. The inscription on her tombstone is in German, his in English. The Harmses came almost directly from Germany. Geo. Schlickau, born 1850 in Germany, who arrived in the same year /ch17:612, took a wife born in Illinois. Many of the settlers arrived from that state. Harms and Schlickau, like almost everyone in the area, were Lutherans, Missouri Synod. St. Paul's was organized in 1880. German

74112

continued to be used in services during the last years only once a month, until 1941. In 1940 there was still some pastoral work in German. The community in general was affected in its use of German by the hysteria of the First World War and in 1950 only old people were speaking the language habitually. It could be used for secrecy on telephones. The usage in the Tonn family represents rather conservative usage. Christian (1847-1935) and Wilhemina (1857-1922) Tonn, born in Germany, had four children born in Wisconsin between 1874 and 1883, a son born in Kansas in 1884 or early in 1885, then two daughters, then a son born in 1892. The last learned to read and write German; his whole instruction was in it. He married a girl, born in 1897, who had come from Germany in 1913. These two used German in the household for some time and their son Gerhart spoke no English on entering school; German became a permanent acquisition of his. He and another child were teased for speaking German, and the parents influenced by the prevailing psychology after the First World War, gave up using the language, but not so entirely that a daughter born in 1928 was completely without knowledge of it. Her mother even taught her to read a little.

Language of Inscriptions in Haven Lutheran Cemetery

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1873	1	0	0%
1880-9	8	8	50%
1890-9	6	9	60%
1900-9	5	15	75%
1910-9	11	12	52%
1920-9	33	5	13%
1930-9	32	6	16%

No German later than 1938

7443
7721

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Germany and Resident in Haven Township in 1925

1866-68	4	1891-94	3
1872-79	2	1906	1
1882-85	11	1913	1
1887-89	5	1924	2

Pretty Prairie Russian Germans (Hi-d, Area I). As the table in #40.22 shows, practically all the foreign born Mennonites at Pretty Prairie living in 1925 were immigrants of 1874. They did not come directly to Reno County. They were part of the Volhynian Swiss company which split in New York in 1874, half going to the settlement begun the year before near Yankton, South Dakota, half coming to Mound Ridge, Kansas. By the 1880's more were dissatisfied with South Dakota than with Mound Ridge. Forerunners established themselves near Pretty Prairie in 1882; the main body, largely from the far north, but partly from McPherson County bought extensive tracts of Santa Fe land there in 1884, settled and at once organized a church /ml 50:2:30ff. The pastor from the beginning until 1919 was J. J. Flickingen. John B. Graber was the assistant pastor until his death in 1917; no lay pastors after 1919. Because of the possibility of statistical analysis an extensive study of ^{Christian names in} the Graber family is appended to the community survey. At the churches services were entirely in German until 1937, then English once a month till ca. 1940, twice a month till about 1945, three times a month till 1947. Thereafter German was heard only on special occasions as when the church bulletin of 27 March 1949 announced: "We had a nice attendance Tuesday evening to hear Dr. Jacob H. Jantzen of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada ~~at~~ deliver a German sermon." The church also maintained a German Bible School till 1940. The whole transition took place under one pastor P. P. Tschetter; it was not without friction. A young outsider,

himself brought up in a German-speaking household, and a five-year resident of Pretty Prairie, reported in 1942 that German was generally used in church, home, and business transactions. Another informant omitted business; evidently deals with non-Germans were concluded without German. In 1950 a young descendant of the Grabers, born ca. 1931, reported that he and those of his age used only a few jocular expressions and then when they were in groups of mixed ages. When he attempted to speak German his parents smiled, mostly at his accent, partly at his vocabulary. Among the generation older a continuous conversation in German was uncommon. Usually the speakers were shifting back and forth from one language to the other.

48.75 REPUBLIC COUNTY P1

See Settlement Histories for Scandia Swedes and Norwegians (U-hi****, Area B) and Cuba Czechs (U-hi***, Area D)

Byron Germans (Low-x, Area A) are only the south fringe of the extensive Lutheran area in Thayer county, Nebraska, and the two churches of both Iowa Synod (American Lutheran) importance-are in Nebraska. St. Peter's, 2 miles beyond the border, and St. Paul's in Byron, nearly on it. St. Peter's, organized in 1882 is the mother church of St. Paul's, organized in 1907 (both dates from St. Paul's pastor of 1951, other local sources vary). There were Germans in the neighborhood by 1875, but the Hanoverians who form the bulk of the congregations appear to have settled in the Kansas sections shortly after 1880. This was a zealously German community, greatly condemned by its neighbors to the south in 1917, and so resistant to public pressure then that they rejected their pastor's proposal to conduct English services during the war. Even in the Second World War there was sympathy with Hitler. It is not surprising then to learn that at St. Paul's all records and all services were in German until 1939. Beginning then there was some experimentation with English for services. By 1943 the arrangement was for services in both languages every Sunday and it endured until at least past 1955. In 1951 200 attended the English services, 45 to 60 the German. By 1962 there were only three services a year in German, so also in 1964; there might have been more if ministers proficient in German had been available. After 1938 the pastor's records were in English, but the minutes of the congregation continued to be in German until 1949. Religious instruction in German ceased in 1946; from 1938 English had been required--through pastoral pressure--additional German optional. Testimony of 1951, 1955, and 1964 all concurs in affirming that

half of those born at about 1915 learned German so well that it became a permanent acquisition, though usually only the dialect. In 1950 there were still young people who were proficient, but by 1964 the old who addressed those somewhat younger in German were answered in English. Here is an example of a rather conservative family living on the Kansas side. Herman Kroger was born in 1886 halfway between the cities of Bremen and Hanover. In 1893 his family emigrated to Byron, where an uncle lived. In 1910 he took a wife with whom in 1955 he usually conversed in German. Their first-born Harmon, 1911, was so proficient in German that upon entering the army during the Second World War he served exclusively in prisoner of war camps. He, however, married a girl of Norwegian descent and used only English in his home. No progeny. The second son Fred, born in 1915, was killed in 1950. He left a son and daughter, born in 1943 and 1945, who learned to understand German from their grandmother.

St. Peter's cemetery was identified in the 1950's and 1960's by a notice in German erected in 1926 at the gate.

Language of Inscriptions in St. Peter's Cemetery, Byron

<u>Year</u>	<u>Confirmed</u>			<u>Unconfirmed</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% German</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% German</u>
1880-9	0	2	100%	0	5	100%
1890-9	4	12	75%	2	15	88%
1900-9	0	19	100%	8	12	60%
1910-9	0	19	100%	4	15	79%
1920-9	2	15	88%	2	6	75%
1930-9	5	8	62%	No children later		
1940-9	7	1	13%			

No German from 1950-5

Belleville Poles (Low-y, Area C)

The Belleville Poles, the only rural Polish settlement in Kansas except for elements in the population at Hope and Gorham might be better called the Tiago Poles except that Tiago post office endured only from 1882 till 1891. As late as 1915, however, the Catholic directory used the name in referring to the church established for the Poles, Saint Josaphat's, built on 7-2-3. This church was organized in 1874 at the home of John Shemonsky (b. 1839, no children in 1885). In 1883 eighteen families were attending. Very early, about 1883, the small group of Poles began to be reenforced by a few families from the neighboring Slavic people (Jehlik, Hanzlick). The date of arrival of the Poles cannot have been much anterior to the founding of St. Josaphat's, but Mike Lovenduske appears to have come from Missouri by 1873. Some others also came from Missouri (Dumback, Rost, Uschler, Wenda). Some came from Pennsylvania (Tarkowski came in 1879 from Pittsburgh, Konovalske, Dumback). All came originally from western or northwestern Poland because in 1885 they said that they were born in Germany or Prussia. The immigrants were very frequently so faithful to their mother tongue that they did not learn English, which was hard when they grew old and were isolated from others. Linguistic habits in the late 80's are clear from this statement of Frank Jehlik, a Czech. "Since we lived near the small settlement of Poles, father was able to talk or understand their language, and some of them in turn were able to talk Bohemian fairly well so that there was no difficulty in understanding each other"/nm97. Ultimately there was intermarriage between these groups. Still a feeling of separateness persisted into the fifth decade of this century as the following statement of 1949 by a male Czech who came to the United States in 1906 shows:

"When Hitler was taking over Czecho-Slovakia in 1939, the Polish people here in the county were real nasty to us, and laughed and teased us, and were real glad that Poland got her share of our Czech territory. But when Hitler took over Poland a bit later, then they were quiet, they cried then, too" /rml18.

The second generation learned to speak Polish, but even those born before 1890 were hardly able to speak it in 1955. "It just sorta got away from them." No Polish services in church (and the group is devout), no schooling in Polish, more English speaking neighbors than Slav explain the early disappearance of Polish in a community whose first members were ardently desirous to keep it.

782

Wayne-Seapo-Talmo Swedes (Mid-m, Area E) might better be called the Wayne Swedes, for Seapo was within the range of the Sibley Swedes of Cloud County, predominantly Lutheran, so also Talmo though it was more distant. Wayne was founded in 1884 close beside a Swedish Methodist settlement already in existence. An early family whose surname is found more than once on the 1940 landowner map was that of Olof Englund (1843-1930, Brita 1843-1923). The oldest child residing with him in 1895 was born in Kansas and aged 22. Some Englunds, who were apparently Olof's brother, Hans born 1846, and mother, Catherine born 1810, also lived in Grant Township then. Those who had lived elsewhere in the United States were generally from Illinois, but many came directly from Sweden. Ella Ekstrom (1838-1916) was born in Helsingland, farther north than most immigrants. There are indications that others came from the region. The Swedish Methodist Church was reported to have been founded in 1873, indicating that population must have been gathering a few years before. At the time that the Swedish merged with the American Methodists in 1924 services were half in Swedish half in English. Even after fusion there was a Swedish Sunday school class in the merged church. The drawing power of the church is illustrated by the case of Otto Gomer (1873-1911) who came from Sweden to the United States in 1879. On reaching manhood en route to join a brother and sister south of Marquette, he stopped to husk corn for an American farmer living between Wayne and Belleville and remained at Wayne because of the church; he married Minnie Peterson (1884-1932) brought up as an orphan by Hans Englund. Their son Emanuel born in 1907 learned only a limited amount of Swedish. By 1957 few of Swedish origin remained in the area; among them those born before 1900 could speak ~~passably~~ well in Swedish. The only inscription in Swedish in the cemetery is to Carl J. Asklund 1856-1880.

7611

48.76 RICE COUNTY N 19

For Lyons Mexicans see #47.89.

Bushton Germans (Mid-k, Area A). The town of Bushton (post office as Sorghum 1883) has been the meeting place of several German stocks, particularly of the members of the Salem Methodist Church to the south and of Holy Name Catholic Church (smaller). The stock of the Salem church was in the area by 1874; Louis Hoelscher son of ^{H.}Hoelscher, German born, was born here in that year /ch 19. Earlier the family had been in Indiana and Tennessee. The Catholics began arriving a little before 1880; in 1885 Joseph Oberle, born 1843 in Germany, had a child aged 7 born in Illinois another aged 5 born in Kansas, James Hertash, born 1838 in Switzerland had a child 9, Swiss, and one 4 born here. Ignatz Habiger, born 1842 in Moravia, died 1900, also had a child 4 born in Kansas. Other sources /ch 19, ik 480, confirm 1880 as the year Habigers came. Among Ignatz's sons was Otto, born in 1884. He learned to speak German. His son Lawrence, born in 1910 or 1911, also learned to speak it but became rusty; a daughter Beatrice born two years later did not learn.

The Moravian German element in the parish was not large; the parish was not merely a branch of Odin nearby. The Catholic cemetery's oldest inscription is of the 1890's; four inscriptions (20%) of the period 1910-19 are in German, none others except that the word "mutter" appears once in 1935. A German-born priest preached in German until about 1935.

The Salem Methodist Church was organized in the early 1880's. Until the German Methodist Conference united with English, 1928 for this rural church, both German and English were preached every Sunday. There were disputes over the matter earlier; a party favored fusion earlier. Later funerals conducted in German occurred. The German inscriptions in the

Salem cemetery are no more numerous than those in the Catholic, 1 in the 90's, 3 in the 00's. At one time in the schoolhouse there were the required six months of English schooling, then three months devoted to German. There were two or three Volgan families here, but most of the Germans were from Germany, from East Frisia, from Pomerania, for example. Among the earlier settlers (by 1876) and the founders of Salem Church were Henry (1848-1929) and Louisa (1849-1929) Roelfs from respectively the last two provinces mentioned. Their son George was born here in 1877. He was brought up on German, and he married a wife, Elizabeth born 1878, who had been brought from Russia at the age of fourteen. While they were rearing their children, German was the language of the parents. Nevertheless the children were unable to do more than understand German after a few years of school. Alice Roelfs, a college student in 1942, reported that German was used only with old people and at reunions.

Bushton itself received a population of Germans of varied origin, but Schleswig-Holsteiners were most numerous. A German Methodist Church was founded here too later than Salem. It merged with the American earlier and its last German sermon was in 1926. In the first decade of this century German was not usual in business except in dealings purely agricultural, selling farm machinery for example. It was, however, common in familiar intercourse. By 1925 it was not often heard in public, but it was dear to the old. Two or three physicians were unable to set up a sustaining practice, in part because they were ignorant of it. Between 1938 and at least 1942 even until 1949 a modest ability to understand a description of symptoms in German was of help. However, by then, a postal employee said: "You never hear German unless somebody just wants to show off." The Volkland family offers an example. William (1826-1888) was born in Saxc-Weimar, his wife Pauline (1835-1915) in the Rhineland. They came from

Fond du Lac, Wisconsin to the area before 1885. Among their children was William (1864-1915) born in Wisconsin. He or his brother Albert born two years later was the father of William F., born in 1894. William F. learned German from his maternal grandfather. His mother's mother habitually spoke English, though it was broken, and did not contribute to the education in German. William F's older brother not only learned to speak German; he received an education in written German at the Salem summer school and used it in commercial affairs. William F's younger brother did not learn German. The city cemetery of Bushton offers earlier inscriptions in German than the congregational cemeteries, but they are no more numerous, 70's-1, 80's-2, 90's-1, 10's-1.

Several miles to the south of Salem Church the Missouri Lutherans organized in 1907 a rural church with Chase as the post office. There were burials in its cemetery a decade earlier. The yearbook of 1906 claimed 220 members. In 1910 the entry was 180 with the remark Wegzug (removals); in 1916 it was 105 with the same remark. The congregation disbanded in 1946.

Crawford Germans (Lowest, Area B). The 1919 Platbook records that Christian Klein settled in 1884. The 1885 census registers Christian Klein, born Germany 1853 with a daughter, seven, born in Pennsylvania and another, five, born in Kansas. Neither he nor anyother Germans of the 1885 census appear in that of 1880. This early established stock was not so important, however, in conserving German linguistically as dissident Mennonites from near Elyria in McPherson County (Voth, Gaede), names typical of Bushton and Lorraine are also to be found in the area. By 1956 German had fallen entirely into disuse, though the people from Elyria sometimes used it in visits to their old home.

Rockville Township Germans (Low-x, Area C). The name Wernet appears in the 1880 census and at several points on 1940 landowner maps. In 1885 there were three Wernets all born in Germany: Haven, born in 1851, Herman, 1852, Albert, 1860. Haven had come from Missouri, the others from Germany. The two older were married to German born wives from Iowa and Illinois. The landowner map shows some Mennonite names found among the Swiss at Mound Ridge, also names suggesting Schleswig Holstein. Conservation of German was probably minimal.

Saxman Germans (Low-w, Area D) are located almost as near Nickerson as they are Saxman. The Midland Evangelical (and Reformed) Church is their center. Significant names are Engelland and Thoede. David and George Engelland (born in Germany in 1845 and 1851) appear in the census of 1885, George with a child, six, born in Kansas. David Thoede also appears in that census with a daughter a year old born in Germany. The Midland church was organized in 1885. In the late 1920's services were half in German, half in English; by 1938 German had been completely abandoned. A later minister able to serve in German found too few requests to make it worth while. Reports of 1950 and 1953 said that very few, 2 or 3 in the latter year, spoke German. Even in a family that came after the First World War the children had not learned to speak German. An exception was the family of the widow of August Wahl. They came from East Prussia (near Memel) in 1910. Her daughter Amelia, born 1917, and son Richard, born 1923, spoke German with her on certain topics when they were alone together. Her English was imperfect, but none of her grandchildren could speak German.

48.77 RILEY COUNTY P8

See Settlement Histories for Mariadahl Swedes (U-Hi****, Area C).

Fancy Creek Germans (Mid-k, Area A)

"In November 1856, Edward Secrest [born 1833], Solomon Secrest [born 1834] and Henry Shellenbaum [born 1833] natives of Switzerland, but recently from Seymour, Jackson County, [62, 8-35], Indiana, came up the Blue River, and built the first log cabin on the Big Blue, above Fancy Creek. In the early part of 1857 they settled on Fancy Creek" /al302, also others.

All three lived out their lives in this area and became figures of local importance, Edward Secrest, especially. He was a county commissioner, a legislator and a regent of what was to become Kansas State University /col260.

The three were born in Winterthur, Canton Zurich. The Secrests were sons of a weaver, John Ulrich (1794-1867), wife Regula (1792-1885), who brought his family to Indiana in 1846 via New Orleans and the river route. The town of Seymour was a center of Germanic settlement. The Shellenbaums bereft of their father, who had died at sea, joined them in 1859 /col220, 1768. In 1855 Ed Secrest, moved by the talk of Free-staters, came out to Kansas City. Matthew Mudeater, a Wyandotte chief, put him to work. Thus, when Solomon and Henry joined him the next year, 1856, they were able to join the Indians on a buffalo hunt. On their return they stopped off to visit another settler from Indiana, Henry Condray, who had sons and daughters about their own age. Henry Condray born in eastern Tennessee, with a wife born in North Carolina, had begot all his children in Indiana, and had settled at the junction of Mill Creek with the Blue River in 1855. The Condrays were at that point about ten miles downstream from the mouth of

Fancy Creek, where the pro-slave Randolphs were already established. The Randolphs left their name to the town, but soon moved on, and the young Swiss were to some degree instrumental in their departure. At least Henry Shellenbaum won out in occupying a claim over one of the young Randolphs. The three Swiss took claims (on 4 and 10-7-6) just upstream on Fancy Creek at the edge of the Blue flood plain, a site ideal in Swiss eyes, the fertile bottom of a well defined valley. They were almost immediately joined by John Fryhofer (born 1833), from the same towns in Switzerland and Indiana /ch90:1220. The parents of the Secrests joined them in 1860, and John Fryhofer's father Jacob in 1864. (Regula Secrest was a Fryhofer.) John Peter P. Heller, who had married Esther, another child of John U. and Regula Secrest, came out from Indiana in 1863. Heller was not a Swiss but a South German (from Wiesbaden in Nassau), and in 1861 Henry Shellenbaum married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Siebecker (1804-1869), a Bavarian, who had settled on a farm near by. No more Swiss came from Indiana, but in 1861 Henry and Elizabeth Wiesendanger from Zurich came /co 1804 and by 1865 Caspar Hinnen (born 1823) whose wife Caroline was from Wurtemberg was there. With these people, rural Swiss Settlement in the lower Fancy Creek Valley ended, and indeed the Hinnens and Wiesendangers no longer appear in the census of 1885. The linguistic character of the settlement was early affected by marriages more destructive of Swiss speech than the admixture of South Germans. In 1861 Solomon Secrest married Rebecca Melvina Dealy, a southerner whose roots in Missouri went back to 1818 and in North Carolina much farther. And in 1866 Edward Secrest married Sophie, the daughter of one of the earliest Swedish immigrants, Nels Peter Axelson. We may assume then

that both standard German and Swiss dialect had brief lives at the mouth of the Fancy Creek Valley, although in 1890 the Fryhofers were members of a German Methodist church /ch90, whose membership in large part came from somewhat farther up the creek.

The nearest early center up stream was at Winkler's Mills later called Winkler /a1302. August (1830-1885) and Frederick (1836-1900) Winkler were Saxons /ch90:672, col874, of whom there have been relatively few in Kansas, no others near the Fancy Creek Valley except relatives who arrived later. August left Germany for Toledo, Ohio, went home for less than a year in 1855, and was in St. Louis in the spring of 1857(/a1302, 1874) when he set out for Kansas. The next year he was established at the mill site on Fancy Creek (11-7-5). In 1860 Frederick joined him directly from Germany; they took claims on the section just to the north. In 1864 /ch90:672 for August, census of 1865 for both, they married Anna (1834-) and Pauline (- 1913) Vogler from Wurtemberg. Anna came to the U. S. in 1862. The mill operated until about 1895 when it was destroyed by flood. August had German neighbors in the very year of his arrival. Frank Droll (born 1836), a Bavarian /ch81, and Rudolph Niehenke (born 1831), a Hanoverian /ch90:421, settled 2 miles to the northwest (33 and 34-6-5), and Frederick Schwartz (1829-between 1869 and 1881), Mecklenburger, up the creek a little farther (5-7-5) the next year /ch81, a 1302. The variety of German dialects represented along the course of Fancy Creek was great and later settlement did not diminish this characteristic. A few late arriving Swiss (Senn, Peter, Rothlesberger) on the various edges of the district contributed to it. Jonas Peter who had immigrated to the Seymour, Indiana, region bought land in 1859 on Fancy Creek somewhat

upstream from the other Swiss. After his death his sons William F. (1854-1916) and Charles W. (1850-after 1916) came out and settled on the land. William attained prominence, was a county commissioner and a legislator /co 1804. He married a Wiesendanger. Charles married a Hanoverian /co 1766. The initial wave of settlement slackened about 1862, and paused until near the beginning of the next decade. It then resumed and continued through the early 1880's with a small burst in May Day Township about 1891. There were more immigrant survivors in May Day in 1925 than elsewhere, though it was not more heavily populated. The count there was: 1866-1; 1870-1882-11; 1886-1893-9; later-5. To this area came the Klockes and the Oberhelms in the late 1870's.

The post offices in this area at Winkler's Mills and May Day, established 1874 and 1871, did not develop into towns of appreciable size. Winkler besides the mill had a store owned successively by Richard Burk, a Wurtemberger, born 1840, and Otto Buchheim a Saxon born 1861, who became August Winkler's son-in-law. Burk moved his stock to Leonardville and its lately arrived railroad in 1883, and Buchheim opened his establishment in the same quarters in 1886. Evidently business at Winkler was not heavy. May Day is on the western edge of the German District. A Farmer's Lodge established there in 1876 had as officers one Swede, three "Americans" and a Bavarian Jew. The latter was Solomon Weichselbaum, presumably a brother of Theodore, who was prospering at Ogden in the south of the county /a 1301, ch90:1050, co90:1895. Solomon had established a store in May Day /a 1302, but he apparently gave up between 1882 and 1885, for his name does not appear in the census of 1885.

Religious life in the neighborhood of Winkler's Mills seems to have early been of no stable character. There was a Baptist church in the neighborhood in 1882 /a 1802, and the German Methodist Church to which the Fryhofers belonged had members here. The most nearly stable church was St. John's Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, organized in 1884. Pastor Jungck came from Palmer in Washington County to establish it. He had begun the work the year before at St. Peter's at Chepstow in his county just north of the Fancy Creek Germans. St. John's and St. Peter's remained closely bound together usually with the same pastor, who resided with his larger congregation at Chepstow. St. John's remained such a small church, usually from 50 to 60 souls, maximum 91 in 1906, that its northern neighbor developed something of a paternal attitude toward it, sometimes protective, sometimes urging it to leave the nest and strike out for itself. It needed help, for it was in some sort a frontier bastion of the heavily German Lutheran settlements in Washington County, lost among the Swedes and the Evangelical Association (now EUB) Germans. From 1889 to 1903, through the hard times, Chepstow and Winkler had the advantage of a continuous Lutheran pastorate, that of Frederick Moeller. As regards language, the services were in German until 1917. Chepstow's parish history of 1933 says "During Pastor Keller's time [1917-1926] the change from the use of the German language to that of the English began, and in the ensuing years the transition from the one language to the other became more rapid, so that today most of the pastor's work is in the language of the country." Pastor Keller rather certainly had the same policy in both churches. English was introduced at St. John's in 1917 by public pressure. German, which was not uncommon in cemetery inscriptions in St. John's cemetery before the First World War disappeared in 1918.

77/16

The strongest church among the Fancy Creek Germans was the Zion Evangelical Church to the north. It was fostered by the Swede Creek Church farther east. The territorially small Swede Creek Germans (Riley B, mid m) are separated from the Fancy Creek Germans only by a narrow band of territory inhabited mostly by Swedes. Part of the Toburens, prominent along Swede Creek, where they settled in 1858 /a 1302, after arriving in Blue bottoms the year before, moved into the northern Fancy Creek area rather early. At least Henry Toburen (1834-1893) is buried in the Chepstow Lutheran cemetery and Minnie Toburen (1867-1932) is in the Zion cemetery. Furthermore Henry Sondker (1853-1938) who in 1865 was living with Adolph Toburen lies in the Zion cemetery with other Sondkers. In 1883 when the Zion Church was organized he was class-leader / pz157. Henry Oberhelman (1849-1924) and Fred (1847-1933) and William (1852-) Klocke, belonging to families mentioned above, were other officers. These families were all Prussians (the Oberhelmans were from Osnabrück [68,4]; others were probably Rhinelanders). Something like the variety of dialects along Fancy Creek existed here. Wurtembergers and Hanoverians each furnished large elements as well as the Rhinelanders. The Oberhelmans came first to Swede Creek Township (in 1874 /ch90:537). The Evangelical Association began to work in the Swede Creek area in 1864, particularly with the Toburens. Henry Sondker was a member of a class organized there in 1869; in 1877 the Swede Creek people built a church. The Zion Church became strong, 75 members in 1895; 189 in 1952. "This has been a strong and loyal congregation for many years, and from her folds several excellent young men have entered . . . the ministry." /pz 158. Part of the members live in the south edge of Washington County; though it is generally

agreed that there is a definite frontier between this settlement and the
Chepstow settlement, there have been Richters, Toburens, Vathauers and
Wichmans in both St. Peter's Lutheran and Zion EUB churches.

This northern Riley County area was more interested in religion than was the area close to Fancy Creek. In 1903 the Evangelical congregations were strong enough to establish a third, Peach Grove or Bethany, between Zion and Swede Creek 3302. By 1912 it could build a church, but this congregation has never had a large membership, 74 members in 1948.

Services at Zion were in German till the First World War, and English became the sole language of the minister in his pulpit very soon thereafter. A German Sunday school class persisted, however, till about 1948. The readiness with which German was abandoned is partly to be explained by the fact that neither Lutherans nor Evangelical Association had done much to teach their children standard German. The tombstone data indicates that English had been generally accepted as the language of record by 1910.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Zion
(Fancy Creek) E.U.B. Cemetery, Riley County

	English	German	% of German
1884-9	3	4	59%
1890-9	9	8	47%
1900-9	7	4	36%
1910-9	11	2	15%
1920-9	15	1	6%

no German thereafter

The shift in the family of German-born Herman (1851-1912) and Elonore (1857-1925) Vathauer whose own inscriptions are in English and who were in the area by 1880 took place in the 90's. A five year old son who died in 1891 has a German inscription; an infant buried in 1896 has one in English. Since inscriptions for children regularly go over to English more quickly than those for adults, the case is typical.

The language of inscriptions in the Winkler Lutheran Cemetery shows a similar pattern; only two German inscriptions are later than 1907; one is of 1916, the other 1918.

Expectations as to colloquial use of German might be either for conservatism or for early abandonment. Fancy Creek's isolation--no railroads, no towns for quite a distance--would contribute to the persistence of the immigrant language. Its comparative smallness, the variety of its dialects, and except on its northern edge the neighborhood of Swedes (or to the west mixed stock) would tend to make the group give up German. The evidence reconciles the two tendencies, and here there is no need to distinguish the narrow valley from the north. Immigrants and children of immigrants in contact with their parents remained faithful to German as the speech of the home until death. Consequently as late as 1952 there were a few families where German was the regular means of communication. Those born after 1900 had not since the First World War much used German with each other unless living with their parents. Even those who spoke it habitually before gave it up during the First World War. If they were born before 1917 they were capable of speaking German, though those born later than 1906 did so imperfectly. Those born in the 1920's learned to understand somewhat.

Swede Creek Germans (Mid-m, Area B). Geographically these Germans are rather clearly separated from the Fancy Creek Germans by the landholdings of Swedes, but otherwise they are closely bound to the Evangelical Association (EUB) families to the west and development of linguistic use is very nearly the same. Swede Creek Evangelicals settled earlier than those to the west. The Toburens were here in 1858 /tk189, a1302, ch09 first Fred, born 1834, then after 1860, before 1865, his father Adolph F., born 1799, and brothers, Adolph, born 1824 and Herman, born 1838. Preaching began in 1864, and formal organization occurred in 1869.

Leonardville Swedes (U-Hi***, Area D)

Leonardville was non-existent until 1881 when the Kansas Central was built through Riley County. It is also on the frontier between the Leonardville Swedes and the Leonardville-Riley Germans. Still its name is given to the Swedes because there is no other population center within their area. Walsburg acquired a post office only in 1891, and while Alert had one by 1871, it lost it in 1886 and neither place became more than a church center.

The Leonardville Swedish settlement is an outgrowth of the Mariadahl group. The Germans who early took up the Fancy Creek Valley split the Swedes west of the Blue River so that only a narrow neck of territory, in the midst of which lay Randolph, connected this western group with the people on the Blue River. The relationship between families near the river was close, intermarriages were common, and the small Randolph Baptist and Mission Churches drew from both groups. Consequently most of the remarks made elsewhere on the linguistic development of the Mariadahl Swedes may be applied to at least the eastern section of the Leonardville group. The Walsburg people who populated this eastern neighborhood with their center some five miles southwest of Randolph were rather solidly Lutheran and tended to stay clear of the heterodox town. This area had no Swedish settlers until after the Civil war. S. P. Johnson and Samuel Anderson who came in 1865 to "near Randolph" /da may be counted as of the Blue Valley group but Martin Nelson who settled on the third section west of the town in 1866 must be assigned to the new group. It grew rapidly in the years following. In 1870 Gustav Ruthstrom, who had from 1866 been a merchant at Randolph, established himself on a farm in the heart of the Walsburg district (1 mile south of the church).

His family was still on this land in 1961. Something over a fourth of the foreign-born Swedes living in this area in 1925 came to America between 1866 and 1869, another large fourth in the period 1880-1884. In 1885 only four or five of the Swedish families resident in Fancy Creek and Jackson

townships had children born anywhere but in Sweden or in Kansas. In other words their stay elsewhere was very brief. By 1890 seven-eighths of those still living in 1925 were already in America. The community was thus made up of adults with a minimum spread in age who were to receive practically all their Americanization in Riley County.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Sweden and Resident in the Leonardville Area in 1925.						
	Bala Township	Center Township	Fancy Creek Township	Sherman Township	Leonardville	Total
before 1866	-	-	-	3	-	3
1866-9	6	-	9	11	10	36
1870-4	-	-	8	2	1	11
1875-9	-	2	2	3	4	11
1880-4	5	3	5	14	12	39
1885-9	2	3	4	3	9	21
1890-4	1	1	-	3	2	7
1895-9	1	-	-	-	-	1
1900-4	-	1	1	-	1	3
Later	-	-	1913	1906 1906 1910	1906	5

They contained more than the usual number of people without church affiliation; there were twice as many church members among the Mariadahl Swedes in 1895, though the Swedish population was only a little larger there.

Lutheran			Mission Covenant		
	Leonardville	Walsburg		Leonardville	Alert
1895	30	168	1895	25	18
1906		330	1916	55	25
1948		267	1948	congregation listed, but no membership indicated	33

Still, particularly in the Walsburg neighborhood, church history is an index to linguistic development. The Walsburg Lutheran Church, Wahlsborg in early spelling, was organized in 1873. Its first regular pastor was Mariadahl's H. Olson who ceased to be pastor here two years before his pastorate ended in the valley. His successor L. A. Edman was here only two years; in 1906 C. A. Engstrand was pastor. Between him and Edman was only J. A. Hemborg. In other words through the trying 90's the congregation remained stable. A large church had been built in 1877. Swedish remained the sole language for use at the church until the First World War. In 1917 confirmation classes were receiving instruction in Swedish, but the next year the language was changed to English because "Swedish was hard for little children", probably also because of public pressure. Swedish continued to be used decreasingly in preaching until about 1935. The inscriptions in the cemetery present a similar phenomenon. N. P. and Elga Johnson share the same monument. The inscription for him is in Swedish; he died in 1898. She died in 1917 and her record is in English. The pressure of the times are evident, for usually a stone commemorating two spouses uses the same language for both or a mixture of languages for both. Sometimes the later date may be reduced to the arabic numeral for the year or the month may be recorded in English fashion, but here the words "his wife" appear. Swedish as the language of inscription appeared until 1925.

The Walsburg neighborhood represents about the average of linguistic habit in the Leonardville Swedish area and before we go on to study of the country to the west, we may consider the history of general linguistic usage there. Except among recent immigrants who were then few--English was the

language of homes with growing children by 1914. The first World War brought general abandonment of Swedish by people born after 1890 even in speaking to the older generation, but the old persisted sufficiently in using Swedish so that when the stigma against it became faint, the community revived its use to the extent that in 1948 part of the generation born in the first decade of the century occasionally used Swedish with each other, and in 1961 a number of phrases were customarily bandied about by the mature. The Swedish territory farther west has two sections with vague boundaries, the Alert neighborhood and the country north of Leonardville.

Settlement near Alert began by 1870 (J. W. Johnson, John Backlund), Swedish Mission activities began almost at once and William Pierson, who was the pastor at Randolph (See Mariadahl Swedes) organized a congregation and served it frequently during fourteen years of his stay at Randolph. Among the lay preachers active when Pierson could not come were John Backlund (b. 1838), Olaf Bergström (1811-1891) and Louis Lund (b. 1839, still flourishing in 1917). The group was never large and was not able to build a church until 1890. "At the time the church was built, the congregation was overwhelmingly Swedish. Many of them have moved away, and some have passed on. Individuals and families of German as well as English origin have now[1917] moved in, which requires that the English language be used in the affairs of the Mission congregation founded so long ago" /sd170. Indeed in the Sunday school only the old people's class was in Swedish, though the sermons were in Swedish every other Sunday. No other Mission church in Kansas was using so much English in 1917. The Alert church abandoned Swedish altogether during the First World War. In the cemetery the only inscription in Swedish is that of Olaf Bergström.

About half way between Alert and Walsburg north of Leonardville is the neighborhood to which Strödda Drag refers in the following passage:

"Among other Swedes who settled early in the district around Leonardville were C. F. Larson and family, Carl Lindström and family, J. F. Lundgren and family with Mrs. Anna Rudeen. They arrived in 1869. All of them except Mrs. Rudeen were natives of Högby in Kalmar Land . . . This is also the time-- 1869-70--when Swedish Mission activity began. A man by the name of Hakanson, residing in Randolph [presumably Peter Hawkinson--see Mariadah] Swedes] used to travel around at this time to the farms and proclaim the word of eternal life to the widely scattered settlers...Among those who opened their home for spiritual meetings were the families of Anders Appelträd and Carl Lindström" /sd209-10. Appelträd was on 2-8-5; very close to the site of Leonardville, Lindström farther to the northwest. The activities progressed little until another man from Kalmar Land arrived, P. M. Swanström, in 1880, and Leonardville was founded the next year. Only at the end of 1884 was a church organized. It never had long pastorates, never was large but it persisted, even though the account in Strödda Drag complained that in 1917 the young were not replacing the old. Though none of the pastorates were long, C. J. Algott served there three times. He came first in 1904 while still a seminary student, as a teacher of a summer school--a brief phenomenon without later existence--, and he served later 1908-1910 and 1912-1915 as the minister. The congregation were faithful to Swedish and regular services in that language disappeared only about 1946. There was at least one Swedish service in 1948. Within the next decade the congregation dwindled to nothing. The Rev. C. J. Algott had settled in the neighborhood and is reputed to have used Swedish till the end.

A Swedish Baptist Church formed a congregation in 1878 with twenty-four members. It built a church at Leonardville in 1883 and 1884, and soon afterward attained its maximum membership, 81. Its only long pastorate was a period of eleven years, 1905-1916, when Gustav Lundquist was there. It maintained a minister only two years longer, but its Sunday School was still continuing in 1927 /lv32. Despite the existence of a congregation in Leonardville in 1906, the town and the area farther west never had a sufficient number of Lutherans to maintain any strong church besides the one at Walsburg.

The linguistic atmosphere in and near Leonardville was conservative, though the community early became so bilingual that William Sikes (1858-1957) who maintained with his family a store from the time of town's foundation till his death, had no need for clerks speaking Swedish after 1900. All through the 1940's reports were "a good deal of Swedish is spoken around Leonardville." The Swedish farmers who retired into the town were in large part responsible, but so was also the Swedish center northwest of town. By 1948, however, even people born as early as 1875 found it "handier to talk English" except occasionally with old cronies. By 1961 Swedish was never heard on the telephone lines, and inasmuch as telephone usage of f-lang for purposes of secrecy persists very long, it is safe to affirm that no one was using Swedish, although informants in Leonardville still said: "They may use it at home".

Leonardville - Riley Germans (Hi-d, Area E)

"A. H. Bartell who had [in 1856] located a claim on Madison Creek and returned east came back [in 1857] bringing his family and his brother, E. C. Bartell [born 1830]" /ag78:388. Madison Creek flows south along the western border of Riley county and empties into the Republican in what is now Geary County, but was in Riley County till 1871. The Bartell farms were near the present county line, though at least in part south of it, and so can be claimed as belonging to the area of Leonardville - Riley Germans though at its extreme edge. An objection to the claim is that besides being far away from the settlement center they did not remain permanently part of it. Though they had increased to four families of the generation of A. H. and E. C. in 1868, they were by 1909 no longer landowners in either county, and do not appear in the Riley County census of 1875; only E. C. Bartell and family was then left in Davis (now Geary) County.

The claim is best based on the fact that they were from Bremen and therefore might have been the attracting element that brought large numbers of North Germans to the settlement. Gottfried Strauss, born 1830, settled near the Bartells about 1866. Later there were Strausses definitely among the Riley people, but permanent settlement did not begin in the area proper until about 1869. The 1885 census shows no children of German parents born there before 1870 in its center. Wm. Wagenrot, born in Prussia in 1845, was brought to Cook County, Illinois, in 1850, and came to this area in 1869, where he settled on its south edge.

David Hassebroek (b. 1839) also arrived in 1869; his brother Caspar W. (born 1836) /co4 opened a store at Riley Center in 1871 /a 1302; or 1877 /co4:1795. The 1881 Platbook says that it was owned by Hassebroek and brother.

Presumably then David opened it in 1871 and in 1877 Caspar joined him in the enterprise--where he became most active.

The family still operated one of the two grocery stores in 1961. The Hassebroeks were East Frisians from Oldersum. There was at least one more East Frisian at Riley Center as soon; Reint Schoonhover, a shoemaker from Emden, born 1848, came in 1869. E. Heinen, another man from Emden, established a lumberyard there in 1873. Richard Meyer, who came to Riley Center in 1880 and moved to Leonardville in 1884, was also from Emden. Other names found in the area which suggest that the owners originated in the same province are Benninga (arrived 1870 /ch09), Dallinga (here 1875), Dierolf, Gronewold (arrived 1869 /ch81), Huisinga, Jahnke (arrived 1870, /ch81), Nanninga (arrived 1871), Reimtz, Remris, Van Elst.

The Hassebroeks came to Kansas from Ogle County in North Illinois (61, 111) where they had been since 1853; Meyer came from Freeport in Stephenson County just north of Ogle County on the Wisconsin border. He had been in the U. S. since 1851, in Illinois since 1885. The vast majority of the German born adults present in the area in 1855 were young, and had not spent enough adult years elsewhere in the United States to reproduce before coming to Kansas, but almost all the children born outside of Riley County had first seen the light in Illinois. The data on the year of arrival in this county of 1925 survivors suggest that many had spent their childhood in the United States.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in Germany and
Resident in the Leonardsville-Riley Area in 1925

	Bala Twp.	Madison *Twp.	Leonardville	
1860-9	9	0	2	*The assessor
1870-7	8	6	4	did not secure
1881-9	11	7	5	answers as to the
1890	5	0	0	year of arrival
1891-1906	4	2	0	from 13 Madison
1923-4	4	1	0	Twp Germans;
				similarly in
				Riley Center -
				no answers from 6
				out of 9.

Neither Leonardville nor Riley have been true foci for the Germans who bear their name. Leonardville was created by the arrival of the Kansas Central Railroad in 1881. Riley Center came into existence at least a decade before and furnished the Germans a shopping center.

As a cultural center Riley developed little - no German church or society within it. From 1881 to 1887 Leonardville had a railroad and Riley did not. Riley was therefore briefly behind in the race, but through the twentieth century it and Leonardville have both had a population of something over 300. Residence in the town of Leonardville belonged to the Swedes rather than the Germans, but one of the first commercial establishments, and it had a long life, was that of the Erpelding Brothers /a 1302, F. H. (born 1856), George (born 1859), John (born 1874). Their father Lambert, born 1819, was from Metz in Alsace-Lorraine, and had come to Chicago in 1848. He joined his sons

in 1884. Besides Meyer, a German merchant who deserted another Riley county village when the railroad came, was Richard Burk (born 1840) a Wurtemberger. He came down from Winkler's Mills. Their German was not of the type most prevalent in the community. North Germans established the Evangelical Association Church in Leonardville and traded there fully as much as at Riley.

The first church for the immigrants was established in 1874. It was the Fairview German Presbyterian Church north of Riley, 45 members in 1895, 82 in 1961. The oldest inscription in the cemetery commemorates Johan and Grietze Gronewold who lived from April to September in the year 1874. They were the children of Menne (1840-1887) and Aafke (1834-1907) Gronewold, who came to the area in 1869 /ch81. These obviously East Frisian names (and the Hassebroeks belonged here too) fix the character of the Presbyterian congregation. The Hagemans became numerous in the congregation; the earliest of them came in 1876 and 1877. They had been in Illinois. H. Hageman with a German wife Lillie was born there in 1852 or 3. The Foshes who appear first in the 1875 census were not even German born. N. Greenfield, born 1847 in Germany, who also was from Illinois and came to Kansas by 1879, already in 1881 owned 640 acres of land, presumably bought with money inherited from his father, who was already dead (at least Katie Greenfield born 1818 lived alone with her son in 1885). Presumably then the family had been long in Illinois. The Kleener family who in 1961 operated the second grocery store in Riley, first put down roots in the community in 1880. The prevalent American origin in northern Illinois had an exception in the Jahnkes. Henry Jahnke (born 1826 in Prussia) had spent a number of years in Iowa before coming to the area in 1870. His wife Ursula, born 1839, was Swiss. Jacob Rinikeran, arrival of 1880, was also Swiss. His wife as well as his children were born

in Illinois. These families are all represented by tombstones in the Fairview cemetery. The membership of the Church was not exclusively East Frisian. Charles Strauss (born 1873 -) was a Wurtemberger. The services remained fundamentally German until about 1928. A German Sunday School class collapsed in 1945, but occasional German services went on until 1949. German inscriptions in the cemetery ceased by 1907; English appeared there by 1878, and a number of stones of the early 80's commemorating adults bore English inscriptions. These facts show a distinction between the language of record and the language of worship.

In 1880 the Rev. William Heiser of the Evangelical Association began to preach at Christian (born 1846) and Kike (born 1845) Hochs', a mile west of the Presbyterian Church. "The blessings of God attended the preaching of Brother Heiser, and soon several German Presbyterian families were awakened and converted . . . Martin Gravenstein and wife, Reinde Nanninga, Gelke Nanninga, Lucas Buss, Marie Buss, Gerald Buss, D. Buss, Jacob Benninga, Gretye Benninga. The young converts were subject to ridicule and persecution from their former pastor and associates, who were opposed to experimental religion" /pz 142. The separation remained complete. The Fairview church and Leonardville E.U.B. did not in 1961 have the same family names on their membership lists. In 1884 a church building was erected. Derk Buss became superintendent of the Sunday school begun in 1885. "Father Nanninga and Father Buss used to gather the children for Bible study long before this time. German school was also conducted by those brethren for their children" /pz 148. The East Frisian character of the Evangelical congregation is evident, and also their early devotion to standard German as the language of worship, for German language schools among Evangelical Association congregations were not common.

By 1895 the Evangelical Church had 140 members; its competitor was outstripped. The Evangelical people in this area were quite fervent in their religion. Tjart R. Nanninga (1849-1921) was born in east Frisia, came to this area in 1870, was converted in 1879, was licensed as a minister in 1883, and served widely in Kansas. His wife, a Buss, was also an East Frisian. Other Ministers from Leonardville have been Hoerman and Blettscher. Preaching in English began at Leonardville about 1903. German from the pulpit almost ceased during the First World War, and stopped completely in 1920 with the coming of C. E. Platz as minister--he was to serve 7 years, a long term for this denomination. A German Sunday school class went on until 1930.

There was also a Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, St. John's, at Riley for more than twenty-five years, sharing its pastor with Clay Center most of the time. Its membership was as follows:

1890 - ca. 83	1900 - 90	1910 - 82
1895 - 92	1906 - 87	1916 - 42

It had no church building in 1895, its most prosperous hour. As compared with the Presbyterians, who had fewer members, it must have been poor. The pastor who succeeded in serving longest--at least from 1906 through 1910, perhaps fifteen years, bore an East Frisian name, Reininga. The already shriveling congregation apparently could not withstand the strains of the First World War. Its services were always in German, and in 1910 it maintained a three-months summer school. In the cemetery German inscriptions are comparatively rare. The latest all German stone is of 1911. Stones with vital data in English and a religious inscription in German are to be found for 1912 and 1918.

As a whole the community was sufficiently bilingual by 1900 so that no store clerks proficient in German were necessary. German continued to be used in the homes of growing children until about the time of the First World War, but the children used English to each other after they had started to school from near the beginning of the century. In 1942 it still seemed natural to outsiders to hear German speech among mature people in small groups. German wives of soldiers returning from Europe after the Second World War found a few persons to whom they could talk. As late as 1950 brothers and sisters born in the first decade of this century might sometimes use German to each other, but by 1961 they found it difficult to express themselves in German. In that year only consecrated phrases were exchanged in German among old-timers. Reports from Leonardville and from Riley are in agreement on these matters.

Bala Welsh (Low-x, Area F)

"Bala township . . . In the year 1870, there was organized in New York a Welsh colony, under the name of 'The Welsh Land and Emigration Society of America,' and, under the auspices of this company, a large number of Welsh families settled in this part of the county and gave to the township its name" /ag78:380; also/a 1302. The society was organized in Utica, New York, "the Welsh capital of the United States" /con134; however, few colonists came from there. The American community best represented among them was the Welsh settlement at Newark, Licking Co, Ohio (62, 265). Of the Welsh in the Bala settlement in 1885 five families can be definitely traced to Ohio, no more than one to any other state. The agent of the colonizing society at Bala's beginning and a permanent resident there until his death was John Hughes Jenkins (1840-1931). (He is called James in Andreas-Cutler and in the Manhattan Nationalist, but is John according to his son, his tombstone, /con 136, and ch90). Born of a Wesleyan minister in Merthyr Tydfil, South Carmarthenshire, Wales, /con 130, educated at Bath, he worked as a bank clerk in Britain. He was in Utica as a bookkeeper in 1868 and 1869, and in 1869 went out to the Welsh colony founded at Arvonja, Kansas, in Osage County (see Arvonja Welsh) /ch90:1230). When the railroad failed to come through that community, and enthusiasm waned, Jenkins and his friends organized and sought to find another more advantageous location. The Santa Fe Railroad promoted lands near Burlingame, and settlement seems actually to have begun there, but the title to the good lands that they were acquiring proved bad, and the colonists rejected rough country. The land agents of the Kansas Pacific Railroad then prevailed, and the settlement at Bala materialized. It had six houses in July 1871 /con 137. Henry Davies then

extolled the settlement as a place where the Welsh "may talk, trade, and worship in the old language" /con 136. The next March he lamented that Welsh in America, well trained religiously, went astray because they could not understand the English sermons. "Here the religious situation is better. We have two groups, one Calvinistic Methodist and the other Independent [Congregational]. The Calvinistic Methodists hold their services in a hotel and we hold them in our house. We intend to build chapels" /con 138. A union church existed before the cornerstone of the Calvinistic Methodist church was laid in 1872 /wms241. An account by Jenkins in the Manhattan Nationalist, 7 July 1876, says that the company was started "for the purpose of introducing the Welsh to the United States government lands offered to citizens under homestead and pre-emption acts. A large number of acres were also bought on time of the K. P. Railroad Company." The 1871 Emigrant's Guide to the Kansas Pacific Railway Lands speaks of the "Powys Welsh colony"

^{fn}The village of Bala, named for a town in North Wales, was always called Bala, but the colony as a whole in early days bore the name of Powys for its Welsh promoters.

20 miles north of Junction City, and later K. P. publicity continued to promote it, most particularly in 1872. The lack of a railroad until the Rock Island was built through in 1887 is the simple explanation of Bala's failure to grow. Among Welsh colonies it was no more attractive than Arvonnia, less attractive than Emporia. Indeed, when the railroad came to Leonardville nearby, Jenkins divided his loyalties and established a place of business there as well as at Bala. He had drugstores in both places, presumably dispensing "spiritous liquors for medicinal purposes", and "also engaged in real estate and loan business" /a 1311. So says Andreas-Cutler; the Chapman Album of 1890 speaks

of a "banking business". To those remembering him in the mid-twentieth century he was a druggist and banker; but his real estate activities were not limited to the initial period of settlement. He helped lay out an enlarged Bala when the Rock Island Railroad brought new hopes to the community. He was born in Carmarthenshire in South Wales. Though South Welsh, most Welsh immigrants to the U. S. were from the north, and the choice of the name Bala indicates that the same was true in Riley County. John did not learn Welsh until, at the age of 16, he began to work with children in Sunday school. English was always the language of his home, but in the first two decades of Bala's existence he and his wife talked with their contemporaries in Welsh, decreasingly thereafter. His son, Isaac, born 1874, learned to understand Welsh and to speak somewhat. J. H. Jenkin's wife was before her marriage named Elizabeth Jenkins (1842-1922), but was no relation. They were married at Bala in 1872. Her parents, Ann (1817-1888) and Richard (1818-1879) Jenkins, came from Newark, Ohio in 1871. Ann and a daughter Mary had a millinery store in 1881 /ch81, founded in 1876. Ann and Richard are buried under a stone having an inscription in Welsh. The only other inscription in Welsh commemorates John W. P. Roberts (1848-1879). As a language of record Welsh at Bala was thus dead by 1888. In 1882 two of the six other business establishments in the town were conducted by Rowland Davies (1844-1912) and James Sharples (1827-1898). Both had general stores, both ended their lives in Bala, and so did some of their descendants. Davies had the post office, and Sharples the cheese factory--which was important for some time. Davies' store dates from the town's beginning, 1870. The post office, replacing one differently located,

Timber Creek, was established in 1871 with a Welsh postmaster, Rowland Davies. Previously Davies had been in Virginia. Sharples had left Wales between 1850 and 1855, and had five children born in Brazil of whom the youngest was seventeen years old, in 1885. Just before coming to Bala he had been superintending agent of the Richard Mines in New Jersey. Three families came with him to Kansas. He started his cheese factory in 1876 /a 1302, ch81. Jenkins was accompanied in his first year by at least eleven heads of families /a1302 . Immigration into the community continued until the early 1880's, but the drop in foreign-born Welsh in Bala township from 38 in 1885 to 28 in 1895 indicates that very few arrived later and the 1925 census records only 3 foreign born Welsh none arriving later than 1881.

The religious life of the settlement we have seen was provided for early. "The first church was built in 1872, by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists since which time two others have been erected, one Congregational and one Methodist Episcopal." So says the Agricultural Report of 1878. The churches existed still in 1895, but the Calvinistic Methodist had then become a Presbyterian church. Preaching in Welsh was regular through the nineteenth century, though there may have been English sermons, too, and died out in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The preachers were in part itinerant; they linked together the Welsh settlements in Kansas and Nebraska (Gage and Platte counties). Welsh colonies used their churches as the basis of school in Welsh. In 1876 the Manhattan Nationalist said, "The Union Sunday School, held each Sunday morning at Bala, is an excellently governed and encouraged institution. District school is open here for nine months every year." The singing of Welsh songs at funerals went on until about 1946. This Welsh

community like others, was enthusiastic about choral singing in Welsh. Through the 1870's and 1880's there was singing school two or three times a week; cantatas were produced; a chorus sang sometimes in other communities. An annual Eisteddfod (song and verse contest), which began in August, 1871 /con 136, existed in 1876 "admirable in idea and frequently in execution." In the last years of the century, however, these organized efforts died out, but the individuals who had established reputations continued to enjoy local opportunities for exhibiting their talents.

Welsh was the ordinary language of communication. The Manhattan Nationalist said in 1876 "Although among themselves conversing and worshipping in their old, revered cymraeg, they readily accomodate themselves to the English." "Cymraeg" within the community became uncommon about 1890, and it appears that few members of the second generation, at least none born after 1880, became truly proficient in the language. In 1954 the last speaker of Welsh residing in the community died. This was David J. Davis (1868-1954) who was born in Ohio of parents who had just arrived from Wales. They came on to Kansas in the late 1870's. Isaac Jenkins (born 1874 died before 1961) son of John H. was then still flourishing, but considered his Welsh quite restricted. Speakers of Welsh living elsewhere but during most of their life resident in the community were Elizabeth Thomas and Mary (born 1873) and Sarah (born 1875) Davies, whose parents came from Wales to Wisconsin about 1866 and to Bala shortly before Mary's birth. These two sisters were among the best known Welsh singers.

Ogden Germans (Low-y, Area G). In 1857 Theodore Weichselbaum (1834-1914) began operations in Ogden /kc11:561; ch90:1050; co4:1895 (1855 by /ch09, 1860 by /a1301). He was born at Furth, Bavaria and came to America in 1856, and soon began a career of trading with the army. He was Jewish and apparently usually on the road until 1869. Adelbert Munz, born 1828, who, by his marriage in 1860 to Augusta Haacke, born 1836, member of a Lutheran family, appears not to have been Jewish, set up in business at Ogden in 1850; afterward he became a farmer near by /ch90:272. Munz, Weichselbaum, and the Haackes all appear in the census of 1860. Herman Haacke, born 1828, died before 1865, and his widow Augusta, born 1834 (by 1860 census) or 1838 (by that of 1865) married Frederick Hubert born in Germany. He arrived about 1866 in this area, had been in Leavenworth since 1856. These

families remained long in the area, but only the name Weichselbaum appears on the land owner map of 1940. The name Thierer in another part of the township appears on the late map; the 1881 platbook says that Jacob Thierer arrived in 1853; Andreas Cutler lists him as an early settler /a1307. Though the age registered does not fit, he seems to be listed in the census of 1860 but without family. In the census of 1865 Jacob Thierer, born 1814 in Wurtemberg and wife, Margaret, born in Bavaria, have a son aged six born in Kansas and another aged nine born in Missouri. Weichselbaums attitude toward language is revealed in this sentence about leaving a jewelry store in New York in 1856. "I sold my interest in this business soon, as I wanted to learn to speak the English language, and my employer used German only." /kc11:561. He was by no means done with German. In 1862 he took a wife, Fanny Blumenstein, whom he had never seen till she arrived directly from Germany. His employees were often German, notably four or five brewers from Germany who "had come directly from the old country" /569. He was in the brewing business 1871-1881. No German institutions developed at Ogden.

Manhattan and vicinity Germans (low v, Area H). In 1854, a year before Manhattan was founded, Henry Moehlman, born 1829 in Prussia, to St. Louis in 1847, settled in the river flood plain south of ^{the site of} Manhattan. The area was long known as the Moehlman Bottoms, and the surname appears on the 1940 landowner map. Other Germans joined him there. One bearing a name that occurs on the late map was Francis Priboth, born 1825 in Magdeburg /ch90:729. He arrived in 1860 with a bride of a year, Caroline Roediger born in Mecklenburg. These families and the Busches and Spohrs, also of the Bottoms, declared themselves to be Lutherans /ch90:471, 498, 589, 729; yet no permanent Lutheran organization developed either rurally

or in Manhattan. In the late 1870's the English youth Percy Elbutt worked on a Swede's farm a little to the west. His description of the neighborhood shows a mixture of Swedes, Germans, and Britons /eb179 that would necessarily lead to Engl-izing. Elbutt records, however, the existence of German beer gardens in the woods near Manhattan /204. The Andreas-Cutler history makes no mention of German institutions within the town. The Evangelical Synod (E-R) church noted by Ott in 1906 60 members must have originated after 1883. It had disappeared by 1950. It is probably the church labeled German Episcopal by the census takers of 1895; it had 16 members, presumably voting male adults. The Missouri Synod reports Lutheran mission in 1910, 15 members. The comment was, "New, mostly students." In the city of Manhattan there were five adult males born in Germany in 1865. Only two of these appear in the census of 1860, John Bick, born 1812 in Germany with a wife born in Pennsylvania. In 1865 he is attributed a daughter aged six born in Kansas, but the child is absent from the census of 1860. The other was Wm. Manerhan, born 1827 in Wurtemburg. The entries regarding his children are yet more confusing, but he may have come by 1856. His wife was born in Ohio. While foreign-born Germans became more numerous later, they were probably in large part people retired from the numerous surrounding areas, maintaining German only among the old.

Manhattan Swedes (Low w, Area H). In 1865 the Scandinavians at Manhattan consisted of two or three Swedish girls working as maids in "American" households, and two Danish teamsters. There was also in the township a Dane married to an American. The girls were probably from the families in Area C. With the coming of the railroad the next year Swedes working on it appeared.

"At Manhattan a Swedish Lutheran congregation was organized in 1879 . . . Rev. C. J. Scheleen, who preached at this place several years before an organization was effected, is pastor" /ot269. Scheleen served from 1871 to 1911. So reads a note to Ida Nibelius Lindgren's Brev fran Nybyggarshemmet i Kansas, 1870-1881, Göteborg, 1960. Ida Lindgren (1829-1909) arrived with her family in September, 1870. Olga, her 16-year-old daughter immediately began to work out. Ida, though she had small children, was away for days at a time sewing in American homes in town. The family lived in the country without very close Swedish neighbors, though there were others not far away. The neighbors were friendly, and by January, 1871, Ida was able to converse with them (p. 32). In November of 1874 she wrote, "My small daughters go to school everyday now and read English." The family eventually returned to Sweden, brought back in 1881 by their son Hugo. Hugo, born ca. 1855 had returned a few years earlier himself. He profited by his experiences in Kansas, for he was later American consul at Malmö and a prosperous business man, evidently connected with the activities of emigrants. Manhattan did not become a truly Swedish center, but besides Mariadahl and Leonardville settlements there were rural Swedes near Manhattan in Riley County. The membership in 1906 was 73. As with the Germans, people retiring from Swedish settlements nearby kept up the language among the old.

For Manhattan Mexicans, see #47.90.

48.78 ROOKS COUNTY N6

Webster Germans (Lowest, Area A). The one foreign-born German who appears in the 1880 census in Belmont Township is not the same as the one to be found in the 1885 census. The one appearing in the 1885 census is

different from the one in the 1895 census, and the latter's surname does not appear on the 1940 landowner map. No stable population of immigrants has existed here, and probably no history of German language units greater than that offered by passing families could be found.

Damar and Zurich Canadian French (Mid-l and Mid-m, Areas A and D)

The Damar and Zurich communities are of the same Canadian French stock and had closely related origins, but are geographically somewhat separated and in their later developments have different histories.

The stock represented came from an area not far downstream from Montreal. It became strong at Kankakee, Illinois (61, 146) in the middle of the nineteenth century, established the Aurora-Clyde Canadian French settlement in Kansas in 1868 and appeared in this Rooks County area in 1874 or 1875. Frequently, but by no means always, these people in Rooks County had a history of sojourn at Kankakee or Aurora or less frequently settlements in other Great Lakes States. Some were born in the Kankakee settlement. In the Zurich area most of the immigration was in the eighties, very little after the hard times of the nineties. The Damar group grew only slowly during the period of Zurich's increase, and developed very considerably at the turn of the century. Some of the families originally at Zurich moved into the second area as it developed. It is likely that those who transferred to Damar were among the more conservative.

Zurich, a name with no relationship to the character of the surrounding territory, came into being as a post office in 1880. The first of the French settlers came into this area; in 1880 there were eleven families with Canadian born adults, and three single men; there were also French families from Illinois, the Prairies for instance, who arrived in 1875. They were a somewhat scattered group, and instead of consolidating later they spread out still more in the next decade while the new arrivals could still find claims.

The Catholic Directory first includes notice of St. Ann's Church at Zurich in 1885. The parish then already had a building; it^{was} served by Father

Mollier from the Aurora-Clyde settlement some 125 miles away. Except perhaps by Father Mollier, French was not used in preaching at Zurich, although into the twentieth century the priests had French names. This fact is evidence of the mixed nature of the parish, there was a considerable minority of non-French, although the Zurich Czechs have not been church attenders.

The cemetery also already existed, for an inscription records that Celia Demurry born 1832 wife of Raisho was buried there in 1884. The 1880 census records that Raisho Desmuray with wife Salsey was living in Northhampton Township, that is, in the Damar area. The census taker's spelling allows us to guess that the name was Desmarais and had come to be pronounced so as to make a false rhyme with Hennery (Henry) and the tombstone bears witness that the family had made an attempt at phonetic spelling. Examples of such spelling at Damar, both in prominent families, are Newell (Noël) and St. Peter (Saint Pierre), spelled by the 1880 census-taker St. Peir. The same man wrote Bopry (Beaupre) and Shanpeign (Champagne). In general the families have not made this concession in spelling to the pronunciation by which they are now known even to their fellow Canadians.

The French at Zurich for the most part became bilingual quite early. In the first decade of this century only English was used at the community blacksmith shop, but at home its proprietor used French entirely with his wife and family. They continued to speak French frequently at home. By 1917 this habit was kept up in only a few families. By 1950 few could speak it. This situation is considerable contrast to that at Damar where the habitual use of French continued much later.

In the Damar area settlement did not begin until 1878 (Joseph St. Peter). By 1880 there were three other families there. Father Mollier served this group as early as he did Zurich. When the church was organized in 1884, six of the nine families were French. Soon the proportion rose to 90%. The Catholic Directory of 1887 says that Cresson (the early name of Damar) was served from Plainville, the next town east of Zurich. There was a building in 1887, but St. Joseph's does not appear in the Directory under its own name until 1892 and the 1900 Directory lists it as served from Zurich. It is at this time that its records begin. Between 1912 and 1915 a very large church was built, begun by Father Guillaume and completed by Father Auguste Tapin. It is evidence not only of the fervor of the parish, but also of its prosperity at the time it was planned. Father Tapin served the parish from 1914 to 1923. He preached in French throughout his tenancy, but in his last years at Damar the newly consecrated Bishop of Concordia, Francis J. Tief, was insisting that English be introduced; a petition from the parishioners to change his mind was of no avail. So Father Tapin departed. For some time his successor Father Diss gave half of his sermons in French, and used English otherwise. By 1935 French disappeared completely from church usage.

In this case what happened in church happened in the community as a whole. All over western Kansas Damar has the reputation of being very French and quite clannish. As regards language the reputation persisted somewhat longer than the fact. In 1950 few of those born after 1925 were speaking French fluently and few born after 1940 understood it. All those born before 1915 had in their earlier life spoken more French than English, but by 1935 only about one fifth of those present at a public occasion exercised their

French. Still in 1954 there were persons aged 35 or 40 who were not conscious of shifting from French to English and back again as they talked. Those older than 70 were using French habitually, and a very few knew little English. In the 1960's the priest at Damar was Father P. O. Bergeron, born of French Canadian parents near Manchester, N. H., in 1897. His people were then half Volgans who had moved in from Ellis County to the south, and he found that they were conserving their German much better than the Canadians their French. His loving attention helped preserve French among the old. "French dies slowly here," he said, "but it is dying."

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born
in French Canada and Resident in Richland and
Logan Townships in 1925

	Richland (Damar)	Logan (Zurich)
1847	2	--
1854-55	5	--
1860-63	5	--
1867-70	3	1
1875-78	4	2
1880-85	15	2
1889-99	5	2
1904-11	3	--

Zurich Czechs (Low-x, Area C). No Czech seems to have settled earlier than 1878. George Veverka registered that date for his arrival in the 1904 Platbook. The 1880 census shows three other Czechs, two of whom, Frank Pulec and Frank Rostoril, born 1845, were still there in 1885 with their families and seven other families including Prokop (1860-1916) and Mary (1866-1949) Pulec, who have a cemetery to themselves near Zurich, Joseph Slansky who had settled by 1881, and Frank Jelinek, born 1828, who by the Platbook arrived in 1880. All children not born in Kansas had been born in Bohemia. All these names but Pulec appear on the 1940 landowner map. Another name on it is Ondrasek. The Ondraseks came out from the Delia settlement in 1887, more about Geo. W. below. As we shall see, there was at least one other connection with the Delia group. All Czech Catholics here ceased to attend church. A Z C B J lodge was established at Zurich, reported as not prosperous in 1949, no longer possessing a hall. This Irish informant in a position to know said certain Bohemians were sometimes using Czech. A high school student of the period said that his Czech schoolmates used no Czech with each other, but that their English was accented.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons
Born in Czecho-Slovakia and Resident in Logan,
Rush, and Plainville Townships in 1925:

1875	1
1880-84	14
1886-89	4
1897	1
1904-06	7
1909-15	4

Here are examples of family usage: Joseph Slansky's oldest son Frank (1872-1948) in 1901 married Anna Olynik who was born in Bohemia in 1880, and had come with her family to the Delia settlement in 1883. Their eight children, born between 1902 and 1918, all learned to speak both Czech and English at home. With one another they spoke English, and the same was true for others of their age in the 1920's. None of Frank Slansky's children married a Czech, and the next generation learned no Czech.

Geo. W. Ondrasek, born in 1885, and his parents came from Moravia to Delia in 1876 or 77; he married Rose Barcal, in 1912. Her family had emigrated to Chicago in 1904; they lived in a Bohemian neighborhood and learned English by studying it. They came to Zurich in 1910. In 1955 George and Rose were still using Czech together, and their two daughters learned to speak it well, though they were taught English before entering school. One married a German; the other married a Czech, but in 1955 was no longer in the community.

Plainville Germans (Lowest, Area E). There were Germans in this area in 1880, notably two families of Stuckys; that name appears on the 1940 landowner

771
79A

map. No one records an earlier arrival. The Missouri Lutherans began to serve the area (identified as Zurich) by 1895. In 1900 the Lutherans included 52 souls, in 1906 only 15 and they heard preaching in English. German was, however, not completely abandoned by the community. In 1950 there were persons aged from forty to fifty still able to speak it.

Codell Germans (Lowest, Area F). Fred Ziegler, born in Wurtemberg in 1848, registered his arrival here in the 1904 Platbook as of 1870. He appears in the 1880 census with a daughter, Rose, aged 5, and a son, George, aged 4. The Platbook says George arrived in 1878, which is the probable date of settlement in this district. Fred's record of 1870 may well refer to the year of his arrival in the United States. The family still had landholdings in 1940, but we may suspect that loyalty to German was not great among them, for Fred's wife Matilda had been born in Ohio in 1856. Certainly German continued to be spoken late in the district, because the 1940 map shows the names of Catholic Volgans (Brungardt, Dreiling) overflowing from the south. Adults among the Volgans were not then ready to give up German.

48.79 RUSH COUNTY N16

LaCrosse Germans (Low-w, Area A). La Crosse itself has been the meeting point of Germans of various groups. The Catholic Volgans to the north are the group of which the townspeople are the most aware; concerning the habits of those Catholic Volgans retiring from their farms see their settlement history, particularly under Hays. The Catholics in La Crosse did not become numerous enough to have a building until 1911, no resident priest till 1927/mo85,134. The behavior in the late 1940's of young Germans attending La Crosse High School, largely Volgans but not necessarily, was thus described by a fellow student of Czech descent: They were usually able to speak German (not read or write). They ordinarily spoke English at school, but broke into German sometimes, especially in anger against non-Germans. In a dentist's office of 1950 waiting patients frequently carried on a conversation in German dialect. In 1964 the County Superintendent of schools regarded the use of German, which he had forbidden

on the school grounds in 1946 but was promoting in 1964, as a matter of only rural concern. A German newspaper was published in LaCrosse in 1897 and 1898.

The Germans in Rush County west of LaCrosse fall into at least 2 groups. Those near the west border at the south end are largely late arriving Protestant Volgans who from 1903 until 1929 maintained a Congregational Church called after the village of Alexander; only in the first four years did it have a minister not shared with other congregations. With the increase of travel by car these people were absorbed into the Bazine sphere.

Reich Germans appeared in western Rush County by 1880, but none of these seemsto have continued to reside there past the century's end except near Nekoma (see below). In the census of 1885 Henry Webs, born in Germany, 1844 and A. Albers, born in Germany in 1837, are to be found. The surname Webs appears on the 1940 landowner map on the west edge of the county near Alexander; Albers appears near Hargrove. Between these two locations the Iowa Synod organized the Peace Lutheran Church in 1901 which was disbanded in 1905 and reorganized in 1907. Its building was on 3-18-20. It moved into La Crosse under the name of First Lutheran in 1955. The two Germans mentioned for 1885 did not live in Alexander Township, but the church was built in it. In 1905 the only foreign-born inhabitants of that township were the members of twenty German families born in Russia. The names of three of these families appear on the 1940 map at or within a mile of the site of the church. Their representatives in 1905 were J. B., born 1881, and Molly, born 1883, George; Henry, born 1857, and Louisa, born 1855, Bott; and Wm., born 1879, and Effie, 1878, Kraus. The Botts and Georges had come from Nebraska; Botts had a child, aged 10 born there and one aged 6 born in Kansas. With these origins and names and a church indicating relationship to the Volgans of Russell County linguistic habits comparable to to theirs but with abatement because of the smallness of the settlement are very probable.

Nekoma Germans (Lowest, Area B) Aug. E. and Wilhemine Seltman, born in Saxony in 1846 and 1847 are in the Union Township census of 1880, and the

surname appears repeatedly on the landowner map near the point where the Hope Lutheran Church was organized by the Iowa Synod in 1911. A part of the people forming this congregation came from the north border of Pawnee County. The church was moved into Rush Center before 1950. Its Reich German members born in the last years of the 19th century learned to speak German, but practiced it so little that they lost the ability later.

Bison Germans (Hi-d, Area C). In 1905 in Lone Star Township there were 20 families containing members born in Germany or on the west fringe, 48 with members born in Russia. Of the 20 west German families 8 are represented both in the census of 1880 and, all but one, in the city cemetery of Bison. Of the 44 Russian families 4 are found in the Baptist cemetery and in the census of 1880. There had been no marriages in 1905 between the immigrants of the two stocks. Among the German-born the first permanent settler arriving was Helen Dammers Dixon, born in 1850. She came as the wife of native-born P. C. Dixon in 1871 /a1586.

The German mentioned above as not buried in the city cemetery was Dora Thielenhaus (1840-1930) born in Schleswig. She arrived with husband William (1831-1901) born in Prussia in 1875. He was a Baptist minister and came in the same year as the first Volgans. "In the spring of 1875, six families from Kutter came to Peabody. They went on to Rush County and settled on Walnut Creek south-east of Bison" /sa34. On the way from Peabody they had to lay over at Great Bend; there Thielenhaus who had been in the United States since 1871 joined them. The folk from Kutter (72, 35) were joined by people from other villages, at least Mohr (38), Norka (31), Eckheim (29), and Klein Mohr. The Baptist church was organized in 1885 or 1888, 79 members in 1953. About 1930 the membership was 120. The young Volgans dropped out, probably in part because they were disgruntled by the continuation of German services until 1943. Later for a few years there were occasional services in German by visiting preachers. The few early Volgans who did not become Baptists entered the German Methodist Church /co5:2137 where the west Germans were. Among the latter were a group from near

790

Hermann, Gasconade County, Missouri, Humburgs, Ernis, Rothweilers, Schaumburgs. Among these Germans, at least the Schaumburgs and the Humburgs were from Hesse-Cassel /co5:2137. By 1953 the West Germans seldom employed German unless they were immigrants. On the other hand the Volgans often used German if they were born before 1925. Indeed, there were a few left unable to speak English. A decade later, 1964, any one born after the First World War would rarely use German; those born after 1930 were ignorant of it, often the products of mixed mariages.

Two families will illustrate trends. Wm Thielenhaus had a son John, born in 1880, His wife, Freda (1881-ca1952) was born in Germany and their children born between 1901 and 1924 all learned to speak German. The youngest, Carl, refused to speak it with his parents when an adult. His first born took a non-German wife and German disappeared from his family. The second son, Fred, moved out of the area. The children of the third son, Elmer, learned a little German.

Conrad C. Gisick was born in Kansas in 1876 of parents born at Norka in Russia. His wife was of the same stock and his four daughters all learned to speak German, but "they won't if they don't have to."

For immigrants surviving in 1925 see # 53.00

The five born in Germany arrived between 1863 and 1893.

Language of Inscriptions

in Cemeteries of Bison

	<u>Baptist</u>			<u>City</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>%German</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>%German</u>
1880-9				5	0	0%
1890-9	5	2	29%	14	2	13%
1900-9	7	1	13%	37	3	8%
1910-9	16	3	16%	35	1	3%
1920-9	8	2	20%	none later		
1930-9	13	1	7%			
	none later					

Otis Russian Germans (Mid-1, Area D) are almost without exception Protestant Volgans. Jacob John Rothe said that his father John (1815-1911) came to Otis in 1875 /ik996. If he did, he was a few months earlier than the beginning of the mass immigration. Sallet says: "In the spring of 1876 emigrants from Mohr [72:38] took up homesteads north of Otis"/sa35. The immigration that came later the same year stretched from Barton & Russell County into this area. "Those from Jagodnoje [72:27-30] went to the west of Hoisington." In 1912 Peter Brack, born 1857, one of the immigrants, wrote for the Great Bend Tribune's Biographical History of Barton County /chl2 (Barton):297-9 a sketch of the background of Schoenthal, located on 11-17-16 four miles north of Otis. He describes the main body of emigrants as coming from Pöbotschnaja (not on 72), a village to the extreme northwest of the Volga domain, just south of Jagodnaja Poljana (72:30). His account is inaccurate in one particular; he makes the railroad land agents who "besieged" the immigrants at Kansas City Smith for the U.P. and Reigleheimer for the Santa Fe, whereas, C. B. Schmidt represented the Santa Fe and A. Roedelheimer the Kansas Pacific. These Volgans at first organized a village, Schoenthal, like those in Russia, but they soon learned the legal necessity of living on homesteads and spread out accordingly. During the first ten years many worked on the railroads to increase income. Because of the persistence of the custom of grooms taking brides to their homes 36 lived on one Brack place once on a time. The conservative linguistic effect is obvious. This group preserved better than most Protestant Volgans other social patterns that existed in Russia, notably the authority vested in old men. All this conservatism was promoted by late continuing immigration, made up largely of families related to those already at hand.

.790

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born in
Russia and Resident in Pioneer Township in 1925

1874-76	19	1895-1901	4
1885-87	7	1916-23	30
1890-92	14		

Immigration early and late contained, as at Bison, elements from the villages of Kutter and Messer (72:35,36) Brack says that four years after the first arrival the settlers hauled rock to Otis and built a church. Lutheran worship had begun two years before. The congregation was organized in 1889 by the Iowa Synod (later ALC). The history of the congregation has been stormy, but it has held together well and remains dominant in Otis. Their faithfulness to German is illustrated in many ways. For example in 1950 when the neighboring American Lutheran Church was being built by the East Frisian Congregation south of Albert, a delegation from Otis came to tell their fellow believers that two things they would regret, erecting such an expensive church and abandoning services in German. Militancy for German seemed to increase rather than lessen among those powerful in the years following. In 1953 the pastor was obliged to preach German as well as English ~~twice~~ a month. Earlier there had been a period when single sermons in German and English alternated with the Sundays. In 1956 and until 1964 the report was that there were double headers every Sunday, ^{later no German.} Before the Second World War the Lutheran pastors were in harmony with their flock and until about then children under their tutelage learned to read German and when a little older to write it. An informant who was a student in the last years of this instruction remarked, "I took Bible school in German yet." Confirmation in English as well as German began in the late 1940's; in 1956 there was still one candidate confirmed in German. The German service in 1956 was attended by 55 to 60 people not all immigrants. There was also a German Methodist Church in Otis, burial in its cemetery began in 1892. The Methodists were not so conservative as the

Lutherans. They began to have services half English and half German in 1939 and abandoned German altogether about 1943. The Methodist families were partly from Brunnenthal on the Wiesenseite (Mausolf, Lebsack). John Rothe was a Methodist. His wife, Anna Marie was a Scheuerman, and they were among the people from Pobotschnoja (Bergseite).

Language of Inscriptions in German Methodist
Cemetery at Otis

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>	
1890-99	7	1	13%	two later: one of 1931,
1900-09	30	6	20%	a lone monument, one of 1942
1910-19	18	2	10%	with spouse who died in 1914.

As early as 1940 at least high school students did not use German with each other, but here are the responses to a 1950 questionnaire by a young lady who completed high school in 1948 or 1949. "Where I went to high school at Otis...some had a German accent...[I was] aware of their accent and I tried to keep away from their accent." Analysis of phonographic recordings made by her showed that she had not been altogether successful. This was doubtless in part because her own parents were of Russian German stock. Her father got "a kick to talk German," but the mother spoke it "only to be silly." She was of German Methodist stock. In 1964 the report was that teenagers knew German only if brought up in certain farm families. However, at that time those born before the First World War preferred to talk German. Those born before 1930 were usually proficient and sometimes preferred it, and those born in the next decades, when not proficient usually were able to speak somewhat as well as to understand.

The accomplishments of the family of George Friedenburg, born 1887 in the Russian village of the same name, illustrate what has happened in the families arriving in the twentieth century. He came from Russia to Otis in 1908 and afterward married Sophia Kindsvater who had come at the age of sixteen. A daughter, born in 1925, became ~~xxxx~~ proficient in German, learned to read and write. A son

born in 1932 learned to read German but not write it. He conversed well. Another daughter, born in 1934, did not become proficient. Though the children of the older daughter had also a German father they learned no German; their parents did not use it with each other. The oldest child was born in 1951.

In Another family where the mother was native born of Irish and Penn-German stock and the father of mixed Swiss and Russian stock, ignorant of English till school age, there was a son, born in 1930, who did not become proficient in German, but learned it somewhat outside his immediate family.

Timken Czechs (Mid-1, Area E)

Special Bibliog.:

Sklenar: see Pilsen Marion County.

Frank Holopirek (1851-1926) was living in this area by early 1878. He was but lately from Moravia, after 1875. Immigrants from Bohemia, both Czechs and Sudetenlanders (Böhmen-deutsch), and from Silesia arrived at the same time or very little later. They were all rather recent arrivals from Europe. The oldest child born in the United States in this group in 1885 was nineteen years old (Lawrence Smrcka), the next oldest seventeen (Anton Chlumsky). There were in other families no children older than three years born here. The Pivonkas who became numerous arrived in 1880 from Moravia (Jacob 1832-1916). In 1885 there were fourteen families belonging to this group, 58 foreign-born individuals, with whom lived 12 children born in this country, 10 of whom were Smrckas and Chlumskys. Immigration and reproduction continued; in 1895 there were 98 foreign-born with whom lived 109 American-born children. As usual in Czech communities, Timken had its Bohemian hall, in this case labeled Narodin Sin. This settlement was more indifferent than hostile to religion. Father John Sklenar was attending the community from Olmitz by 1891, but in 1900 it had not yet reached even the status of a mission. In 1911 when Holy Trinity Church was built it was still served from Olmitz. The first resident priest came in 1925, newly ordained; he was still there in 1960, the Rt. Rev. Magr. Aloysius B. Clupny. Timken had, however, already acquired a Catholic cemetery where children had been buried since 1902. There is also a Czech national cemetery which in its first years must have been regarded as a

general community burying ground, for the inscription for Anna Schröter 1831-1898 is in German, and her husband Joseph who died in 1912 shares the language with her. There are also four Roths who were buried in it between 1898 and 1906. For these Sudetenlanders, here in 1885, the inscriptions are in German. For another member of the family who died in 1930 English was used but there is a German inscription of 1928. No one with a German name is buried in the Catholic cemetery. The facts as regards the use of Czech can best be expressed in tabular form. The two cemeteries are here combined:

Language of the Tombstone Inscriptions at Timken

	English	Czech	% of Czech
1889-1899	0	7	100
1900-1909	3	17	85
1910-1919	8	17	68
1920-1929	8	7	47
1930-1939	9	5	36
1940-1949	22	4	16

The most typical family development in language is illustrated in the Bizek and Kraisinger families:

<u>In Czech</u>		<u>In English</u>
Bizek, Frantisek (1852-1921)	*	Bizek, Herbert infants
Katerina (1856-1912)	*	Hubert 1916
	*	
Kraisinger, Albert (1845-1916)	*	Kraisinger, Anezka (1882-1916)
Barbara(1852-1923)	*	

There is no feeling of hostility between the various elements of the community. On Decoration Day groups ride from one cemetery to the other to mingle in each in amiable conversation. This spirit has also led to a great many marriages with the general population. In one family of ten children who grew up speaking Czech in the first third of the twentieth century, nine did not marry Czech spouses. When the brothers and sisters assemble they still tended in 1951 to speak Bohemian, but the sisters-in-law objected to being excluded. The next generation was not speaking Bohemian.

In the 1950's those born before 1930 still liked to speak Czech, but circumstances usually diverted from it those born after the beginning of the century; those born in the next decade were sometimes able to speak, and children after 1940 know only a few words. In 1964 those 60 years old and older frequently used Czech together; certain small children were somewhat more competent than any had been a decade before. There was no longer public disdain to discourage their imitation of grandparents.

Shaffer Russian Germans (Low-Y, Area F). It seems to be this group of which Schmidt's Santa Fe Immigration booklet speaks when it says: "In the Walnut Valley 12 miles above Great Bend lies the Russian German Colony, Gnadenthal, consisting of about 50 Protestant families who in the year 1874 and 1875 immigrated here from the Saratov government in Russia" / kq28:316. No Russians appear in the 1875 census of Rush County, but this passage seems pertinent. "Fred Schwartzkopf was born January 1, 1854, at Alt Denhof, Russia, where he was reared and married and was a farmer. In December, 1875, he came to the United States and settled as a pioneer farmer near Shaffer, Rush County" / co4:2076. The Schwartzkopfs moved soon to Bison close by. The religious body founded at Shaffer is Seventh Day Adventist. All the names in its cemetery are German, only in small part identical with those at Otis and Bison. In 1953 the number on the roll was 54; there was a church with 7 or 8 members in Bison. The cemetery inscriptions in German number only three, made between 1895 and 1907. Testimony from relatives at Durham indicates more conservative usage of German than the cemetery data would imply -- something like use at Bison rather than that at Otis.

48.80 RUSSELL COUNTY N13

See Settlement Histories for Milberger Russian Germans (Hi-b, Area G)

Paradise Germans (Low-x, Area A). For this area in the census of 1875 appears Wm Lemke, born in Germany, with a child a year old, born in Kansas. The surname also appears on the 1940 landowner map (23-11-14). In 1880 fourteen families had at least one member born in Germany, and two, at least one born in Russia. From first settlement then there have been Germans here and they have been well represented, but they have not been greatly unified. Their institutional allegiances have been mainly to organizations outside the area. An Evangelical Association

preacher was serving at Paradise in 1886//pz197, but no congregation developed there. Missouri Lutherans worked at Luray and Natoma, but attempted nothing in between. Still Paradise was already a small population center; it had a post office from 1875. In 1950 the Lutherans from Paradise and as far away as Gorham attended at Natoma. No families in the area were reported to be using German, but there were persons no older than forty capable of using it. At Waldo on the east edge of the district in 1950 an informant born in 1931 reported that he did not know German, but that his parents spoke it occasionally.

North Lucas Germans (Lowest, Area B) Anton Butscher born in Germany appears in the census of 1875. Many of those in the area, however, were Penn-Germans and except for Russian Germans moving into the neighborhood who had the same habits linguistically as the Milberger people and for the overflow of people from the Missouri Luthern settlement at Sylvan Grove to the east, the people did not continue the use of German into the twentieth century. The Evangelical Association (now EUB) began services there in 1879, built a new church in 1925. The Missouri Lutherans were preaching to 60 people there in 1910 but developed no permanent congregation. The father of Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, who bore the same names, Jacob Christian and was born near the Rhine in 1829, came with his family in 1877 to the boundary near the Sylvan^{Grove} and Lucas areas. He had been in the United States since 1850 /ik999. He found no occasion to speak German with his neighbors who were either Czechs or Penn-Germans.

South Lucas Czechs (Low-x, Area C). This settlement is a fringe group related to the Wilson Czechs. Francis Swehla says that Matej Novak (1836-1911) in May, 1885, "settled on land near what is now the town of Lucas...But soon they [the Novaks] got more of their countrymen to settle in the township" /kc13:498. He then lists the Czech families trading at Lucas at the time when he wrote in 1913:24 in the township,

six more to the west, ten to the east. A chapter of ZCBJ was established here. The cemetery contains a number of inscriptions in Czech. The monument erected to Frank (1849-1907) and Josefa (1849-1912) Shiroky has inscriptions on four sides; Frank has one side in Czech and another in English; so does Josefa. The last inscription in Czech was for a death in 1915.

In 1949 the old were still using Czech at Lucas, but they were rapidly dying off.

Mid-Russell Germans (Low-v, Area D). In the city of Russell in the census of 1875 no persons born in Germany appear. Those to be found in the township first in 1875 and then again in 1880 number two, Hildebrand and Spear. Spear was a bachelor, born in 1825 and has left no trace. In 1873 Christian Hildebrand, born 1838 or 1842 in Wurtemberg, brought his family, wife Louisa, born 1844 in the same province, their son, and their year old daughter Anna K., to a farm near Russell. They came from Ohio where Christian had been since before the Civil War; for a few weeks, till a house was built, they stayed with Henry Senft in town (Russell Record, 5 June, 1961). They became permanent residents; Anna helped celebrate the centennial of statehood there. Lutheran in background, the family became United Brethren. In 1880 the city of Russell contained 14 families born in Germany plus 2 "hired girls". There were also 13 "hired girls" from the Volgan group that had settled to the south plus a single Volgan Youth. In 1885 there was no Lutheran church in town and Pastor Augustin on his arrival was directed out to the settlement of Volgans by a merchant whom they all dealt with in German, and whom Augustin christens Mr. Gueldenpfennig. For many years after that the Volgans did not provide their own urban merchants, and German was regarded primarily as a means of doing business with them. No German church was established in town until St. John's Lutheran was in 1900; it was for Volgans who had moved into town. Into the 1960's Volgans were still using German

.80D
EI

in Russell; on that subject see Milberger. Non-Volgans of German background early abandoned the language except for business purposes. Consequently, a few town residents remained proficient while those in the country seldom did. German paper 1898-1908.

Dorrance Russian Germans and Dubuque Germans (Mid-n & k, Area E & I). There were a few Germans from Germany here earlier, but "the settlements at Dorrance and Wilson date back to 1876 when settlers from Dreispitz and Tscherbokawa [72, see alphabetical list] gained a foothold" /sa35. Immigration from Russia into Plymouth Township , which contains both most of the Dorrance and the Dubuque settlements, came less in waves, more steadily than is usually true of Volgan Settlements.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons Born
in Russia and Resident in Plymouth Township
in 1925

1875-8	11	1895-9	9
1881-4	3	1900-4	4
1885-8	9	1905-9	9
1890-4	14	1911-12	5

None later

The Dorrance

German Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized by the German Nebraska Synod in 1904 /ot184. In 1906 it and Dubuque together had 104 members. This must be the same congregation as ultimately became part of the American Lutheran Church. German services once a week were taking place in 1949. English services had been begun about 1943. In 1949 Reinhardt Steinle, born in 1869 in Russia, liked the worship in German better, but he had little opportunity to speak German. His grandchildren could not speak it.

The charter members of the Dubuque Immanuel Lutheran Church, organized in 1879, included two Russian families (Anschutz, Hilgenberg), but was mostly made up of families from Germany, at least four from Hanover, at least one each from

Wurtemberg and Prussia. "For some time the church was independent, served by independent and Missouri Synod pastors. In 1901 it came within the influence of the German Synod of Nebraska with which it is at present [1907] enrolled" /otl88. It finally became part of the American Lutheran Church served from Dorrance and was dissolved in 1966. By 1949 the majority of the children in the congregation did not understand German, but there were German sermons, not regularly but whenever the pastor who served both Dorrance and Dubuque and had recently arrived from Iowa " could get around to it." By then the members were almost all of the Volgan stock. After 1949 German soon became quite rare, for in 1964 the pastor of that period recalled that he "hardly spoke German at Dorrance."

Gorham German Conglomerate (Mid-m, Area F). In the census of 1875 we find two families with members born in Germany who also appear in the census of Big Creek Township in 1880. In 1880 there were 17 families with members born in Germany and Switzerland not counting those with Polish names. There were six families with members either bearing Polish names or from Poland. There were four families with members born in Russia; these seem to have been Protestants. As time went on Catholic Volgans from Ellis County appeared on the land. The Catholics began to hear mass at Gorham in 1893 and built a church in 1898; there were about 80 families in 1926 /dr87, 88, 75 in 1913. Father Michael Dreiling, just ordained, was assigned to the parish. At high mass at 10 o'clock "I was supposed to preach a German sermon . . . The sermon proved to be a trying task" /dml05. He was an Ellis County Volgan, but his training in abstract thinking had been mostly in English. For the Irish and English in the parish he preached in English

at early mass. The Protestant Germans from Russia were naturally drawn into the Milberger-Russell sphere. Lutherans from Germany were in part, after the automobile became important, taken by Natoma. No essentially German Protestant institution developed in the village of Gorham. The Poles were largely from German Poland and understood German, but they were separate and known as Poles throughout the county. (Polcyns, here by 1880, were the best known family.) By 1949 the younger Germans were not speaking German "unless they have to." The influence of the Ellis County people was great, but still here was a fringe community.

Dorrance Penn-Germans (Lowest - Area H). "Early in 1872, a large colony from Pennsylvania came, who settled chiefly in the eastern portion of the county in the vicinity of Dorrance" /a1284. They had been exploring the land in the fall preceding; they came from near Harrisburg. Judge J. C. Ruppenthal in a letter of 4 December 1956 (he was then aged 90) spoke thus from personal recollection: "Some were added in 1872-3-4. The grasshopper scourge of 1874 almost stopped all immigration, but the great showing of Kansas agricultural products, grains, etc. in 1876 at the Centennial of the United States at Philadelphia attracted much attention, as did also perhaps the 'permanent exhibition' that lasted thru much of 1877. Early in 1878 carloads, almost trainloads, of German families and individuals from the valley of the Susquehanna River, notably from the counties of Cumberland, Dauphin, York, Adams, etc. came on the Kansas Pacific R R (now U.P.R.R.) Probably they settled more in Ellsworth, Lincoln, and Russell counties than in others. [Settlements of that period in Brown and Dickinson Counties are treated elsewhere] The first comers had enough Dunkards to maintain this religious service near the UPRR station of Dorrance. School District No. 6 just west of Dorrance was called 'Colony' well down into the 20th century with occasional use of 'Shenk', one of the settlers. Only a few families used Pennsylvania Dutch enough to make it acceptable to children of school age as a popular custom. Nowhere were all pupils at any school wholly of Pennsylvania Dutch extraction and there was little disposition for users to force their dialect upon other settlers." He added that their "Dutch" and the dialect of the Volgans were near enough alike to bring about "a common understanding in colloquial language. Our Plattdeutsch from Northern Germany found the German speech of our Russians less interesting because it was a high German dialect." The most characteristic Penn-German institution was a Church of the Brethren (Dunkard). It was organized in the 1870's, built southwest of Dorrance where the "Colony" cemetery is (s 13-14-12), moved into town about 1910 and eventually disbanded.

The judge's statements regarding language are in harmony with testimony from the Himes (or Heims) family. Among the settlers of 1872 along with other Himeses

7042
1000
F

were George (1804-1884) and Catherine (1809-1882). These two talked "Dutch" together till their death. Their daughter Catherine (died ca. 1926) married another Himes, and this couple too were among the first settlers. Their son William, born 1871, spoke "Dutch" until he was 13 or 14 years old. A daughter born about 1874 did not become proficient in the dialect. She has reported that her mother continued to use Dutch with older people; one of the younger was the Dunkard minister William Himes (1838-1913). She also conversed with the ^{in German}Volgans. Penn-German merchants, notably Geo. Schmeiser and his daughter and Saul Himes used their "Dutch" in dealing with Volgans. The Penn-Germans were like Reich Germans in disdaining the language that the "Roosh'ns" used and in abandoning it, unless old or unless dealing with the people from Russia.

Newspaper citations made by Nell B. Waldron confirm non-linguistic statements of both Judge Ruppenthal and the Himes family /wl03.

48.81 SALINE COUNTY P11

Glendale Germans (Low-x, Area A)

First settler C. Martin 1865, born in Germany. The settlement shows enough concentration for consideration in both 1885 and 1905 and possessed 1942 land holdings. A Lutheran congregation, strong enough to erect a small church in the village of Glendale was in the 1940's served from Tescott by the American Lutheran minister and is locally known as the German Lutheran. With this background German must have been used in services, but the general population did not remember the fact in 1949. The congregation was not strong enough in 1906 or 1949 to appear in general church records. Except for the Mulberry Creek Valley this is hill country sparsely inhabited. Probably the whole population has had to form a unit for social purposes all through the history of the community, and the Germans were never sufficiently isolated from the rest to maintain their linguistic tradition as a social group.

Salina and Vicinity Germans (Mid-k, Area B)

Salina (population 21073 in 1940) was founded in 1858. Germans (Schippels) had established themselves on the Saline 3 miles away the year before /kq24:305, and by 1860 there were Germans in town. The little group on the Saline was preponderantly Catholic and partly French. The use of German in it was a matter of individual homes rather than of the larger group. The children of the immigrants did not use German with each other; certain of them kept fresh the German that they acquired from their parents by speech with hired men, who until about 1900 were very frequently Germans. Catholic activities in this area began in the homes of the group on the Saline by 1866; after the Kansas Pacific came in 1867 Mass was said in town. Sacred Heart church was built in 1871. Catholicism in Salina, destined to become the see of a diocese in 1944, began humbly. The parish was large, however, and included many Irish. The church was therefore not a force for preserving German, though it had an Alsatian pastor in 1881, Father Maurer, who came to Salina from St. Mark's in the heart of the Andale-Colwich German settlement. Besides the Germans in town and on the Saline those in an area southwest of town contributed to the size of the Catholic parish (850 in 1882; there were 564 Germans in Salina in 1885, the church was much larger than the German population). Russian Germans from the Volgan area later augmented the Gerling element among the Catholics; they moved in from their Ellis County settlements. The non-Catholic Germans were not all church members. Many made their lodge their church, and as the lodge chapters were largely of older American stock, they were an Engl-izing influence. Some of the early Germans were, however, Lutherans and they joined with the "English"

Lutherans in establishing St. John's in 1868. Early conditions there are thus described in the Andreas-Cutler history "The citizens who had purchased the frame church, offered the free use of the building to any Protestant Church organization that would furnish a minister who would conduct services in the German language. After some delay the services of J. C. Young were secured who preached alternately in German and English. [Young, born in Ohio of Penn-German stock, was a member of the Kansas Synod, now United Lutheran, and drew the church into that Synod. The rest of the story in Salina is then not surprising.] After a time the party who owned the building donated it to the German Lutherans. Mr. Young was continued as pastor, until succeeded in 1877 by Rev. A. J. Hartsock, and in the course of a few years the church became known as the English Lutheran" /a702 (125members in 1882, 640 in 1953). By 1893 a German Evangelical Church (next E R) was in existence /ch93. In 1906 it numbered 75 members, and perished later, presumably in 1918. During the First World War anti-German hysteria in Salina was great. The Germans were numerous enough to provoke demonstrations, but so divided that when hysteria subsided, the German language had practically disappeared in Salina.

For Salina Mexicans see #47.95

New Cambria Germans (Low-x, Area C)

are
There, as many Penn-Germans from Cambria County, Pennsylvania (63, 18),
whence the name New Cambria (Point 2) (several Donmyer families), as
Germans (Shank, Juengel, Hahn) in group. First settlers about 1861.
Most of the group were Lutherans (some indifferent, Itzen, Linck); in
telling of the organization of the New Cambria Lutheran Church (now United
Lutheran), Ott qualifies the Donn timers and Shank as "great hearted Germans"
/otl28. The first two ministers, i.e. till 1877, were German speaking.
Later the congregation became lukewarm. In 1892 in an effort to relieve
financial straits that had lasted a decade, "Rev. Lenker the Western
Secretary of the Board of Church Extension was asked to come and talk
German to the people" /otl30 to raise money. By 1900 the English-speaking
generation was in power.

Salina and east of Salina Swedes (Mid-n, Area D)

Swedes did not become a part of Salina until 1868. As the railroad debarcation point for Lindsborg, the town needed establishments to succor the travelers, and they were at once created with personnel linguistically prepared /li 179. Lutherans began to worship at once and in 1870 organized a church (255 members in 1906; 821 members in 1951). The Swedish Mission people began church in 1878 /sd 117 (145 members in 1916, 170 in 1949). While the Sunday School used all Swedish in 1916, the invasion of English had begun. Of the three sewing organizations two had English names, "The Willing Mothers" for girls over 15, and "The Buds of Promise" for those younger. Swedish was used exclusively in the Lutheran Church services until about 1914. English then began to be used on Sunday evening. Pastor Liljedahl had arrived; he was to guide the congregation for some forty years through all the linguistic transition. After 1925 Swedish remained only in afternoon services which dwindled soon so that in 1949 a hymn or a few words in Swedish at a funeral were the only public relics of early usage. In that year although nearly one-third of the congregation was of non-Swedish origin, there were still some 150 members able to speak. Many of them were people no longer young who had moved in from the Lindsborg region. Despite this element, many of the people of Salina do not know that Immanuel Lutheran Church has a Swedish background. Until the First World War most of the congregation lived in the area east of Salina shown as Swedish on Map I, but Swedish families acquired much land to the west and northwest of the town, and the urban Swedes also became more numerous.

There were Swedes in the area east of town by 1869 (Thelander /ch84, Swedish Mission /sd119) and it received most of its Swedish population in the next decade. Habitual usage of Swedish in child-bearing families continued until the early 1920's in these rural families; in 1950 the old were still using it, but seldom habitually. The persistence of Swedish in this none too solidly Swedish area was partly to be explained as a reaction against Irish Catholic neighbors whose culture differed so much. Usage of Swedish in town in 1950 clung among the old (See Lindsborg on the sturdiness of this phenomenon).

Gypsum Germans (Low-x, Area E)

German settlers here by 1867 (Tressin). A number of others located here through the next decade. A very solid center was formed when members of the Temple Society arrived from Gutenberg, Wurtemberg, about 25 miles southeast of Stuttgart. They organized a church in 1881 as soon as they were here. Their church was built 4 air miles southeast of Gypsum City (Point 11). Close by in the Buchenau place was the group's economic center. Of 11 persons born in Germany who recorded in the 1925 census the year of their arrival in Gypsum township, 5 came in 1881 and 1882, 3 more in the 5 years following. In other words these people settled in a relatively short period. They remained habitually German-speaking until the First World War; then shifted to the use of English except for dealing with the old. The generation with whom it was necessary to use German died out in the 1930's. In their little cemetery German and English were on an equal footing until 1914. In 1957 the patriarch was August Schwarz. When an aunt of his died in 1898, the inscription on her stone (which is not found in the Temple Society cemetery) was such that it reads Margaretha Schwarz. Her husband died in 1918 and another inscription was made for her, presumably at the same time as his; on it she is Margaret.

48.82 SCOTT COUNTY F16 See Finney County, #48.28 and Logan County #48.52D.

48.83 SEDGWICK COUNTY P20

See Settlement Histories for Andale-Colwich Germans (U-Hi***, Area A)

Kechi Germans (Low-W, Area B). Not appearing on the 1940 landowner map is the name Young, but Henry N. Young came to Payne Township in 1870 and was still there in 1895. He was born in Hanover in 1837 /ch88. He was a Lutheran. A name, obviously North German, frequently found on the landowner map is Tjaden. H. A. G. Tjaden was born in Germany in 1851; his wife, May W., in Illinois in 1855. By the census of 1885 their first born, a Kansan, was then six years old. The surname of T. Erdween, born in Germany, often appears on the 1940 landowner map; the census of 1885 shows that his youngest child had been born in Germany in 1880 or 1881. August Miers, born 1848, also appears in the census of 1885, wife Minnie, born 1854. Their oldest children were born in Illinois between 1874 and 1879, the next youngest in Kansas in 1880 or early 1881. One of their daughters, who had to learn English on entering school, married a Dane, and their daughter learned no German, nor did this ^{child} hear her grandparents using German, but August Miers continued to take a German paper. He and his wife were Lutherans. People of this stock were reputed in the neighborhood to be conservative of German, but by 1950 did not practice it. Despite the presence of the Lutherans, no permanent Lutheran organization came into being. However, in 1876, Greenwich, nearer than Kechi to the focus, was on the circuit of the German Methodist preacher, P. W. Matthaei (KC Star 20 May '51.)

West of Wichita Swedes (Lowest, Area C). The Martinsons, born in Sweden, arrived in this area in 1870 /ch88:813,917. Ole, born 1844, was the most prominent of the Swedes, but was on his claim only long enough to prove up; after that he was in town. In 1876 he married Sarah Knofflock (see Wichita Germans on this family). Nels Martinson, born 1838, came to Chicago in 1865, a year earlier than his brother. Ole was the more restless spirit. Nels remained on his claim. His wife Nellie Olson was Swedish, but died early, 1874. Martinsons appear on the landowner map of

1940. Nels Swenson, another early comer, had a Norwegian wife. His son Simon, born about the beginning of this century, acquired Swedish, and in 1953 was still using it with his contemporaries or those older.

Wichita Germans (Hi-b, Area D)

For Wichita Mexicans see #47.97

Wichita was platted in 1868; William Greiffenstein, later mayor, came in 1869 /ch88; Gribi, Swiss contractor there, 1869 /al396; Turnverein founded 1871 /al392. The Santa Fe immigration pamphlet says in 1881: "City of 5000 inhabitants, among whom 2000 Germans." /kq28:312. There were Catholic German inhabitants from 1869 (Cath. Burnett Greiffenstein /mo25 half German, half Pottawatomie)--60 Catholics, many Irish, in 1870 /mo25. St. Aloysius Church (for all Catholics) was dedicated in 1872; specifically German church, St. Boniface's was dedicated in 1887 /mo57, given to Franciscans and called St. Anthony's in 1890 /mol51. Its pastor, Father Athanasius Lingemann, was vicar general of diocese. In the mid twentieth century this church was still largely German and prosperous. The Calvary German Methodist Church was organized in 1876, membership 70 in 1883 /al392. It was still active 1907-1910. Salem Evangelical [and Reformed] church organized 1885, membership 123 in 1907 /ot301. Lutherans had no lasting (Note) organization until Immanuel Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, was organized in 1909, next year 87members. Immanuel Church introduced English by 1916, abandoned German preaching about 1936 after a period of sermons once a month. Carruth, 1891, reports "schools and churches in German." Public use of German seems to have been generally abandoned in 1918, private use not affecting growing children was continuing, always diminishing, after 1950. Critical date 1918. German newspapers were published in Wichita from 1879 until after 1916.

Note. /ch01 reports C. Köhler as belonging to the German Lutheran Church, but Ott in 1907 reports no Wichita church in any of the German Synods in Kansas /ot300. The Kansas Synod--United Lutheran--usually but not always English, failed in organization attempts, 1886-7, 1889-93 /ot 196.

Wichita Lebanese (Low-w, Area D)

Special Bibliog.:

H - Hitti, Syrians in America

The various census reports provide the following information;

Lebanese etc. in Wichita

1895 - 6 foreign-born Syrians with no children

1900 - 19, non-yellow, born in Asia, in Sedgwick County

1910 - 90 born in Turkey in Asia

1920 - 155 foreign white stock of Syrian and Arabic mother tongue

- 160 foreign white stock from Turkey in Asia

1925 - see below

1930 - 99 born in Syria (as recorded in 1940, 100 born in Palestine and Syria

54 males, 46 females); 266 f. w. s. from Syria

1940 - 119 born in Palestine and Syria (65 males, 54 females)

The six of 1895 were

living very close together in the Fifth Ward in Wichita. Probably all 19 non-yellow foreign-born Asians in Wichita in 1900 were Syrians, or more strictly Lebanese. One of those who arrived before 1900 was Ennet Farha who had been for a short time in Bloomington, Illinois, before he came to Wichita. He did not marry until 1906 and brought up ten children in the city. After the First World War he brought from Lebanon his nephews and nieces and established them. He went into the carpet business, and prospered. His was a typical history. He was more successful than many of his countrymen, was a political leader among them, but they all embarked on small business, and, typically, it became profitable, and the resultant wealth was frequently

invested in bringing relatives from Lebanon. Though hampered, the habit was not obliterated by the immigration laws of the 1920's. In 1961 there were immigrants who had arrived within the last three years and two or three young people annually secured student visas in order to continue their education here. As a group the Lebanese were in the 1960's reputed to be a very potent financial force in Wichita.

The 1925 census was apparently not complete among the Lebanese, for as compared with other censuses, it shows insufficient numbers, but it does provide evidence as to the chronology of settlement.

Dates of Arrival in the U. S. of Persons Born in Syria and
Resident in Wards V and VI of Wichita in 1925

(there are no Syrians in other wards)

1890 - 2	1906-1910 - 7
1892-1893 - 2	1911-1915 - 11
1895 - 4	1916-1919 - 0
1896-1900 - 10	1920-1923 - 10
no date stated - 12	Total 68

Of the 68, Ward V contained 62. The Lebanese, that is the foreign-born with their children, by the census of 1920 numbered 160 in 1920, but they had not yet in 1916 been strong enough to form a church. In 1924 there was a Syrian Greek Orthodox Church whose pastor was the Rev. Elias El-Koury /H133. The 1926 Census of Religious Bodies lists only one Syrian Orthodox church in Kansas, necessarily the one at Wichita. Its membership was 73. Not all the Lebanese in Wichita were Syrian Orthodox; the others joined

Roman Catholic parishes and were thereby divorced from services in Arabic. The Orthodox for some time shared their church with the Greeks, and upon separation its name became St. Mary's instead of St. George's and the Greeks continued the latter name.

Business interests made male Syrians in Wichita advance rapidly toward bilingualism. Women were slow in acquiring English, and therefore the first two generations retained proficiency in Arabic. The language of the second generation homes was usually English, however. The girls acquired English in the public schools and their children insisted upon English, though sometimes learning to understand a little Arabic. Because of the late revival of immigration, there are more than the usual number of exceptional cases in this community, but since the majority of the immigrants arrived before the First World War and most of those coming later have made efforts to conform to the general Engl-izing of the community, the general situation may be summarized thus: In 1961 those born before 1920 were able to speak Arabic, also some of those born later, but their number did not bulk large. There were a number of women born before 1910 who knew little English, and all the older people were still actively using Arabic both in conversation and in reading.

Wichita Greeks (Low-w, Area D)

In 1930, 83 persons born in Greece resided in Wichita (a peak). While Greeks and Lebanese worshiped together, their church was St. George's -- for years thereafter too. It became Holy Trinity, the special care of the organized Greek Community. Its members came to include persons from other towns, particularly Hutchinson. Its school in the mid 1960's taught Greek, but aroused qualified enthusiasm. Its newsletter in 1965 was very nearly all in English. Members born in Greece were then not few, and visits to Greece were frequent. Still the use of Greek was limited; most of the later generations treated it respectfully, though seldom speaking it themselves.

Cheney Germans (Low-v, Area E). The 1875 report of the State Board of Agriculture shows the area of settlement as unoccupied. John Hillman, born in Germany /ch 05, arrived here in 1876 /ch05 or 1877/ch82. He was joined by other Hillmans. The Evangelical and Reformed Church in Cheney was originally a Reformed Church founded in 1883. It did not maintain a marked German character, though there were native born Germans among its members. Among these were Karl G. (1827-1900) and May F. (Dietz, 1836-1897). Poenisch. Both were born in Freiberg, Saxony /ik925, and came to Indiana in 1861. They were in Cheney by 1885. The typically German church is St. Paul's Lutheran, Missouri Synod. In its cemetery two early inscriptions in German are those to Friedric L. Boembach who died in 1879 aged 12 years and Lina Lentz Marcks (1859-1881). Henry Lentz, born in Germany in 1820, came to the area in 1878 /ch82. F. A. and W. Boembach, born in 1828 and 1832, parents of Friedric are in the census of 1885. German was continued late at St. Paul's because Pastor Oscar F. Kaiser, who was the minister from about 1922 to 1945 and emeritus thereafter, supported it zealously. He continued religious instruction in German till 1940 in spite of unwilling children, and until that year also maintained half the services in German.

In 1950 a number of the old people of the church were still speaking German with each other, but made little show of it so as not to offend those English monolinguals whom Pastor Kaiser's successor had brought into the fold. The generation born about 1890, thanks to their schooling, were proficient in both High and Low German. Their children had some ability in Low German.

In the cemetery the Asendorf family, which was present in the 1885 census, has a large central monument of the style current after 1940 with inscription in German. The markers bear dates in English (Johann Diedrich 1854-1937, Dorette Anna 1856-1932, Sophie Metta 1884-1924.)

REF

Language of Inscriptions in Cheney Lutheran Cemetery

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1879	0	1	100%
1881	0	2	100%
1890-9	5	4	44%
1900-9	5	5	50%
1910-9	15	2	12%
1920-9	13	4	23%
1930-50	40	6	14%

The influence of Pastor Kaiser is probably to be seen here.

Schulte-Bayneville Germans (Low-w, Area F). Foreign-born Germans appeared in this area in 1871 and 1872 (Schmidt /ch82, Springob /ch01:367, Haeberle /ch88:394.) They appear to have been preceded in 1870 by Henry Behrens, born 1831, a Lutheran from Hanover with a Badenese wife, Eva Geis Wolf, born 1845 /ch88:584. Behrens was on the east edge of the district. The others were not near neighbors except Schmidt and Springob near Schulte. Haeberle was near Bayneville, a member of the Evangelical Association. John Lauterbach (born 1850) was a Bavarian Lutheran still further south (268I13). The neighborhood of Schulte became a Catholic center (a church built, 1905 /mo80) with people of the stock of the Andale-Colwich group and with similar linguistic development but as a fringe settlement somewhat less conservative. There are no German inscriptions in the cemetery. Neither the Catholics nor the German Protestant churches succeeded in establishing themselves to the south. There seems to have been no appreciable conservation of German over a long period.

Derby Germans (Low-w, Area G.) Henry Stein, born in 1833, to Wisconsin 1858, had never married in 1888 /ch88:857. He came to the river side very near the site of Derby in 1869 and was a commissioner who helped organize the county which gives the impression that he was rather well Engl-ized. Henry Seekamp, who arrived

836
184 bag

in 1870, took land downstream on the other side of the river where his family was still located in 1940. Adam Glazer, born in Germany, who came in 1871 /ch82, is listed among those served by the Evangelical Association beginning in that year. The Glazers were farther away from the river on the west side. The church, eventually EUB, was functioning in 1948, less prosperous than it had been at one time. There were in the neighborhood a number of Penn-German families, and the congregation does not seem to have been ardently German. At Mulvane on the county's border the Missouri Synod maintained a Lutheran Mission from sometime between 1906 and 1910 until after 1916, 27 members in 1910, 35 in 1916. The congregation ultimately perished. Except for this short period German in the area seems to have been only a matter of family usage.

SEWARD COUNTY F28. See# 48.9 8.

48.84 SHAWNEE COUNTY ELO

See Settlement Histories for Topeka and Vicinity Germans and Swedes
(Super ***** - Area B).

On the Topeka French see Vol. I, 273, last paragraph of III. In 1874 Topeka had a temporary increase in French population. Fifty persons, gathered by the efforts of George de Pardonnet, were destitute on arrival to the distress of themselves and of French families established in Topeka. They returned home or to the eastern United States /w79. On de Pardonnet see /hq

Delia Czechs (Mid-n, Area A)

In 1870 John Stach was resident in that part of Jackson County which became Washington Township. The area belonged to the extinguished portion of the Pottawatomie Reserve which by sale from the Santa Fe railroad was made available to settlers in 1869. John Stach, b. 1824, was a Moravian born near Brno (Brünn)^{fn}

^{fn}The spelling of the village from which a number later came is not consistent among the settlers. Two versions in the cemetery are Pozdeznove and Pozdichove.

who had been resident elsewhere in Kansas since at least 1863 when their oldest child was born to him and his wife Anna Svetlik, born in Moravia in 1842. In 1870 he had 152 acres; in 1875, 320; the platbook of 1881 shows 3280 acres in his name. In other words he became a land speculator; eventually he lost everything and, according to local report, was a suicide some time after 1895. John Stach seems to have maintained family headquarters, for George Stach, b. 1793, lived with him in 1870, and both George and Paul, b. 1799, were at his house in 1875. A more influential figure on the rest of the community, however, was his brother Martin (1838-1916), who according to the Czech inscription on his tombstone settled here in the year 1870,^{fn}

^{fn}Testimony from neighbors substantiates the date, but Martin either married a widow who came later or else made a visit back to Moravia, for the two children who bore his name and lived with him in 1880 and 1885 were born in Moravia in 1870 and 1876.

though later than census taking time.

Anna Svetlik Stach's relatives also soon appeared, about 1874. Paul Kovar (1843-1899) and his wife, Frony (b. 1845), Anna's sister, and somewhat earlier, though not in the 1875 census Paul Svetlik (b. 1811 or 1808) and his wife, Mary (b. 1814) with their son Paul (born 1854).

The nucleus of settlement established by this group was all in Jackson County; later developments made the county line the axis and the cultural centers were established south of it; the national cemetery just to the south (on 2-10-13) the Presbyterian Church (3-10-13) and the Bohemian Hall (2-10-13) a mile further south. The settlement never did have a commercial focus, depending on Rossville six miles down Cross Creek and ultimately after 1905 upon Delia, established when the Union Pacific Railroad built a line from Topeka to Marysville.

Later immigration was mostly from Moravia, from the eastern rather than the western section of that province to judge by dialectal characteristics. Arrivals continued over a long period of time. Even early, immigrants came directly from Moravia. John Stach had spent time elsewhere in Kansas, Paul Kovar was briefly in Texas, Kasper in Iowa, Hladky in Missouri. These were the only families in 1895 which had children born in other states of the United States. The 1925 record of the date of arrival in this country, therefore, also shows when the immigrant came to Kansas.

Date of Immigration to U.S.
of Czech Immigrants living in 1925

	Washington Twp Jackson Co.	Rossville Twp. Shawnee Co.
1870		1
1872-1882	8	4
1883-1892	3	6
1893-1902	3	2
1903-1914	7	4

The linguistic result of this constant refreshment of the population from Europe was of course conservatism in the use of Czech.

The settlers did not feel themselves strong enough to undertake organizations until the mid-nineties. The hard times of that period seemed to have affected them less than others (John Stach excepted). Not only did immigration go on with hardly a break, but their Presbyterian church was organized in 1894, and took over a building that the United Brethren could not hold. A large

proportion of the oldest settlers were among its members, Hejtmanok, Kovar, Stach (Martin, not John), Olejnik. Preaching was in Czech throughout its history--which ended in 1942 because of "intermarriage," an old member said. Intermarriage meant no understanding of services in Czech. A number of the families became members of the Presbyterian Church in Delia, which was so wise as to have for its minister as late as 1952, Irvin Rundus, a Bohemian from Cuba, Kansas, who spoke Czech with affection.

There was a larger proportion of Catholics among the later immigrants (Dolezilek, Martinek for instance who first appear in the census of 1885; John Hladky is in the census of 1880 but then disappears; William Hladky appears in 1895.) Until 1908 the Catholics attended the churches at St. Marys and Holy Cross (replaced by Emmett), both a number of miles to the west and dominated by other stocks. Certain Czech families settled near these churches beyond the settlement boundaries, and thereby became an Engl-izing force. When the Sacred Heart Church was established at Delia, the membership still contained large elements of Irish and German origin. Sacred Heart received a resident priest in 1911, but did not prosper after 1923, was hard hit in the depression of the 1930's, had an administrator in lieu of a pastor in 1948, and was a mission of Emmett in 1960. The priests have usually been Irish, sometimes German, never a force linguistically conservative of Czech. The Catholics resident in the settlement itself, however, have been in family usage as conservative as the rest of the community.

The national cemetery has as its oldest inscription that of Zofie Vacek, 1848-1894. Its establishment was therefore contemporary to that of the Presbyterian Church.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions
In the Czech National Cemetery at Delia

	English	Czech	% of Czech
1894-9	1	5	83%
1900-9	2	4	67%
1910-9	4	4	50%
1920-9	4	1	20%
1930-9	8	4	33%

No later inscriptions in Czech

The inscriptions are witness that Czech was considered the primary language of record until the First World War. With the Second World War it expired abruptly in that capacity. A witness of the same trend within a family is here exhibited: The inscription of Vaclav Kalcik (1857-1919) is in Czech; that of his wife Elizabeth (1861-1933) is in English.

The history of language usage in the ZCBJ lodge shows that the old relinquished the use of Czech as the language of deliberation still later. The chapter of the lodge was founded about the beginning of the century, and a hall was erected soon afterward. As a meeting place for the young is seems to have been more hospitable to outsiders than halls in other settlements, for first acquaintanceships that resulted in marriages outside the group occurred at its dances. It used Czech in its business meetings until 1950. The membership then was 112. Schooling in Czech existed only very briefly. Twice, at least once between 1906 and 1910, and again a decade later, with John Krtina as teacher the first time, the lodge conducted a school on Saturdays. Krtina (1854-1930), who came in 1891, was also the

founder of the ZCBJ Lodge. In the home even where there were growing children, Czech was the commonly used language until 1942. The immigrants did not abandon their language of childhood. Those born after 1937, however, spoke imperfect Czech in 1952. Persons of middle age born in the community, in speaking Czech to visitors from Czecho-Slovakia, then used throughout a conversation a tone of enthusiasm such as is natural only at a moment of greeting, thus leaving the impression that they seldom used their Czech with contemporaries except as a sign of belonging. They also spoke as if their audience was very frequently persons who understood only slowly articulated speech. The quality of their Moravian-flavored Czech was good. In one family a child born in 1944 was taught some Czech, but his brother born in 1948 learned none. In 1962 Czech was used so infrequently that it was never heard by non-Czechs living in the settlement and associating frequently with its members both in their homes and in public places.

Muddy Creek Germans (Low-x, Area C). Muddy Creek flows southward along the county line first in Shawnee County and then in Jefferson. There is a part of the settlement in Jefferson County at and near Meriden. There seems to have been a German here by 1855, J. J. Kopp, born in Germany in 1833 /ik659. At least Mrs. Mary Kopp recorded in 1898 that she had arrived in that year. No foreign-born Kopp appears, however, anywhere in the Shawnee County census of 1860. To follow the settlement of Germans in the southern part of the district is difficult because land changed hands rather frequently. For instance, Fred Schlodders came from Elk County in 1920. His was a German speaking family and after 1910 there were a number of others speaking German who later left (Gutsch, Steinmayer, Priebe, et al). Near or at Meriden were

a group of Germans who had earlier been in Ohio not far from Marietta (Becker, Berg, Krame, Swickard, Whittock, Dauber.) Two of the group resident in Soldier Township, Shawnee County in 1895 were C. Becker, born in Germany in 1839, with wife Eliz., born in Ohio in 1845, here by 1870, and Jacob Dauber, born in Germany, 1839, with wife Caroline, born in Ohio in 1848, here after 1877. They were not all born abroad, but they were conservative of German and up until the time of the First World War the older people were using German habitually and children acquired a smattering. These people had no church. Mass was first said at Meriden in 1868 /1p B118. Father Kraus began to serve the area in 1880, but most of his flock of 16 families were Irish. In St. Aloysius' parish there were Germans, however (Bausch, Welsch, Metzgar, Bux); the Metzgers became numerous in the community. The most important linguistic influence of St. Aloysius's perhaps was to begin attracting rather late those Volgans in Topeka who acquired farms with their savings (Raab).

Tecumseh Germans (Low-y, Area D). The landholdings of this area were held in 1940 almost in their entirety by various Engelkes and Kreipes. Theodore Kreipe was baptized there in 1861. St. Peter's Catholic Church was later built at Big Springs over the line in Douglas County; Henry Engelke quarried rock for the building on the present sight in 1878. John Engelke, born in 1851 in Missouri, took care of it; his wife Minnie was born in Hungary in 1864. An older Theodore Kreipe and his wife, Gertrude, were both born in Germany in 1829. There is some indication that the German element here was related to that at Scipio. There were also Irish in the parish and part of its Germans were in Douglas County. The use of German appears to have died out after the death of the early immigrants.

Monmouth Germans (Low-x, Area E). Peter Heil, born in Germany in 1808, was in Jefferson County, New York, in 1840 and came to Monmouth Township (census 1860) in 1859 /co4:1713. The name Heyl appeared on the 1940 landowner map. The Lutzes occupy much larger holdings. There were three families of this name in the township in 1895; Jacob had a son George, born in Kansas, who was then 25 years old. At the time of the First World War some members of this family suffered from the

hysteria of the period. The name Wilch also appears several times on the late landowner map. There were three established families in 1895. John and Mary, born in Germany in 1835, then had a son Charles, 24 years old, born in Kansas. An older brother, aged 32 years, was born in Germany. In the early days the school to the north of Richland was called the "Dutch School." No formal and enduring German institution developed. German was commonly heard in its area in the first decade of this century. In 1954 only the old timers knew who had spoken German.

48.85 SHERIDAN COUNTY F6

Violenta Germans (Lowest - Area A). At the northern extremity of this area in Decatur County there was a post office at Hawkeye from 1879 till 1896. The first postmaster was Charles Breithaupt. Henry and Elecia Claar, both born in Germany in 1839, came to Hawkeye in 1879 and had a store there; their surname is found several times on the 1940 landowner map. The drouth of 1880 drove many away. In 1886 Caleb Geisenheuer was a county commissioner with post office at Violenta; he was considered an early settler who stayed. The census of 1885 records that he was born in Germany in 1846; his wife Annie was born in England. His oldest child, born in Iowa, was then aged 6. A family, with both parents German born, which went through the drouth and had their surname still on the landowner map in 1940 was the Mumms. Godfried, born 1845 and Grace, born 1850, had children born in Illinois between 1868 and 1878. The German stock is then the oldest possible, but developed no stable German institution of its own. The German language with a leader like Caleb Geisenheuer, who must have been well Engl-ized, could hardly achieve long-lasting status.

North of Hoxie Germans (Low-y, Area B). In the 1885 census none of those buried in Emmanuel Cemetery, Missouri Lutheran, appear. The congregation was organized in 1888. The families appearing with foreign born members in the census of 1895 and in the cemetery (Baier, Oelke, Schlicher) show by the place of birth

of their children that they could not have arrived before 1887. J. W. Schlicher came in 1887, four other landowners with that surname in 1888 /ch07. The Oelkes and Schlichers had previously been in Illinois for at least 27 years before settling here. The Baiers had been elsewhere in Kansas; their name does not appear on the 1940 landowner map but the other two are present repeatedly. The other name most common is Gaede; Christian lived from 1873 till 1950. The early arrivals in this family were born in the United States. Another name that is rather frequent is Hesterberg. E. Hesterberg came in 1905 /ch07. The only German inscription in the cemetery is that of Wilhemina Hesterberg, 1844-1920; that of her husband Henry, 1840-1925, is in English. The German language did not prevail here, but as late as ca. 1950 a funeral was conducted in German.

Seguin Germans (Lowest, Sheridan C). Seguin is a Catholic settlement largely secondary to Angelus. The parish was organized in 1906. The linguistic development was as at Angelus, but less uniform. Ulrich Andregg settled 1889 /ch07. Oldest inscription in St. Mark's cemetery is in German: Kathrina Leeber Moos 1869-1915. Only other German inscription: Wilhelm Schwindt 1932-1936, remarkably late as compared with Angelus.

Angelus Germans (Mid-n, Area D)

Angelus, a Catholic settlement, began 1885, but first authenticated settlers born abroad came in 1887 (Haverkamp, Beckman) /ch07. Most original settlers from the Catholic German settlement at St. Libory, Illinois (in St. Clair County, 60, 110); example John Schutz born in Ohio, then to Illinois /ch07; a few from Lindsay, Nebraska (in Platte County); elements also from Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri. St. Paul's Church built in 1892, burial began 1887. Accretions from the Germans at Walker (where see) and Victoria in 1898 (Dickman, Robben, born in Ohio), who preferred fellow Reich Germans to Russian Germans. Some Volgans eventually (Haberkorn, Herl, Meyer by 1925, possibly d. ca. 1967 by 1908); pastor from 1939 Michael Dreiling, born Victoria of Peter, born Russia. Preaching regularly in German till 1918. Complete abandonment by 1928. Pastoral service in 1953 to very old still in German. Few tombstone inscriptions in German (normal in a secondary settlement); last: Jacob Schlageck 1883-1920 (Schlagecks from Luxemburg.) Critical year 1918. Adepts in German born after 1900 in general abandoned its use in 1942. German in school for children till 1912. German has characterized Angelus more than most comparatively small settlements which had from their beginning an important population element derived from other settlements; this fact is largely to be explained by its isolation.

48.86 SHERMAN COUNTY F4

Ruleton Swedes (Low-w, Area A). There were no Swedes in this area at the time of the 1885 census but they began to arrive the next year. Swan Nelson claimed to have settled in that year /ch07. The Duells who have remained by far the most numerous family began to arrive the next year. Many other families, though prosperous, left for California. Gust Duell was born in southern Sweden in 1852; his wife from the same area was two years younger. Their son Seth born in 1894 did not speak English until he entered school, he retained the ability to speak Swedish. His brother Bernhard, born in 1889, also learned to read and write, was reading the Bible in Swedish in the first years of this century. The character of their Swedish was such that when in 1963 relatives from Sweden visited them, they had a "great time communicating." More of the Duell family established themselves at Greeley, Colorado; with them Swedish persisted longer. The church which developed at Ruleton was a community affair; the Greeley people were Mission Covenanters.

Goodland Germans (Low-w, Area B). Though there have been Germans in Goodland from early times, the town has served more as a focus for others in the county than as a point of concentration. To the north, six miles from the county line, the post office of Rhine existed from 1899 to 1909. Carl Rohr came to the United States and settled not far away about 1887. A group developed to the south-east of Goodland sufficient to support a sod Lutheran church served but not yet organized in 1906 and merged with the Ohio Synod group in town in 1928. William Diekruger registered his arrival here in 1886 in the platbook /ch07. Jacob Trachsel and Henry Frerichs arrived the next year. People came from all parts of Germany the dialect used varied with the family. During the First World War the language question was greatly agitated. The pressure was not merely from the "Americans."

The young were absenting themselves from German services. The transition was so rapid that the reorganized church of 1928 never used German in services. In 1949 a bride brought home from Germany by a soldier of the Second World War had already abandoned her German, though there were a few old people who had spoken it with her.

For Goodland Mexicans, see #47.80

Shermanville Swedes and Germans (Low-y, Area C), The Swedes did not become numerous here, but of the 62 inhabitants of Sherman county in 1885 one was a Swede. He was A. P. Maelstrom, born in Sweden in 1850, with a wife Sarah born in Iowa in 1865. They had a son, aged two. The name Melstrom appears on the landowner map of 1940 in this area. In 1895 there were seven Swedish families in the township, but the settlement shriveled.

As to the Germans there are scattered families outside the holdings shown in Volume I, but in that solid block all but 320 acres were held in 1940 by some Kuhrt. William and Pauline Kuhrt, born in Germany in 1857 and 1864, are in the 1895 census with a son, aged five, born in Kansas. No German institution developed.

48.87 SMITH COUNTY N3

Kensington Germans (Mid-m, Area A)

The Germans arrived in this area in 1871, (Grauerholz, /co3:1524, Wagner /chl7, Bierman, /ag78). It was then completely unoccupied. The settlement is almost entirely Hanoverian and Lutheran. Those here in 1885, came to Kansas after residence in other states along the Mississippi, sometimes of some length. For instance, the Grauerholzes, who became numerous, lived near Chester, Illinois (60, 130) from 1857 to 1871. Germantown had a post office from 1871 to 1893. It is northwest of Kensington, which came into being when the railroad was built about 1887. At Germantown a church was organized in 1874, which became St. John's Lutheran, Missouri Synod. It had 218 souls in 1899 and 103 in 1906, 68 in 1948. The drop was doubtless caused by defection to the Iowa Synod Church, now American Lutheran. A congregation of that group, another St. John's, was organized in 1885, and built a church in 1893 and again in 1899, apparently because both times and membership increases were good. A third St. John's, eleven miles to the north split off in 1900 (54 members in 1950). The Kensington church had 160 communicants in 1907 (about 300 souls), 353 souls in 1950. After 1900 it may be regarded as the primary church. Services and activities were all in German until the First World War, but the inroads of English are observable in the records. In 1895 one entry has a person's first name in German script, the last name and dates in an American hand, the comments in German script. German script was abandoned in 1906. The baptismal, confirmation and death records were in German until 1919, but beginning in 1917 the causes of death were sometimes stated in English. Services were irregular during the First World War and when they were again on a steady

schedule in 1920, they were half English and half German. Those who were faithful to German withdrew and built a church farther west which for several years had no English. Finally it too had to introduce English and by 1940 the two churches merged. Later German services were reduced to once a month, and at the beginning of the Second World War they were abolished except that there was a German service on Maundy Thursday until 1946, and communion without preaching four times a year until 1947. Before the First World War only a small part of those in the heart of the community were truly bi-lingual. The few brides introduced from the outside had to learn German. This was a Low German group, and High German became a foreign language which a greater and greater number found difficult after 1900.

The days of the First World War were very tempestuous. The Kensington Lutheran Church was burned in 1919. Both sides became hardened in their prejudices. The young, however, became accustomed to using no German. By 1950 only a few of those born after 1910 could speak German well, and those born later than 1923 understood very little. Those born before 1900 continued to use German at home.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in St. John American Lutheran Cemetery

Kensington

<u>Decade or year</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Per cent of German</u>
the year 1888	1	1	50%
1890-1899	4	8	67%
1900-1909	2	22	92%
1910-1919	13	11	46%
1920-1929	14	5	26%
1930-1939	14	2	13%
1940-1949	22	1	4%
The period of the First World War			
the year 1917	2	4	67%
" " 1918		N O N E	
" " 1919	4	0	0%

Upper Beaver Creek Germans (Low-y, Area B). Earliest recorded arrival R. Bohm, 1872 /ch17. The surname occurs several times on the 1940 landowner map. No Germans in the county in the 1870 census. By the 1875 census Ernst Brien, born in Germany, had children born in Marysville, Kansas, Marshall County, in 1862 and 1868. There was a post office called Uhl about in the center of this area from 1886 to 1891. It was probably named for Leonard C. Uhl (1846-1932) born in Germany, to Pennsylvania 1849, in Smith Center in 1874 /ik1171. He was a lawyer at Smith Center, something of a politician, "identified with the agricultural life of the county, and at one time was one of the most extensive landowners in Smith County" /co4:2113. It seems probably that this German had much to do with German settlement in Smith County.

It was not until 1914 that the Lutherans here organized a Missouri Synod congregation. The Synod's Yearbook of 1916, which regularly reported when English was used in services, reported none for this group. There are other indications that the community was for its size conservative linguistically.

Athol-Gaylord Germans (Mid-m, Area C).

John and Martin Ifland, born in Germany, appear in the census of 1875. The Smith County Atlas of 1917 records John as having arrived in 1872. Martin was a charter member of St. John's at Athol and in 1875 had a child 6 born in Iowa and six more children born before 1867 in Germany. Many families came from Nebraska. In 1917 John lived a mile or two north of Gaylord, that is near Christ's Lutheran at Gaylord.

Christ's Lutheran Church at Gaylord (American Lutheran; earlier Iowa Synod)

Organized 1883

Membership 1906: 100 communicants; 1950: 197 baptized

New building 1930; cornerstone reads: "Ev. Lutheran Christusge-
meinde 1883-1930;" at dedication, morning and afternoon
services bilingual; evening, English.

ca. 1920 English introduced into services

by 1933 half English, half German

by 1940 German once a month

in 1945 German dropped

When a minister of 1897 used a little English in services, the congregation laughed scornfully but good-naturedly and he had to return to German.

St. John's Lutheran Church at Athol (American Lutheran; earlier Iowa Synod), organized in 1894; membership 1906: 111 communicants; 1950: 234 baptized.

ca. 1920 English introduced in services

by 1927 still only one service a month in English

by 1940 German once a month

ca. 1946 German service put in afternoon

by 1948 German service abandoned

Latest cemetery inscription in German 1932

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions at

Christ's Lutheran Cemetery, Gaylord

<u>Year</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1897-9	0	5	100%
1900-9	2	8	80%
1910-9	3	1	25%
1920-9	11	1	8%

There is one inscription in German after 1929; it is of 1934. The last one at Athol commemorates a death of 1932. German was common before 1920. The critical year, 1925, is established by local testimony. German was abandoned in many families because of marriages between persons of different dialects; English was the lingua franca. By 1933 few of those born in the 1890's were speaking German often, though in the 1890's a boy of Welsh parentage at Athol found that if he did not learn to speak German he would have no one to talk to. In 1955 few persons born after 1925 could speak it.

Conservative and less conservative usage can be exemplified from the Kuhlmann families, Henry and Sophia Marie Kuhlmann were born in Germany and emigrated to Nebraska. They came on to this area in 1894. The children in this family learned no English until they entered school. In 1900 their son Diedrich W. married a Danish girl, Bolettie Larson, b. 1881, who had been in the community since 1883. From the neighbors she picked up some German,

but she became truly proficient during the four months that she lived with her husband's parents, for her mother-in-law spoke no English. Thereafter Diedrich and she used German at home as well as English until about 1908 so that their two oldest children, born 1902 and 1905, learned to speak the language. None of those born later did, though German was always the language in their paternal grandparents home.

A younger William Kuhlmann in 1910 married Dorothea Hupe born in Germany in 1889. Hupes came to Nebraska in 1896, and then on to this area in 1900. Dorothea heard no English till she reached Kansas. There she learned it in school. After the marriage in 1910 German was the language of the family and sons born in 1918 and 1925 and a daughter born in 1929 learned German. The two latter but not the first had learned English before entering school. Their grandfather Hupe, who was monolingually German, lived with them.

Year of Arrival in the United States
of Persons Born in Germany and Resident in 1925 in the Township of
Harvey and the Cities of Gaylord and Athol

1854-68	8	1890-96	18
1871-76	6	1897-1912	8
1881-89	20	1922-24	7

Poppen Hill Germans (Low-y, Area D). S. Manthei, b. 1842, whose surname is represented on the 1940 landowner map, settled in this area in 1870 /ch12. He and his brother-in-law, Mr. Sonnenberg, b. 1822, were born in Prussia and had been in Missouri, the latter from before 1855, the former

for only a short period after a stay in Indiana beginning before 1865. In 1925 eleven persons born in Germany and living in Lincoln Township had arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1889, none earlier or later. The group organized Zion Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, 8 miles from Downs in 1892, 76 members in 1906. In 1951 it was moved into that town. Confirmations in German still went on in it in 1917, and children at that time were accustomed to using German in their families. The shift when the First World War exerted its pressures is reported to have been abrupt, much more so than in Tipton, the other center contributing population to Downs.

Dispatch Dutch (Mid-m, Area E)

Special Bibliog.:

- D - Cawker Ledger 30 August, 1911, 29 August, 1940
- V - Vander Zee Hollanders of Iowa, 1910 Pp. 123 and 199

The Dutch first took claims in the Dispatch area in 1869 and came to live on them in 1870. A store and a post office called Rotterdam (on 2-6-11) were established in 1871 two miles south of later Dispatch. Peter De Young was the first postmaster. To the Dutch the settlement has always been known as Rotterdam, though the colonists did not come from that part of Holland. The Rotterdam post office continued until 1885. The Dispatch post office was created in 1891 and endured until 1904. Vander Zee, in his Hollanders of Iowa, after telling of Dutch colonies in northwestern Iowa, about 1870, goes on, "other Pella people went southward to Kansas where they founded Rotterdam and Prairie View, two communities which were never a match for their northern neighbors" /V199. Citing De Volksvriend of 23 July, 1874 he notes elsewhere, "A few families succumbed to the Kansas enthusiasm, invested their money in that drouth-ridden land, and many returned to their Pella homes thoroughly disappointed" /V123. Lucas speaks no more flatteringly of its early days /Ln352. There were really not many former Iowans at Dispatch, but the early Dutch gathered from all over the northeastern United States, particularly from Michigan, at Pella as a way station of distribution to Kansas.

The story told in 1911 by one of the children of John Deters (1838-1924) shows how the matter proceeded;

November 1868 my father and family went from Allegan County, Michigan [just south of Holland, the eastern capital of the Dutch in the United States] to Pella, Iowa, where we joined eight families to go to Osage County, Kansas, the next spring [Osage County was just opening after the extinguishment of the Sac and Fox Reservation], but all backed out except my father and J. H. Walters [born 1813] /a938 and families.^{fn}

They left Iowa in April, but did not reach Osage County. In Kansas, John Mott, land agent (presumably for the Kansas Pacific) told them not to go to Osage County, that all the land there was rough. He guided them up the Saline River, seventeen miles above Salina (the southwest corner of Ottawa County a little above what is now Tescott). The embryo settlement thus established was christened Zutphen (see 429, IV) and its existence announced by letters to papers in Holland, Michigan and in Pella.

^{fn}The story of Zutphen in /ln 351 is not altogether consistent with the Deters version. Lucas omits mention of Osage County and sets the first departure from Iowa in 1867. The Osage County episode of the Dutch is parallel to what happened to the Welsh at Bala. Lucas cites the newspaper De Hope of Dec. 15, 1867 as authority for the statement. "By December 1867 Wolters could announce that 32 Hollanders had gone to live in Zutphen." Inasmuch as Osage County land from the Sac and Fox reservation first became available late in 1868 it seems that Lucas' analysis rather than Deters recollections were mistaken by a year. In Dec. 1867 Wolters must have been saying that 32 persons had joined his proposed colony. An argument that Wolters was using in favor of his colony was its freedom from Indians. He must have been thinking of Osage County then, for he could hardly have made the same claim for Ottawa County prior to the Omnibus Treaty of 1868 accepting the Deters version. The meeting described by Lucas for March, 1869 was before the departure from Iowa.

Lucas is also unaware of the connection between Zutphen and Dispatch.

At the time of the census of 1870, there were five families at Zutphen. In 1885 only a son of one of these families was left there (Wolbert-Wulber) with two later comers. Already in 1870 the Ottawa County census does not show the name of John Deters. In October of 1869 he and Cornelius Clinkenberg had gone up to what was to be the Dispatch settlement and taken claims; they returned to occupy them the next spring. They were not satisfied in Zutphen because it was in the railroad land area. Homesteads there could be only

eighty acres in size, and without buying railroad property no continuous settlement was possible. Of those who were still at Zutphen in 1870 only John Wolbert (1851-1925) is buried at Dispatch. He was born in Michigan and came on to Rotterdam (Dispatch) in 1872. John Walters, born in Iowa in 1857, son of the John mentioned above was also at Dispatch in 1885.

Another settler of 1870, John Renken (1818-1901) was in Michigan by 1860.

Other early families had not been in the United States so long, and soon some were coming directly from Holland, but families straight out of Holland were probably never in the majority. Indeed in 1925 the few Netherland-born who stated the date of their arrival in the United States (there were seven) recorded years between 1854 and 1870. The Netherlanders had been born usually east of the Zuider Zee. From Gelderland to Groningen all the provinces had representatives in the community each using primarily the dialect of his native area. Some of the Dutch were even from over the German border to the east, from the County of Bentheim. The history of a family that arrived early, that has had some importance and that has endured illustrates many of these facts. Hendrik Van de Riet (1844-1907) journeyed from his home in Overijssel to Holland, Michigan, in 1867. There he met Alice Van Leuwen (1848-1933) who was born just across the German line from Holland and who had studied in a German school. There were others who became part of the Rotterdam community who had a similar origin; John Deters, for instance, who was born on the Hanover side and took a Netherlander for a wife, and Arnold Stegrink who did not marry a Dutch wife until he had been at Rotterdam several years; he came in 1870 one of the very first. Alice

Van Leuwen and Van de Riet were married by 1870, probably 1868. The Van Leuwens moved from Michigan, to Virginia, to Pennsylvania, to Paterson, New Jersey. The Van de Riets followed; a daughter was born in 1870 or 71 at Paterson and a son, Henry, late in 1872. Hendrik was a baker, apparently destined to city life, but in 1873 he left Paterson for Rotterdam in Kansas. There were already other Van de Riets in the neighborhood G. J. (1813-1875), presumably the father of Hendrik had settled in March, 1870, farther up Oak Creek than the settlement ultimately reached. Hendrik's father had married a second time, and three sons by this marriage lived in the community. Hendrik was a religious man, and in 1880 when the Christian Reformed Church was organized he became of importance in it. He was the elder sent to help organize the congregation at Luctor. He learned to speak English, but spoke it only when obliged to. John Wolberd of the same generation, though born in this country, was equally persistent in the use of Dutch. Mrs. Clinkenberg had to act as his interpreter to a reporter from the Cawker Ledger in 1911. In 1896 Hendrik's son, Henry, married Antje Kooops, born 1878, usually known as Jennie. Her parents, Berend (1837-1926) and Antje (1851-1941) had been in the community since 1872, he had come directly there from Noorberge in the province of Drenthe. Henry and his betrothed walked some twenty-five miles to Jewell City to be married the same year. Both Jennie and Henry were then American born; they used Dutch in their home until 1905 or 1906. Their oldest daughter Alice, born in 1897, learned to speak it; their twin sons, Henry and Ben, born in 1900, were not equally proficient,

one learned some Dutch, the other did not; a daughter Annetta Rosa, born in 1912, knows no Dutch, and neither do any of the descendants of these four. When the children were grown and gone, Henry and Jennie sometimes used Dutch together, but not usually. Their habits of constant industry remained with them in 1955.

The religion of the community had received attention from very early. A sod church was built in 1871. There was no decision as to denomination until four years /ln352 later. In 1875 the Reformed Church was organized and received a resident pastor in 1878, in 1880 the more conservative Christian Reformed Church was established. By the census of 1890 the membership of the Reformed Church was 21, of the Christian Reformed 54. For a while the Christian Reformed had a school where Dutch was taught, but this ended by 1913. Shortly before then instruction in Dutch for children preparing for confirmation was optional; the option was withdrawn then because every one chose English. About this time, however, Dutch was the language of the playground in district schools. In 1918 the services were half Dutch and half English. All preaching in Dutch ceased about 1923 or a little later though even in the 1960's the atmosphere of the church was distinctly Dutch. The Reformed Church introduced English somewhat earlier than its competitor; it was located east of the center at Dispatch, and as people grew older they moved into the village. The Reformed Church dwindled, moved into the town of Downs, and disbanded. In 1955 the remaining Christian Reformed Church at Dispatch had 210 members.

The cemetery inscriptions show almost all English during the 1880's. Those who died then were almost, but not all, children. The high rate of Dutch inscriptions between 1890 and 1919 is probably to be explained by the insistence of the old on Dutch. The collapse represents not only the victory of the young, but also the influence of the First World War.

Language of Inscriptions in Cemeteries at Dispatch

<u>Decade</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Dutch</u>	<u>% of Dutch</u>
1870-79	3	3	50%
1880-89	10	2	17%
1890-99	12	7	37%
1900-09	10	8	44%
1910-19	15	9	37%

After 1920 there was one inscription in Dutch-1933

The Dispatch community was bilingual in the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1918 young adults ceased using Dutch with each other. Many, yielding to the pressure of school-age children, ceased speaking Dutch earlier.

Claudell Czechs (Low-y, Area F). This settlement, small though it be, occupies parts of four counties; a portion is in Smith, but it lies also in Osborne, Rooks and Phillips counties. The Bohemian hall, however, is in Smith county; it is the seat of a chapter of ZCBJ. The Bohemian name most frequently occurring in Smith County is Schalansky. B. Schalansky, born 1837 in Austria, arrived in 1871, says the County Atlas /ch17, though the census of 1875 attributes only three years to a child of his born in

Missouri. He had been a short time in Washington County. By census and atlas Louis Kallash was born here in 1873. His parents, too, had been in Missouri. The immigrants were enthusiastic Czechs and continued to speak their language, but intermarriage became very common without rejection by the group. For instance a Schalansky married one of the Claudells (relatives of the French writer, Paul Claudel) and a product of this match married a Smith. Consequently Czech was soon dropped.

48.88 STAFFORD COUNTY N22

Seward Germans (Low-x, Area A). The Strobels are considered one of the oldest families in this area, and their name recurs repeatedly on the 1940 landowner map west and northwest of Seward. Joseph and Ann Strobel appear in the census of 1880 with a child a year old born in Kansas. The Wetig family, though not among the foreign born in the 1880 census, is also regarded as early. George Wetig born in 1874, was not known to be able to speak German by those closest to him in 1949, but his father had spoken it. The Catholic parish was begun in 1884. Among its German members were the family of Mathias (1866-1925) and Elizabeth (1873-1937) Danler Hall. Mathias was from Hochemmingen, in south Baden, Germany. (Hall genealogy p. 181). The Hall land holdings are rather extensive and not marked as German in Vol. I; they lie northeast of Seward on the border of North Seward township. The two oldest children of Mathias, Anna, born 1895 and Robert, born 1900, became Sister M. Casimir and Father Egbert, O. S. B., retained proficiency in German; so did a younger brother Henry, born 1904, who also became a Benedictine, Father Mathew. The three lay sons and daughters born between 1901 and 1906, lost proficiency and their children learned no German even though Mathias's son Edwin (1906) married Helen Linenberger of Ellis County Volgan stock.

The Protestant Germans east of Seward are ordinarily connected with the Hudson group, and for their linguistic habits refer to that account. The Catholics, and the Protestants in town and to the east, were not

permitted to be German linguistically after the First World War because the large Irish element in the Catholic parish and the "English" enforced the use of English. "In Seward, which was mostly Irish, the German language was considered something tainted".

Seven persons born in Germany and living in North Seward Township in 1925 ^{in the United States} arrived between 1880 and 1885, one in 1850, one in 1869. In South Seward Township 10 arrivals were scattered over the years from 1869 to 1912.

Hudson Germans (Mid-k, Area B). This is an Evangelical Synod (later E-R) community. There was no one in this part of the county in 1876 /a1271, but the 1880 census locates eight German families in a large Hayes Township; six of these appear also in the census of 1885 and two (Alvert, Spangenberg) on the 1940 landowner map. The local tradition is that there were beginnings in 1878. Fred W. and Lena Ahnert were born in Saxony in 1846 and 1852. Wm. and Amelia Spangenberg were both born in Prussia in 1840. They had been in Ohio at least since 1872. Another surname appearing repeatedly on the 1940 landowner map is Krankenberg. Herman and Margaret Krankenberg were born in Saxony in 1825 and 1826. Like the Spangenburgs, several families had been for some time in Ohio. In the mid-twentieth century several families here were related to those at Blackburn, Missouri. The varied origins in Germany did not by the multiplicity of dialects here deter the use of German. ^{were organized -- in 1885} Evangelical churches the older country church, Peace, supplemented by one in town, Trinity, in 1914. Trinity's cornerstone told its message in German. English was first introduced into their services about 1920; in 1935 half of them were still in German; by 1941 German had been reduced to once a month. In the late 1940's the country church had a pastor who knew no German. The church in town had services in 1949 in German three or four times a year attended by 8 or 9 people. In the 1940's the children and grandchildren of the old were able to minister to them in sickness in German. In 1956 a non-immigrant couple born about 1900 were still using German. The pressure from outside during the First World War against the use of German here was severe and a source of distress because of many monolinguals. In the cemetery of the Peace church there are inscriptions in German as follows: 1890-99, 9; 1900-10, 20; 1912, 1920, 1927, 1931, one each.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons

Born in German) and Resident in 1925 in the City of Hudson, and
and Townships of Byron and Hayes

8882
CD

1856-1874	5	1883-86	10
1881	3	1888-89	6
1882	13	1892-1905	7
		1922	1

St. John Germans and Penn-Germans (Lowest, Area C). In this area there were in 1880 six families containing foreign born Germans. None give any evidence of having arrived earlier than 1877, ^{in that year:} Hohner, Beitler. Both families were represented in the 1904 platbook, Hohners in the west, Beitlers in the east. Hohners remained still in 1940 strongly represented.

Andreas (1822-1901) and Margarethe (born 1846) Hohner were brought up at Wersau in Hesse Darmstadt. He came to Pekin, Illinois, in 1869; a son was born at Allerton, Iowa, in 1874; here 1877 /ik539. We have no record of how well the use of German was continued in the family. In 1950 a young lady with post office address at St. John and with four German grandparents said, "My parents spoke German quite a bit, but I didn't learn the language". No permanent German institution other than the Eden Valley Dunkard Church for Penn Germans developed here. It is probable that the use of German was restricted to the family.

Bedford-Stafford Germans (Low-x, Area D). The significant German institution here is Calvary Baptist Church (German, now North American). Schoolhouse services for the Baptists began in 1878. Among the score of families in 1880 containing German foreign-born there is no indication that any had arrived earlier. Most of the immigrants of 1880 said that they had arrived from Hanover or Prussia, and the character of the names indicates that the part of Prussia meant was in several cases Hanover or neighboring territory. The population has not been altogether stable; only two of the names of 1880 appear on the 1940 landowner map: E. Wendelberg -- arrived 1878 /ch04; Dierking. Louis Wendelberg became a deacon among the Baptists. A Baptist lay preacher present in 1880 and with his wife buried here is Andrew Heimuller (1833-1909), wife, Rebecca (1849-1933). The Hildebrands provided two deacons of 1953. Franz (1853-1931) and Marie (1855-1923) brought their family up at the church south of

Ellinwood, with which relations are close. They moved to this area when their children needed to be established. Henry married a girl from Bison and their oldest daughter born near the beginning of the century knew no English on entering school. The younger children learned only a few words of German. In a related family the children were born sooner, and the younger ones there too learned little German; that family was Engl-ized earlier. The community as a whole feels that it abandoned German earlier than the people at Hudson, and certain long-time residents of Stafford were in 1950 ignorant that they had a community of German origin nearer to them than the one at Hudson. Difference in dialects is said to have been a contributing factor to the abandonment of German, indicating that the earlier preponderance of Hanoverians did not persist. The eight persons born in German and resident in the Cooper Townships in 1925 stated that they had arrived from Germany between 1869 and 1895.

STANTON and STEVENS COUNTIES F23-27e. See Vol. I. p. 309, also #48.98.

48.89 SUMNER COUNTY P23. See HARPER COUNTY. For Wellington Mexicans see #47.98.

48.90 THOMAS COUNTY F5.

Levant Germans (Low-x, Area A). Permanent settlement by foreign-born in this area followed temporary occupancy. No person born in Germany and living in Thomas County in 1885 was to be found in 1895 in Hale Township which then included all this area. The census of 1895 contains a few names of Germans who became longtime residents. Among these were Schroeder, Martin and Nicholas; these families became numerous. Martin was born in Germany in 1864 and his wife in Switzerland, probably in 1863. A son William, born in 1898, learned to speak German; another son, Ed, born in 1902 did not. The whole county came to focus on Colby, and a Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, was established there in 1935. The pastor of 1949 was proficient in German, and tried using it in pastoral calls. The persons addressed understood, but uniformly answered in English.

908
91A

Mingo Germans (Lowest Area B, outer). On the west edge of this area the name of August Peters appears in the platbooks and landowner maps. He was born in Germany in 1851, and in 1895 had a child aged nine born in Germany, another aged 5 born in Kansas. The stock of real linguistic importance, however, is Mennonite. In 1920 four Mennonites from Goessel, Kansas, came out to look at land advertised by a Mennonite, Peter Dahl/ml8:175. Families came from Goessel and Inman. The sons of Frank Goossen of Hillsboro show largely on the landowner map. Contingents from Oklahoma and Meade, Kansas, and the neighborhood contributed stock of somewhat difference background. The settlement became prosperous. Linguistically the group has been as conservative as the most conservative of its sources of origin. During the earlier days children sometimes came to school unable to speak English. Several years before 1949 they ceased to arrive so deficient. At that time, however, the young were still learning German in many families. In 1962 the parents of those aged 20 spoke German in the family; the young understood but were unable to answer in German.

Mingo Scandinavians (Lowest, Area B, inner). There is indeed a nest of Scandinavians at the point shown in Vol. I., 285, and there had been since first settlement. Christian Jespersen appears in the 1885 census ~~xx~~ and continued to live in this part of the county, but except as connected with the Page Swedes of Logan County, linguistic life did not continue to be important.

48.91 TREGO COUNTY N11.

Collyer Germans (Mid-n, Area A). Four German stocks need identification in this group: Reich Germans, Blackseamen, Volgans, and Bukovinans. The latter are so few that we shall neglect them. The Reich Germans became a minor element but they were the first to arrive. Carl Thiel (1843 or 1847-1914) born in Prussia in 1843, claimed in the 1906 County Atlas to have arrived in 1874. If his claim is correct, he must have been working for the Kansas Pacific, for there were no farmers in the county till 1877 /a1296. At any rate he was there

with his mother, born 1804, in 1880 and was not yet married in 1885. His wife, Ludmilla (1870-1950) was a Czech, and his family became part of that group (see next section). He was a Catholic and to that extent typical of Collyer. Others in the 1880 census who became permanent residents, though not buried with the Catholics, were Hans (1840-1893) and Justina (1839-1919) Ehrichs, born in Hanover and Prussia (here 1879) and John (1838-1918) and Marie (1842-1920) Ebeling born in Prussia. Sallet attributes the arrival of Blackseamen to the year 1900 /sa30. The Volgans arrived a little later. In both the 1915 census and the Catholic cemetery is no name that can be definitely identified as ^{Catholic} Volgan. In both the 1915 census and the city cemetery two names appear that are to be found among Protestant Volgans, Burbach and Glantz (John C. B. 1859-1934, George G 1882-1915). The Catholic Volgans, however, furnished about one third of the parishioners in 1950. The Schecks must have arrived very near 1915. The family had settled in Walker Township, Ellis County in 1876 direct from Russia. Andrew (1870-1931) is buried at Collyer, and so are the wives of Anton, born 1883, and A. P., born 1885. A daughter of Andrew who left Collyer in 1942 with her husband was still speaking German with him in 1967 at Loveland, Colorado. Their children born in Collyer between 1925 and 1931 learned to understand but not to speak German. The Catholics began to hear mass at Collyer in 1888. The parish was still a mission of Victoria in 1900. In 1913 Father Michael Dreiling went there as a resident pastor; he preached half in German and half in English /dml09. In 1953 there were still children who came to school imperfect in English, but most of those aged from 35 to 50 spoke English together, German to those older. In 1964 there were three families in which the parents were between 35 and 45 years old and in which the children could speak German. The Ziegler families are an example of what happened among Blackseamen direct from Russia. Seven brothers and sisters originated families here. In 1964 all the children of this group could speak German.

Julius, born in 1925, spoke English to his father, born 1892, and usually answered his mother's German in English (women were more conservative). In business he spoke English except to the old.

Collyer-Voda Czechs (Low-x, Area B). The Czechs were more numerous in the general Collyer area than the Germans in 1880. There were then 15 Bohemian families and 4 single men in the area. Some were there by 1878 (Spena, Zeman). Insofar as they were Catholics their focus was at Collyer, and their language was of sufficient importance so that in 1913 Father Dreiling undertook to learn it. The Bohemian Hall was built at Voda; it bore an escutcheon with the letters ZDSL. In 1949 those older than 30 years were generally able to communicate in Czechs with their seniors. By 1964, however, the report was: "Bohemian is almost out; those that know it don't use it."

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons
Born in Czecho-Slovakia and Russia and Resident
in the City and Township of Collyer in 1925

Czechs		Russian-Germans	
1864-66	2	1876-78	5
1878-86	19	1883-87	4
1895-1902	5	1892	3
1905		1899-1908	70
1910-13	6	1909-14	8
1921	2	none later	

The Austrians (Bukovinans) reporting numbered 9: one in 1878, 7 between 1893 and 1905, one in 1913.

Ogallah Germans (lowest, Area C). There were three German families in the area in 1880 with children one and two years old born in Wisconsin and Illinois. None of their surnames is present on the 1940 landowner map. One family, found rather early and still persisting, is the Hillmans. H. D. and Dora were born in Germany very close to the Dutch frontier in 1853 and 1859, appear to have been in Nebraska by 1881, and were in Kansas by 1893. One member by

1902 married one of the Bukovinans who became plentiful in the area (see Ellis). At least some of the grandchildren in 1949 knew no German.

Ogallah Swedes (Low-x, Area D). Bergin records of the Swedes that about 1885 a "colonization attempt was made in Trego county" with "poor success" /kc11:33. In 1880 there were the Nelsons, Olsons, Pearsons, and Johnsons in the area, all, it seems, in its south section. At least the Olsons were in ~~1885~~ 1940 on the same section as then, and several Pearson holdings are near by. In the northern section E. Lindberg arrived in 1888 /ch06. Emanuel Lutheran Church, Augustana Synod, was organized in 1900. There were 71 members in 1906 /ot271, 131 in 1951. In the mid-twentieth century its membership grew from refugees from German services at Trego Center, but Bergin's judgment was hardly deserved even early. Until 1944 the word Swedish had been part of the church's official name but was dropped because "many other nationalities find themselves happy with us." The minutes of the annual meeting were in Swedish till 1920 except for an occasional word like "collection plate." The Ladies Aid Society kept its records in Swedish till 1918; there were traces of Swedish afterward for two or three years. Accounts were in English as early as 1906. The Sunday School was in English at least from 1917. There were no Swedish services after 1925. A child born in 1913 acquired enough Swedish to understand conversations but not sermons. Her daughter in 1949 heard Swedish more or less from the old but did not understand it.

Trego Center Russian Germans (Mid-k, Area E)

Richard Sallet, who collected the material for his thesis somewhat before 1930, has this to say concerning this group of Protestant Volga Germans:

A settlement south of Wakeeney goes back to 1904 when colonists from Kratzke [village 10 on map] and Dietel [north of 41 on map] disposed of their farms between Russell and Milberger and bought railroad (and school) lands in Trego County. Today more than one hundred families are near Wakeeney /sa36.

This statement has its inaccuracies, for the location of some of the holdings preclude their all being railroad and school holdings. Most of the colonists came from Russell County, but they were young and were mostly recent arrivals from Europe, so that they had few farms to dispose of. The date of the establishment of the settlement is, however, it seems, essentially correct. In 1906 the Volgans held parts of nine sections of land, and some of that had been acquired only the year before. The names that are still commonest in the area already appear as landholders in 1906: Deines, Dietz, Fabrizius and Mai. Representatives of all these families were in Russell County by 1880. Complete identity of name between various individuals makes it difficult to trace individual cases from Russell to Trego County, but some general observations are possible. Only two or three of the heads of families born in Russia and their spouses resident in the Trego Center settlement in 1915 were born before 1865. The same thing is true of those buried in the Trego Center cemetery. They were not then the adults of the pioneer generation of 1875. Some of them were the children of that generation. Most of them arrived from Russia about 1900

or a little later; none of them here in 1915 had children born in Russia later than 1904. Only one family had children born in Kansas before 1900. In that case the date was 1897. (For the census of 1925 in this regard see #40.22)

The district into which the settlers moved had for a quarter of a century been used mainly as grazing land, but there were also some farmers cultivating crops. In the center of the area, some of these were Reich Germans, either old settlers like C. F. Folkers, who had been there since 1882 /ch06 or newcomers who came in at the same time as the Volgans like Fred Schemm who arrived in 1903 /ch06. The Volgans have never displaced the families mentioned, but almost all others, Germanic or not, ultimately yielded their places. The Schemms joined the majority; the Folkers and their Low German preserved their independence, eventually consorting with others in the neighborhood of WaKeeney. This group which ceased speaking German publicly some time ago forms the backbone of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church (U. L. C., later L.C.A.) in WaKeeney. Immanuel, the American Lutheran Church (originally Iowa Synod) in WaKeeney, and Bethlehem both claim 1895 as their organization date. Ott in his 1907 History of the United Lutheran Kansas Synod does not record the **existence** of the Bethlehem congregation (640 members in 1953). We must conclude then that Bethlehem came into being through the fission of the Iowa Synod Church established in 1895 by the Low Germans of the community. When the Volgans arrived, this was the only Lutheran church at hand. Until 1905 the newcomers all belonged to it, and many continued with it after Zion Church at Trego Center was organized. The split between Bethlehem and Immanuel, we may guess,

occurred primarily because the Volgans would hear of no evolution toward English. The rest of the congregation then presumably formed a separate church, and both claimed to be the continuation of the body of 1895. In any case Immanuel Church (156 members in 1950) remained linguistically completely German until English was introduced in 1942. The last class was confirmed in German in 1944. In 1946 the congregation required that services should be half German, half English. In 1949 there were two English services for one German; the German element was even then calling for a return to the fifty-fifty regime, but the next year with the coming of a new pastor incapable of using German, English completely prevailed.

The march of events in the Zion (253 baptized members in 1959) Church was very similar but somewhat delayed. In 1923 Zion left the Iowa Synod for the Midwest Synod (originally the German Nebraska Synod), part of the United Lutheran Church (later LCA). Services were exclusively German until 1946. Confirmations were possible in either language for a year or two, but were all English in 1949, when the Sunday School was English, and preaching was half English, half German. German preaching was completely abandoned in 1958 or 1959.

In both churches the Second World War was an important stimulus toward the abandonment of German. Until that time no one questioned the right of German to serve as the language of ritual. Children learned to read Standard German in Summer School. With the abandonment of this practice children became incapable of understanding Standard German. Most children born after 1941 did not learn to speak dialect either, although in 1953 every one in the community understood it, and persons born before 1930 used it in addressing their parents and sometimes each other. In 1964 there were

-1549-

still some children able to speak German, and German was in active use. There were people still adept in Standard German; at least the pastor, a Latvian who had gone to school in Germany, said that some spoke "exceptionally good German."

Franklin Township Germans (Lowest, Area F). The 1895 census contains the names of two German-born families with surnames still to be found on the landowner map of 1940. Theodor and Minnie Haug were born in Germany in 1855 and 1852. Their oldest son was born in Kansas in 1882 or 3. M. E. and Agnes Doerschlag, born in Germany in 1838 and 1848 arrived in the area in 1884. At Point 11 in Map I, 287 stood St. Elizabeth Methodist Church which perished. The character of its name identifies it as a German church but with unusual background. The neighborhood was of such a mixed character that community use of German was not long continued.

48.92 WABAUNSEE COUNTY P14

Great Wabaunsee German District (U-Hi****, Area A)

This district **would** be recorded as a number of separate settlements if it were not impossible to draw boundary lines for part of it. In the discussion there will be references to five sub-areas; from north to south they are Kaw Township (inhabited by comparatively liberal Protestants), Paxico-Newbury (Catholic), McFarland (largely Lutheran), the Alma neighborhood (religiously of several confessions), Alta Vista-Volland (zealously Protestant). The northeast quarter of the county, including the first two of these subdivisions, was until 1868 part of the Pottawatomie Reservation, which meant late settlement of this area, much of which is flat and fertile. The rest of the district contains narrow valleys running through mesa-like stretches of blue-stem pasture land. First settlement was in one of these valleys on a branch of Mill Creek. To reach this area, the settlers had to cross the reservation and were for some time comparatively isolated. Its isolation protected it from the agitations of the Free State struggle, and settlement began very early, even before the territory was opened.

Alma Sub-area -- John Gleich squatted in 1853 upon land on the Central Branch of Mill Creek, 3 miles south of the present Alma /a988. The next year five other Germans joined him and in 1856 four more. Gottlieb Zwanziger came to found Alma in 1857, but, though he remained in it, the town came into being only in 1866. By 1857 the settlers had spread into the lower parts of other branches of Mill Creek, and westward up Spring Creek by 1859. When Alma, named for Alma in Germany /kc7:475 [i.e., Alme in eastern Westphalia], was established, an American element soon moved in

because it was the county seat, but four out of five members of its first council bore German names. It has remained small (1940 popl. ca. 800) and German. The Germans in this area came from various parts of Western Germany, early arrivals mostly by way of New Orleans and St. Louis, with St. Louis as a recruiting point. St. Louis was the seat of the 1857 town company. The immigrants continued to arrive through the 1880's. In 1882 all those citizens who entered their biographies in the Andreas-Cutler History of Kansas were either German or county officers except for one lawyer and the Congregational minister. Among religious bodies, the Lutherans, Missouri Synod, were first in the field, 1861; their Alma congregation was not organized until 1870, building 1878, members in 1900, 459, in 1948, 550. The Catholics began to serve this area in 1870, building 1874, 50 or 60 families in 1893. The German Evangelical (ER) church was organized in 1879 and built in 1887, 170 members in 1906, 252 in 1951. Carruth records schools as well as churches conducted in German for all the Wabaunsee Germans. The Lutherans had 33 pupils in their parochial school in 1948; the Catholics had no parochial school then, though one was established in 1881 or 2 which continued till 1905 (or 1906) /lpA:4; the Evangelical church had never had more than a summer school. The Lutherans seem to have conducted school in German till ca. 1923. They introduced English into their preaching in 1918 and in 1948 were having one German service a month for the benefit of about 45 who were interested, a decrease of nearly half in six years. The Evangelical pastor had had no services in German for some time then but still used German in pastoral work occasionally. His parishioners were unable to read German and brought documents for translation to his German-

born wife. German prisoners of war found many who could talk with them in 1944, and got on well with the population. Critical year 1922.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Alma Cemetery (all confessions)

	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>% of German</u>
1860-9	1	1	50%
1870-9	13	19	61%
1880-9	39	33	47%
1890-9	53	33	40%
1900-9	57	29	34%
1910-9	95	24	20%
1920-9	116	22	16%
1930-9	118	7	5%
1940-9	109	4	4%

This record is remarkable for the very gradual retreat of German. The First World War had a comparatively minor effect upon it.

Alta Vista Volland Sub-Area. Into the upper part of the valley of the West Branch of Mill Creek moved in 1860 (Arndt, Wolgast /ch02) a group usually called Pomeranians. They did not all come from Pomerania, but were nearly all from areas in North Germany nearby /ch01. They called their settlement Templin from the town of the same name, north of Berlin but still in Brandenburg, and a post office of that name was established in 1873 on 19-13-9; its first postmaster was Charles Lehnberg, and it endured until 1904. It was not until the Rock Island Railroad came

through about 1887 that the town of Alta Vista was established four miles upstream to the southwest. The post office was opened in 1887. The new creation serving the South Wabaunsee Germans as well as the people near Templin eventually extinguished the older village. Not displacing the Pomeranians but settling near by, other German settlers soon (ca. 1865) arrived in the neighborhood, eventually becoming more numerous. There was of course some intermarriage. Dr. Aug. Bradre from Halverstadt in southern Westphalia took as his wife Wilhemina Schulz, b. 1847, in Brandenburg. (Alma Enterprise, 14 May 1957.) Most of the Pomeranians were Baptists. The Baptists had no organized church until 1879, but they began burials in their cemetery in 1869 and probably had services as early as 1860 (see Banner Township Germans). Piper and Zeckser arrived in 1867; Zeckser was named missionary pastor in 1871. Burials in a Lutheran cemetery began in 1876, the Templin Lutherans, Missouri Synod, numbered 136 in 1890 and 222 in 1900; they continued at about that figure until the First World War. They always worshipped in German until this time. Until 1913 the church was a member of the Southwestern German Conference. The church records were in German until 1920. English was used with children in Sunday school beginning 1909; in 1913 adult classes also began to use English. The Lutherans, Missouri Synod, opened another church in the town of Alta Vista in 1906 where English was used in part from the beginning. It grew only from 10 to 65 between 1906 and 1916, but had 245 members in 1948, inheriting from the extinct Templin congregation. In 1901 the Baptists, 90 members in 1959, erected their church in Alta Vista too. They had been meeting in schoolhouses and since 1883 at the home of A. Wolgast. They had begun the use of English before their move.

There was also a comparatively small Catholic element in the community, so that for some time there was a church. Its linguistic influence seems to have been small. In general those born in the community before 1908 could speak German in 1950. The critical year for the community was earlier than at Alma, 1915 for the Baptists, 1918 for the Lutherans.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the Templin and Wells Creek Cemeteries

	<u>Templin Lutheran</u>			*	<u>Templin Baptist</u>			*	<u>Wells Creek combined</u>		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% of Ger.</u>		<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% of Ger.</u>		<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% of Ger.</u>
1869				*	-	2	100%	*			
				*				*			
1870-9	-	2	100%	*	-	8	100%	*	-	3	100%
				*				*			
1880-9	2	9	82%	*	-	3	100%	*	1	18	95%
				*				*			
1890-9	4	8	67%	*	3	3	50%	*	3	31	91%
				*				*			
1900-9	9	9	50%	*	5	-	none	*	8	13	65%
				*				*			
1910-9	12	9	43%	*	4	-	none	*	7	11	61%
				*				*			
1920-9	14	4	22%	*	5	-	none	*	13	8	38%
				*				*			
1930-9	21	-	none	*	3	-	none	*	10	2	17%
				*				*			
1940-9	27	-	none	*	3	-	none	*	20	-	none

The suddenness of the Baptist shift is remarkable.

Kaw Township Sub-Area (The Wells Creek Neighborhood). In Pottawatomie Reservation till 1868. The first settlers, 1868, were German (Reading /a, Ronnau /a, ch01). Others soon followed (example, Breymeyer 1871 /ch01). The district settled up rapidly. Many of the settlers were from the north of Germany, and had been in Illinois before coming here. The German Evangelical Church (now E.R.) organized in 1880 and built immediately. The Lutherans built at about the same time. The Lutheran congregation did not become large. In 1890 the Missouri Synod reported it as a pastorate not in their synod,

42 members. In 1906 it was in the Ohio Synod, it and Wamego together had 52 members /ot. In 1950 it reported 74 members to the American Lutheran Church, successor of the Ohio Synod. The Evangelical Church had a prosperous period; in 1906 it had 294 members, 170 in 1950. Burial in the Lutheran cemetery began in 1875. It later ceased to be used, and the language statistics from it are combined with those from the Evangelical cemetery. In the Evangelical Church children were confirmed in German until 1918. Until that time children on first going to school knew little or no English. Afterward German was seldom used except among older people, and by 1949 even the old rarely used it, though they were then reputed to gossip in it on Saturdays at Wamego. Critical year 1920.

Paxico-Newbury Sub-Area. In Pottawatomie Reservation till after 1868.^{fn}

^{fn}Confused stories in Andreas-Cutler, p. 998, state that German-born John Kopp and John Monck were squatters on Pottawatomie lands by 1856. Monck appears here in the 1870 census but not Kopp. Monck was not a Catholic.

Martin Muckenthaler, a Catholic from Wurtemberg via Minnesota, settled here in 1869. He is recognized by Andreas-Cutler as one of the first settlers. Other Catholic Germans arrived in 1870 (Glotzbach /ch01, Mock, Michaelis /ch85, Statz). In that year the town and post office of Newbury came into being, and Father Rimmele, soon to be a Jesuit, began serving the community. Church, built 1874; resident pastor 1887; parochial school, founded 1890. August Schulte taught four months in public school then five months in parochial /lp B:164; children had both German and English as languages of instruction during this period; this was regarded as hardship by the children. Preaching was in German in this period but ceased before the First World War. In 1909 on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Father A. J. Wieners

who died in the community in 1932 there were both English and German sermons /lp B:166. The War brought an abrupt change in family habits; before it children entering school knew little or no English; after it they always did, though there were children born as late as 1930 who knew some German. German persisted to such an extent, however, that when a new church was built in 1922, one face of the cornerstone contained a German inscription. The founding of Paxico in 1886 two miles to the south on the Rock Island Railroad meant the commercial end of Newbury. But it left Newbury exclusively Catholic German, and Corpus Christi processions were modeled after the tradition observed in Germany /lp. There are few German inscriptions in the cemetery, the last between 1920 and 1929. With the opening of the Pottawatomie Reservation, certain Germans from other parts of the county moved into it (Copp [not Kopp], Rickershauser /ch01). These people were in general Protestants, in 1890 the Lutherans preached to 74 persons at Paxico, but between 1910 and 1916 retreated to McFarland.

McFarland Sub-Area. McFarland was founded in 1887 (post office that year) in the corner of the old reservation. It attained some importance at once as a railroad town. Its Lutheran church was organized in 1893 and drew its rural membership largely from the Protestant Germans who had moved in downstream, along Mill Creek in the south part of the Pottawatomie Reservation. In 1906 it had 233 members, 211 in 1948. In 1910 services were half in English. German was generally abandoned after the First World War, but cases persisted among the old; from 1948 to 1953 pastoral work was going on in German. The sudden abandonment of German is shown by tombstone inscriptions; there are none in German after 1919.

Language of Tombstone Inscriptions in the McFarland Cemetery--whole population

	<u>Engl.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% of Ger.</u>
1890-9	2	4	67%
1900-9	11	5	31%
1910-9	13	5	28%

later - none

South Wabaunsee German District (Mid-n, Area B)

To the north this district was very nearly sealed off from the great Wabaunsee District by the Alta ^{Vista} Scandinavians and a small negro settlement. In other directions its limits were and remain more indefinite. Its focus, however, became the Emmanuel German Methodist Church, a very active cultural center. None of the group appear in the 1875 census, but birth dates in the 1880 census indicate that they began moving in about 1877 (Miller). The arrivals of 1880 firmly established the group (Ott /ch85, Pape /ch85, Zurbucher /ch02, ch19). Permanent families kept moving in for more than a decade (example, Andres 1883 /ch02). The Emmanuel Church was organized in 1880. It was completely a German congregation until 1922 when it united with the Beeman Church, experiencing a fate similar to that of most German Methodist churches struck by the fanaticism during and after the First World War. German disappeared abruptly from the church with this amalgamation, but the young and the active had deserted it early. The church records all began in German. In the cemetery book English appeared as part of an entry in 1891; German appears no later. The membership record was in German till 1907; the American order of month-day-year appeared there in 1905. Receipts were recorded in German script till 1910; after that English. The records of meetings were in German till 1917. Pastor Bernstorff continued to use German for part of his preaching until he departed at the time of the amalgamation in 1922. There are four German inscriptions in the cemetery, 1893, 1898, 1901, 1917. The first two of these mix in English; Samuel son of U. and Rosa Berger, geb. Sept. 27, 1876, gest. Nov. 15, 1893; gone home but not forgotten.

Alta Vista Scandinavians (Low-x, Area C)

Settlement primarily Danish at origin. Earliest at focus 1870, Anderson /ch01, Taft. Ph. Johnson with German wife had settled several miles downstream (36-12-9) in 1863. Only one additional family by 1875, but several single men who stayed and reared families. All Danes except Andersons to this point; Norwegians (Sorenson) and Swedes (Linn) also by 1880. Never any cultural center. Most of the original landholdings /ch85 were in 1940 owned by the Swedish Olsens; the group was largely dispersed. Some lived in town in Alta Vista, Carlson, Ch. Johnson /ik600. Critical date 1912. Sandwiched between the Great Wabaunsee Germans and the South Wabaunsee Germans, whom they did not join culturally (little or no connection with the German churches), but who isolated them to a considerable extent from general American influence, these Scandinavians maintained their linguistic identity for a long time for a small group. In this respect the Swedish Carlson family seems typical: Andrew (1860-1943) came to America ca. 1887, learned English as a trackworker, practiced as a physician in Alta Vista from ca. 1892. His wife Ingrid (1856-1944) did not learn English, and her children were proficient in Swedish. The group is now assimilated to the Germans who are also assimilated to general American culture, intermarriages, for example the Wm. J. Olsens, wife nee Maas. As to religious connections, Mrs. Paul Hanson, granddaughter of A. Carlson above, was in 1953 **wife** of the pastor of the South Wabaunsee Germans' Emmanuel Methodist Church.

Hessdale Swedes (Low-y, Area D)

Settlement now extinct. Last members moved away about 1920. There remains a cemetery near which there was a Swedish church. Settlement was well under way by 1870, but seems to have begun only a year or so before. About 1895 Swedish was commonly used in the neighborhood, so that non-Swedes acquired the language. Burial began in the cemetery by 1884 and continued till 1926. Swedish inscriptions continue until 1910. Critical year 1905.

48.93 WALLACE COUNTY Fl1 and Vicinity

Sharon Springs Swedes (Low-x, Area A). Bergin names one Swede as settling at Sharon Springs in 1887, two more for the next year and several more who "came soon after" /kc11:33. The Lutheran Church was organized in 1888 and the Swedish language dominated until 1923. The records were in Swedish until then. Preaching in Swedish was abandoned by the next year. Germans then joined the congregation so that in 1949 it was more German than Swedish. In the 1920's Swedish was still being used by the old, but the young answered in English. A Swedish Baptist church existed here from 1891 to 1919 /lv71. Persons born about 1918 could still say a few Swedish words in 1949.

Stockholm Swedes (Mid-1, Area B)

The Stockholm settlement was promoted by the Swedish Colonization Company, organized in Lindsborg in 1887. The first settlers came the same year. Bethany Lutheran Church was founded in 1888. The community grew at first, 256 in 1895, but shrank soon. Wallace County contained 173 persons born in Sweden in 1895, and 95 in 1905. The settlement did not perish, however; Bethany Church had 123 members in 1906, 86 in 1948 when it was served from Tribune. The colonization company was formed "to locate Swedes of Lutheran faith in larger colonies on the plains of the west" /kc11:33. But the Stockholm settlement was not entirely Lutheran. A Baptist Congregation existed from 1891 to 1919; Mission Covenanters assembled from 1888 to 1895. The appropriate passage in Strödda Drag is under the heading Sharon Springs: "Here in western Kansas, some fifteen miles north [really south] of town, there was between 1888 and 1895 a Mission congregation with quite splendid activity, which on account of crop failures and droughts was dispersed because the friends moved elsewhere. One family of Mission friends, some Baptists and some Methodists are still [1917] there, which usually attend the Lutheran Church at Stockholm" /sd252. The settlement remained Swedish linguistically for some three decades, but an immigrant arriving about 1921 complained that he could find only one family whose Swedish he approved of. The accounts of Bethany Church were kept in Swedish until 1924, but as early as 1910 items of casual purchase like "gilt fringe" were entered in English. The Young People's Society kept its minutes in Swedish till November 1923, but the influence of English in those last minutes was all too clear, as these two successive items illustrate.

Song [for Sang] af Forenengen [for Foreningen]

Följande Program utfördes [for utfördes]

Swedish was staggering at the time, but the next year brought a revolutionizing development. Russian German Blackseamen came in as wheat farmers and began attending the Swedish Lutheran Church. It was moved into Weskan before 1948. The county was also in the midst of the change brought on by the development of the wide use of the automobile. The whole region became practically one community. A few of the Stockholm Swedes gravitated to the south to Tribune where an Augustana Lutheran Church was organized in 1934. From the beginning its membership was more German than Lutheran and Swedish played no part in its services.

9300
94A

Sharon Springs Germans (Lowest, Area C). In 1887 there was here a German who became a permanent settler /ch08. He was Fred Durgeloh, born in Germany in 1856, and direct from there. There were others near and far in the county soon afterward. The Germans of the middle half of the twentieth century were, however, more usually Russian Germans either Blackseamen or Volgans. In this area they seem to have used German only in the family. An exception is the group not properly speaking of Sharon Springs of which Sallet say: "In 1922 people from Ellis and Rush Counties went to Wallace County [near Wallace]...upon farms of the Bird and Company and thus developed a purely Volga German settlement of about 40 families" /sa51. This enterprise failed, but while it was there, it was very German linguistically. A young priest who arrived in 1925 was not welcomed when he knew no German, and learned the language to become acceptable.

Southeast Wallace Swedes (lowest, Area D). There were three Swedish families listed in the census of 1895 in Harrison township. L. J. Hedstrom was not listed as foreign-born, but said that he arrived in 1893. Linguistically these people on the fringe of Stockholm and Sharon Springs shared their characteristics, and became Englized somewhat sooner.

WASHINGTON COUNTY P2

See Settlement Histories for

Hanover Germans (U-Hi***, Area D) and Linn-palmer Germans (Mi-A, Area H)

Lowe Township Germans (Low-x, Area A). In 1885 there were in the township twelve families containing members born in Germany. Among these the first to arrive was rather certainly Godfrey (1844-1928) and Barbara Neutsch (1847-1909) born

94AB

in Germany and in Wisconsin, they reached this area in 1873 /ch06. The surname Neutsch or Nutsch appears repeatedly on the landowner map of 1938. The family came from near Breslau in Germany. Some other immigrants too came from this general region in Europe. There were four families of Czechs who had been in Wisconsin since the 1860's. One or two Polish families arrived later. The Germans were not all from Wisconsin. There were a few people from Illinois and Minnesota, and more direct from Germany. The cultural institution which was established by these people was Sts. Peter and Paul's Catholic Church. Burials in its cemetery began in 1891. Zeal, it seems, did not become great, but the influence was toward Englishing. The Nutsches remained a family conservative of German. Herman, born in Kansas in 1884, son of John (1842-1926) and Paulina (1845-1912), retained the ability to speak German and passed it on to his daughter who married Martin Bohm of German stock. The child of this marriage, born ca. 1940, learned no German. The Millers lost the ability a generation earlier. Thomas (1841-1913) and Barbara (1844-1909) learned to speak German, but their daughter, born about 1918, learned none. In 1955 people with English names in the vicinity did not recognize the Germans as being of another stock, only the Bohemians.

Silver Cliff Germans (Low-x, Area B). This area is a fringe to the Hanover district. Settlement of Germans began in 1869 /ch90:687 (Freohlich, born Switzerland, 1847 in 1870 census). The Silver Cliff Lutheran Church was founded as a daughter of Hanover's Zion (German Nebraska Synod) after 1900, probably after 1907. It was acknowledged as a congregation by the German Nebraska Synod's successor, the Midwest, in 1950 /w 329, but services had ceased by 1957. Its congregation was absorbed by neighboring United Lutheran ~~churches~~ churches of which that at Washington was the most recently organized and the State Line Church near Hollenberg the closest and most favored. Linguistically the area possesses the characteristics of Hanover modified by its fringe situation.

Lanham Germans (Low-x, Area C). Henry Luehring (1842-1914) is buried in the Lanham cemetery. He arrived in Washington County in 1867 /ch06. The majority of the settlers came after 1884 when the Otoe Reservation was opened for settlement. The reservation was partly in Kansas partly in Nebraska; the town of Lanham straddles the state line. Two Lutheran churches, German Nebraska Synod, serve the community. St. John's is in Lanham on the Kansas side of the line. Zion is four miles to the west, also barely in Kansas. It was organized in 1909 on land given by Henry Luehring /w318. The original German settlers of this area were Hanoverians who were joined later by large numbers of East Frisians spreading from the state line settlement to the east. Perhaps Luehring's motivation for generosity was not merely convenience of location for him, but also a desire to keep Hanoverians to themselves. However that may be, the East Frisians and Hanoverians at Lanham became fused, and the dialectal differences are granted to have somewhat to do with abandonment of German. Engl-izing was not rapid, however, though when St. John's was organized in 1883 English was authorized /w339. Confirmations in German went on until 1937. In 1942 all German services were abandoned except on Good Friday. It too passed completely into English after 1951. In 1952 pastoral care in German was of advantage for only one or two old people. At that time no one aged less than 20 years could speak German; a few might understand it if in their teens. The Hanoverians were more reluctant than the East Frisians to give up German. One force that promoted abandonment was a sentiment of sharp distinction from the neighboring Bremen-Horseshoe Missouri Lutherans who especially in the closest, the Horseshoe, congregation were continuing to use German.

Language of Inscriptions in Lanham Cemetery

	English	German	% of German
1880-9	6	2	25%
1890-9	28	15	35%
1900-9	17	20	54%
1910-9	13	14	51%

1920-9	15	12	44%
1930-9	22	4	15%
1940-9	33	2	6%

No German later

Little Blue Czechs (Mid-m, Area E). Ignatius Klecan (1849-1942), born in Bohemia, came to Washington County with his parents in 1859; so the Chapman Album of 1890 records /ch90:1001. Though he does not appear in the census of 1860, the entry in 1870 for his father Thomas, born 1816, contains naught to contradict the assertion. Still, it was not until about 1870 that most of the Czechs of this group arrived. Their settlement is partly in Marshall County. John Pecenka (1825-1902) in 1869 settled very nearly on the county line directly west from Marysville (by U. S. Highway 36). Among local Czechs the spot became known as Pecenka. There was an effort to build a Catholic church here about 1900; presumably the influence of Hanover was too strong. At nearly the same time as Pecenka 65 Czechs settled in Washington County. Many who came were from near Cedar Rapids in Iowa, but Racine, Wisconsin, St. Louis and Minden, Michigan, also contributed. The settlement early had its urban focus in Hanover, but with time Barnes has become as much, perhaps more of a center, for in Barnes the Czechs do not play a minor role as compared with Germans. No Bohemian hall was built, though at one time the lodges were strong. An example is the Bohemian Catholic Union, of which Lodge 23 was at Hanover. At one time it had 30 members, in 1917 it had 14 (on much of above, see Marshall County /ch17:IX). There was a higher proportion of Catholics reasonably faithful in this ^{Czech} settlement than in many. Most belonged to the church in Hanover, but a few were ultimately with the one in Greenleaf where in 1952 Father Koerperich communicated sometimes with them in Czech. There were also those hostile to churches and in late generations several families united with the Lutheran church at Greenleaf. A national cemetery was established in which Vaclav Dosedel (1808-1872) was buried. Inscriptions indicate that at least several families came from near Litomisl in extreme eastern Bohemia.

94E

Czech continued to be spoken for many years. It was often heard on the streets of Barnes in the 1930's. In 1952 many people aged about 35, and some ten years younger could speak it, but not children. In 1965 there were old people near Barnes who communicated with their families in Czech.

Language of Inscriptions in the Czech
National Cemetery near Hanover

	English	Czech	% of Czech
1870-9	0	2	100%
1880-9	3	12	80%
1890-9	4	8	67%
1900-9	3	2	40%
1910-9	7	1	13%
1920-9	7	2	22%

No Czech later.

Brantford Swedes (Hi-d, Area F)

This Swedish settlement is called Brantford for its principal township and for the hamlet that it once contained (post office from 1871 to 1908). The Swedes, by erecting churches, recognized a point three miles southeast of the hamlet as their center. They occupy almost solidly a region of some forty square miles area. In 1930 Brantford township contained fifty-two per cent foreign white stock, that is, immigrants and their children; most of the rest of the population at that time may be ascribed to grandchildren of the pioneers.

Settlers began to move up along the Republican River into southwest Washington County about 1859, and early occupied territory some two or three miles from the river. By 1868 Germans, Irish, and a few others had taken claims along Parson's Creek on the eastern edge of the territory that interests us and along Elk Creek to the west, but the smaller Dry Creek valley was unoccupied. It was at this time that the main Swedish migrations into the Northern Pre-West (particularly Scandia) and the Inner Pre-West (particularly Lindsborg) were taking place. The Indian troubles of 1868 made the immigrants anxious, especially those in the Scandia neighborhood (thirty miles west of Dry Creek), and caused Scandinavians who were headed in that direction to hesitate. Furthermore, certain Swedes did not approve of the sandy soil of the Smoky Valley in the Lindsborg area, and turned elsewhere in search of black loam.

A party of these malcontents, among them G. Ostlund, C. J. Olson, C. M. Johnson, S. N. Almquist, and G. Erickson, in 1869 made its way up the Republican from Junction City, forged on to Scandia without finding vacant claims along

the river, and then turned back for fear of Indians. As they returned, they sought land a few miles farther from the river. Like all Western European settlers in Kansas, they regarded running water and timber for fuel and building material as absolute essentials, and therefore considered settlement only in creek valleys. Thus, as they came back east, the Dry Creek valley offered their first opportunity for staking claims. Postmaster Moses Heller at Clyde west of the creek's mouth, told them of their chance, and a Swede from Cloud County guided them to the land. They took claims straddling the creek just south of the later settlement center. About the same time, O. Dahl, a Norwegian, took a claim up the creek next them; beyond, Svenn N. Almquist established himself in the same year. The nucleus of the colony was thus formed, and it was recruited further by its founders mainly from among relatives and friends arriving by way of Manhattan and Junction City; the railhead at Waterville was utilized later. Chicago and other cities including La Porte, Indiana, served as way stations for certain of the arrivals. The late comers (post 1871) were obliged to buy out "Yankee" claims, and worked in the cities or elsewhere to accumulate necessary capital. The settling families came in, however, over a comparatively short period of time; by 1885 the number of foreign born had reached its peak,

The settlement was rather thoroughly isolated from other Swedish groups. At first no roads connected it with the Scandia neighborhood, and the contacts with the settlement near Morgansville twenty miles to the southeast were rare. The settlers were poor folk, whose resources were exhausted by their journey, leaving them nothing to build houses with, almost nothing to buy livestock with. Oxen, as being cheaper than horses, were the most common draught animals.

American neighbors arriving from the East with good horses were objects of envy. As long as railroad construction went on, the men had to leave their wives to hold their claims and go to Junction City to find work on the Kansas Pacific or the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railways. As soon as they had oxen and a cow, however, they stayed at home and worked at the improvement of their claims. Thus slowly they arrived at economic self-sufficiency. ^{fn 1, p. 1573}

The settlement has always been almost exclusively agricultural, but a Swede, A. H. Lindell, who was postmaster at Brantford in 1882, arrived in 1871 and dealt in implements and general merchandise.^{fn}

^{fn}He sold the claim that he had taken earlier to provide himself with the necessary capital.

In 1882 the farms owned by the group occupied about one-third of the area eventually to become theirs; the Swedes absorbed much land later by purchase from discouraged Americans with relatives in the east to whom they might return or from French Canadian families. Thus their holdings, at first somewhat scattered, were solidified and finally extended. The Brantford Swedes do not seem to have been subject to the restless moving about from farm to farm and from one settlement to another that has characterized many Swedish groups.

Their surplus in population, resulting from natural increase, has, however, left Brantford, often after receiving higher education elsewhere. The movement for the consolidation of farms has affected this community like the trans-Mississippi west in general, and population has decreased. Those

left in 1950 averaged an older age than the normal population average. Though the young were by no means joining the unchurched, over one half of the membership of the Mission Church was past sixty (45 past 70, 20 past 80). Territorially the Swedes were not relinquishing land, though they were under constant pressure from the increasing resident population of the French Canadians to the south. Their geographic integrity was, however, the result of conscious vigilance; it shows signs of breaking down as surrounding citizens, French, German, and Bohemian, beginning as early as 1875 (Rasmussen-Seifers /ch90) married among the Swedes and accepted their mores.

The industry of the early days kept them isolated except on Sundays, and then they congregated together. These God-fearing people could not long lack for spiritual guidance, and a Swedish preacher, C. J. Lindahl,^{fn 2, p.1573} took a claim among them in August, 1870. Itinerant ministers also served them, though transporting these visitors to their next stop was a difficult problem among these almost horseless people.

In 1871 "a sort of free church" was organized by Lindahl which lasted eight years. As soon as numbers permitted division, division developed. Part of the group organized the Zion church, now Augustana Lutheran, in 1874. The dissolution of those left meant no falling away in religious fervor. In 1880 missionaries appeared and the Mission Church was organized in 1882; the Baptists organized the same year.

The Mission Covenant Church has been in relative terms, exceptionally strong, as membership statistics show (Lutheran 1906, 96 baptized, 1951, 110; Mission 1907, 73; 1917, 104; 1949, 155). In 1898 the Baptist movement

had gained sufficient strength to permit the building of a church and the hiring of a pastor. The Baptists continued to have a pastor until after 1927. About 1947 this congregation consolidated with the Baptists of Clyde, and their building was torn down.

Footnotes to pp. 1571-1572

1. At La Porte they worked in the cranberry fields. Fagelborgs, who staked a claim on the east edge of the settlement in 1870 and moved on to it in 1871, were at La Porte six months (too much ague) and in Manhattan, Kansas, almost a year. S. Carlson also came. Svenn Erickson is one example of a claim buyer; he worked several years in cities to acquire capital, and bought a claim in 1874 or 5 on the south edge of the settlement. John Johnson (b. 1841) was at Lewiston, Illinois 1868-9, Keokuk, Iowa 1869-74 earning money /ch90:198. Wm. Mulberry, 1849, came to Hannibal, Mo. 1873--worked and added to \$60 he had brought from Sweden (Jonkoping); bought land for \$225. He says, as is evident for others, that there were bargains in 1874 on account of grasshoppers /ch90:166. Marten Person b. is s. part of Sweden, Kelkingburg 1857--father Nels and he joined brother, Andrew, here 1873, soon purchased claim (Sec 29). M. Annie daughter of Erick Nelson /ch90:1205. Other arrivals in 1873 were S. O. Anderson, Andrew Nelson, (listed by 1906 Platbook as of 1869, presumably the son of G.) Andrew M. Larson/ch 90:422, b. in Skane 1838, to Galesburg 1869, to Keokuk 1870, homesteaded on sec. 32, Grant Twp., married 1870 Annie Anderson, widow, b. in Sodermanland.

2. Lindahl (1837-1912) is buried in the Lutheran cemetery, and at his death gave a Swedish Bible, printed 1906 to the Lutheran Church. Nels G. Lindahl, presumably his son, came in '69 (says Q'06) at age 4.

There were local preachers in the pietistic tradition; L. J. Skyllberg was an example.

The first Swedes in Brantford were not all ignorant of English; some of them had had sojourns of one length or another in other states before coming to Kansas. Their children attended the district schools.^{fn}

^{fn}first established in 1872 (Marcotte school, Marcotte, a Frenchman had bought a section of state school land. Claims did not pay taxes; Marcotte, consequently, as the only taxpayer in the district, supported the school almost single-handed).

and learned English in their childhood: they tended to use it a great deal with each other. As late as 1923, however, a child arrived at school knowing no English, and until 1917, they had Swedish summer school in addition to public school instruction. No English services occurred at the Mission Church until that year when war hysteria forced the unwilling minister to it. Though somewhat earlier there was an English Sunday School class/^{sd289}the community remained essentially bilingual until about 1920. In 1926 Lovene remarks concerning the Baptists "The church reports the unusual thing that there has been few removals from the settlement. As the young people easily speak the Swedish language, the language question is not here a problem though English is now used in the evening services." Even in 1952 Swedish was heard frequently from the lips of those born before 1892, that is, about half the community. Most of those twenty years younger knew something of the language. As late as 1957 there were younger people using Swedish in talking to the old. Still, only a small proportion of the old use it as the ordinary means of communication even inside the family.

Mrs. Mary Ostlund, b. 1862, for instance, was in 1952 doing her thinking in English.

The evidence of tombstone inscriptions as exemplified by the Swedish Mission cemetery is in harmony with this statement.

	Inscriptions		
	Swedish	English	% of Swedish
Before 1890	11	none	100%
1891-1900	12	11	52%
1901-1910	12	10	55%
1911-1920	7	11	39%
1921-1930	1, part Eng.	14	7%

^{fn} The Lutheran cemetery shows fewer Swedish stones, but has few of early date.

There is an inscription in Swedish of 1933 on a stone with another inscription of 1901. The only stone of later date using Swedish reads:

-1575-

C. M. Johnson 1838-1919
Clara S. his wife 1851-1938
Fred over hans minne

The records of the Luther League, (the young people's society) at the Zion Church were kept in Swedish until the end of 1923. The first preserved record is for 1909; in that year a program of songs and recitations presented on March 9 contained three English numbers out of five. The closing minute was: "Föreningen beslöt att atgiften för förfriskningar blifver tio cents (sic) I stället för fem cent (sic)." (The society decided that the payment for refreshments should remain ten cents instead of five.) In 1923 some phrases were clearly beyond the Swedish vocabulary of the secretary (and her parents). She resorted to English in order to say "ladies trio," "mixed quartet," "trays," in

ⁱⁿA similar evidence of bilingualism is offered by a Swedish Songbook, printed 1913 and marked with the church seal in English "Sion (sic) Lutheran Church Augustana Synod"

"note to congregation \$132.00." Since the last item was included in a list of assets, it obviously meant "note from the congregation" (piggy-bank raiding).

Services in Swedish persisted long after this date. In the Mission Church none occurred in the church building after about 1940, though, with little success, Pastor Clemens for a few years following held them in private homes. About 1950 the Mission Covenanters turned down an opportunity to hear an evangelist speak in Swedish, as shutting out too many persons from understanding, presumably those most in need of enlightenment. In the Lutheran

Church after 1943 the pastor used no Swedish in his work except for a few words at one funeral.

It may be prophesied that Swedish will die out completely in the community by 1975.

Parson's Creek Germans (Low-v, Area G)

Parsons Creek runs almost straight south into the Republican River about six miles east of the western county line of Washington County. Its valley was settled earlier than any of the surrounding country, and consequently has a certain unity. These Germans were Catholics and other Catholics were mixed in among them, a few French and a larger number of Irish. The Irish preponderated in the middle part of the creek valley, the Germans at the two ends. These subdivisions may be called after their churches St. Bernard's and St. Mary's. The latter, (strictly rural), was long located some three miles directly north from Clifton, the other nine miles further straight north at Clara where there was a post office from 1892 to 1904 (first postmaster Peter Steier), only a closed store in 1952. The northern church was somewhat the larger in 1895 (200: 150); the Germans seem to have been divided between them in the same proportions (140: 110). Although the early settlers had not been able, after trying, to agree upon one church to serve them all, they had close family connections; the same names appear to a considerable extent in both cemeteries.

Settlement began on lower Parsons Creek in 1859; in that year the first of the German settlers appeared, Peter /ch82:41 and Nicholas (1827-1892) /ch90:829 Esslinger, Luxemburgers, and Nicholas Schumacher /ch82:41. Joseph Bowmaker (1820-1896), a Prussian (Rhinelanders presumably), joined them the next year /ch90:562. They came to Kansas from Stevenson County, Illinois. Luxemburgers and Lorrainers increased, 20 families said Gonner in 1889 /go314.

Catholic services were first held for them in 1865 by Father Thomas Bartl, a Benedictine traveling out from St. Benedict in Nemaha Co. /b70. A church, St. Mary's, was built in 1866; its successor was destroyed by lightning about 1917, and the organization was moved the three miles to Clifton, where in 1948 it numbered four times as many souls as St. Bernard's. The lower creek district was not all settled up until the early seventies. The other Germans entering the group were nearly all from the southern provinces, but a few were not Catholic.

On upper Parson's Creek, the first evidence of settlement is the record of the establishment of St. Bernard's church. It was founded in 1866 by two men bearing German names, A. Etzbach and John Myers, and by a B. Williams. The names of Etzbach and Williams do not appear in the Platbook of 1882, and hence they were probably temporary settlers. The Mayer family remains strong. The next settler that we hear of is William Miller from Baden who took a claim in 1868. The settlers who arrived in the neighborhood in 1870 and 1871 were still taking claims to homesteads, and not many could have arrived much earlier. These people like those around the south church were almost all south Germans. They had usually, like the others, spent some time in Illinois sometimes in addition a period in Missouri or eastern Kansas. Around Clara a certain number of the Germans were not too earnest religiously, likely a heritage of mid-nineteenth century liberalism.

The growth of the Swedish Lutheran settlement to the west and of the Low German Lutheran settlement to the east constricted the tenuous holdings of the Parson's Creek Catholics so that they were not able to spread, and a part of them, particularly the Irish, were squeezed out in the middle so

that the districts around the two churches became more independent of each other later than they were in the beginning. The automobile restored their connection, but in 1952 St. Bernard's Church was served from Kimeo twenty-five miles away instead of from Clifton twelve miles distant.

The pressure that the Lutheran and Catholic German groups put upon each other led to rivalry rather than to unification. During the hysteria of the First World's War a "High German", that is a South German like the families on Parsons Creek, was credited with painting the Lutheran schoolhouse at Palmer. But the accidents of governmental subdivisions forced the Parsons Creek people into close political relations with their neighbors of various types and contributed to faster assimilation to the general American pattern than would otherwise have been the case in this isolated district. The composite nature of the inner community, French and Irish intermixed with the Germans, worked in the same direction.

Intermarriage within the district with other elements began early; and long ago the Catholic Germans found mates of other national origins in other Catholic parishes. Neither of the Parson's Creek parishes was sufficiently German to leave any tombstones in that language after 1877. But in the early days St. Bernard's particularly was German in language. Preaching occurred for some time in German, and the French boy, George Nault, b. 1872, learned quite a little German from those around him. Still the forces of assimilation described above soon bore linguistic fruits, and German began to die out. In 1952 those able to speak German were nearly fifty or older, and both they and the French living with them maintained that they spoke German only if they had to.

Linn-Greenleaf Germans (Low-v, Area I). At the northeast border of the Linn-Palmer Germans is another group of Germans, comparatively small, whose original main focus, the present site of a Lutheran cemetery, was located approximately four air miles west southwest of Greenleaf and three northeast of Linn. The group also contains elements living in the villages of Greenleaf and Linn and a few to the south of each. Its unity stems from the fact that part of the members of each of two Lutheran churches of different synods had the same geographical origins in Germany and located very early around the focus described above. The two churches mentioned are Greenleaf Bethlehem (Mo. Synod) and Linn Saint Paul's (Midwest Synod LCA).

About 1865, threatened with approaching military service a group of young men from near Filsen in Hanover emigrated to America and made their way to Platteville, Wisconsin (61, 250). Four years later they went to spy out the land farther west, and filed claims on quarter sections at the Linn Township focus mentioned above. The next spring they moved on to them. The group included Heinrich Gross (1844-1915), Hermann Hatesohl (1843-1889), J. Dietrich Kappelmann (1840-1910), Friedrich (1843-1902), Dietrich (1846-1918) and Anna (1864-1896) Laue, and Johann (1840-1913), Heinrich, and Hermann (1852-1921) Raven. From near Hamburg, Germany, Claus Hinck (1843-1922) joined the others in Wisconsin and came to Kansas with them. Eide Woltje (1844-1921) came almost at the same time and settled five miles to the east of the focus. Julius Labes (1842-1925), a Prussian, joined the group shortly. At this period John Kettler, an immigration agent of North German origin, was active in Hanover, and was probably responsible for the party's choice of its original destination. At any rate Kettler convoyed a party out of Bremen in

1869 which brought Sophie Siemering (1847-1899) (later wife of J. D. Kappelmann) to Platteville. Kettler very likely had something to do with the party's coming to Washington County. A few other families, some directly from Germany, assemble around the nucleus a little later.

Shortly after Greenleaf was founded, it became a Central Branch division point (1880), and maintained a staff of round house workers including German immigrants. Among these was Friedrich Diedrichs, Sr. (1852-1915) of Wietzen, Germany. In 1883 he was brought over by his brother-in-law Dietrich Nuttleman, a pioneer who had settled sw of Greenleaf. These workers entered very soon into relations with the neighboring farmers of their Lutheran faith.

About the same time, specifically in 1881, Charles Frederick Schwerdtfeger /ch90:292 appeared upon the scene, buying land just south of the Hanoveraners at the focus, ultimately owning all the section between them and the village of Linn. Schwerdtfeger, forty-six at the time and American born of a Hanoverian father, had till then lived at Lyons near Chicago, and had acquired property. In Kansas he continued to prosper, and besides his section of land was reputed to own much of Linn. He exerted great local influence in every domain.

The group of Germans in the region had now become sufficiently strong to feel the need of a church building to replace the schoolhouses that had so far contained their meetings for worship. They were primarily Lutherans, but even before 1878 they had shown greater willingness to listen to Ev. Synod speakers than to the ^{Lutheran} Pastor Pfeifer from the Mo. Synod Church at Bremen. Furthermore Schwerdtfeger was a member of the Evangelical Synod of North America, and in 1885 he founded an Evangelical church in Linn.

In the same town the Zion Luth. Church Mo. Synod was founded shortly afterward (1887). Some of the German inhabitants of Linn fluctuated between the two. In the first decade of this century St. Paul's prospered at the expense of Zion, but its strength waned later probably because of the capacity of Zion's pastor Lehenbauer. When the influence of Schwerdtfeger declined, St. Paul's Church left an organization with which it had little sympathy, and in 1916 became part of the German Nebraska Synod, later the United Lutheran Midwest Synod finally LCA. Of the original families the Dietrich Kappelmanns, the Ravens and Gross were early in this group at St. Paul's Church in Linn.

From the very beginning many of the rural Germans near our focus did not care for "Unierte" (Evangelical) principles. The Greenleaf contingent, besides having similar ideas, did not wish to attend a church in Linn. Consequently, further persuaded by the Rev. J. G. Groenmiller from Hanover, they elected to organize a church of their own about 1885. This church, St. John's, became a charter member of the German Nebraska Synod. Claus Hinck was the lay delegate to the founding meeting of the German Nebraska Synod. The Laues, the Hatesohls, the Woltjes and the Laebes of the earliest families also belonged with this group. St. John's, the Greenleaf Nebraska Synod Church, was served by the same pastor as St. Paul's 6 miles straight north, also organized in 1879 by Pastor Groenmiller. St. Paul's had begun the use of English in 1906 or 1907 and required a pastor adept in that language. In 1916, the German Neb. Synod could not furnish such a man and the two churches ceased to have a pastor from among its members. Now Dietrich Laue, one of the original settlers, had taken for his second wife, Anna Marie Meyerhoff, who was a member of one of the Lutheran families, Missouri Synod, in the Palmer region, and a few

other Mo. Synod families had come in. Mrs. Laue was a person of piety, energy, and skill in directing her neighbors. They heeded her pleas for a change of Synod as a means of asserting their fidelity to strictest Lutheran principles, and in 1917 withdrew from St. John's, causing its dissolution. In its place the Missouri Synod Church, Bethlehem Luth., was organized by Linn's capable Pastor Lehenbauer. St. John's Church was in Greenleaf, but the removal of the railroad shops to Concordia took away part of the town membership, and the new Bethlehem church was built to the southwest in the country at a point more centrally located for the membership.

The creation of the Bethlehem church is the most extreme example of the influence of the Linn-Palmer Germans on the Greenleaf-Linn group. In general they have been in close geographic contact with only limited interpenetration. Relations with Chepstow to the south of the east section of the group have not been intimate either, though in the Bethlehem congregation somewhat more intermarriage has occurred with Chepstow than with Palmer. Relations with Hanover and Bremen Germans have been still more tenuous. On the other hand, the Bethlehem church has received among its members a few Czechs from the scattered settlement to the northeast (Knedlik, Belousek). The group intermarried outside its own ranks little in the second generation but much more in the third; it has spread somewhat in the neighborhood, but in general its surplus population has gone elsewhere.

The Greenleaf-Linn Germans, peripheral to the large and conservative Linn-Palmer group, should show greater fidelity to German than most groups its size, but less than its German neighbors to the southwest; such is the case. Besides the influence of 'Yankees' close by, the use of English as a

necessary lingua franca around Greenleaf had some effect upon this group as well as upon the French and the Danes. On the other hand the synodical changes of 1916-17, though they happened to co-incide with the period of stress of the First World War, worked as a conservative force. Furthermore, the commonness of German in the neighborhood had its conservative effect.

The evidence of the tombstones in the two cemeteries reveals the St. Paul's congregation as linguistically less conservative than its neighbors. Several influences worked in this direction: the Linn group was more nearly urban; the Schwerdtfegers and Hoermans had been longer in the U. S. than others; St. Paul's in opposition to both the Bethlehem Church and the Zion (Mo. Synod) Church in town was the harbor of those among the Germans most willing to accept change.

	St. Paul's Inscriptions			St. John's- Bethlehem Cemetery Inscriptions		
	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% of Ger.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>Ger.</u>	<u>% of Ger.</u>
Before 1880	0	0		1	2	67%
Before 1880-9	2	1	33%	2	9	82%
1890-9	6	5	45%	2	4	67%
1900-9	2	3	60%	5	6	55%
1910-19	4	5	56%	6	5	45%
1920-29	9	1	10%	5	4	44%
1930-52	11	2 (1933, 1936)	15%	30	1 (1947)	3%
Before 1920	14	15	52%	16	26	62%

The Bethlehem constitution as originally adopted contained in imitation of the Linn Zion constitution the old provision requiring the use of German, but the Kansas District officers of the Mo. Synod insisted before accepting it that this detail should be altered.

The spectacle of children sitting uncomprehending in church was enough to convince old champions of German that the day for change had come (example, Herman Hatesohl).

English was first introduced regularly into the services of both churches about the time of the first World War, specifically 1920 in the case of Bethlehem, and German was last preached toward the beginning of the Second World War. At the St. Paul's Church recent pastors have used German a very little in pastoral work. In 1952, they reported more opportunity to use German with the members of the neighboring Missouri Synod churches than with their own parishioners. At the Bethlehem Church almost the last official use of German was at the funeral of Anna Meyerhoff Laue in 1942. Mrs. Laue, as influential as she approached the age of eighty as she had been in 1917, had been telling her fellow communicants that services in German out of deference to the old were an injustice to the young, and thus their end was being prepared. As a sort of token of gratitude the solemn rites of the matriarch were in German, in some sort a funeral service for the language too, for services in German ended the same year. At any rate only those ^{born} before 1910 in this group were competent in German, and only those born in the early days of settlement continued to make a point of finding chances to use it. Still tombstone inscriptions in German have persisted exceptionally long.

The influence of the solid German communities nearby (Palmer, Hanover) has been such, that even in 1952 ability to use German remained something of a business asset at Greenleaf in dealing with customers who come from those German centers. Fifteen years earlier such an ability gave a merchant a distinct advantage over competitors.

Greenleaf Danes (Low-w, Area J)

The Danes in the neighborhood of Greenleaf were among the early settlers, and before the town was founded were focused about two miles to the south-east. In 1882 they held some thirty quarter sections all within five miles of the focus, but none to the east of the township line two miles away. In other words there was no chain of geographical connection with the Water-ville Danes, and the settlements were never closely linked. In 1895 there were 147 speakers of Danish in the district (61 foreign born, 86 children residing with them). A Swedish family or two were mixed in.

As early as 1869, very shortly after the French in the neighborhood, the Danes first settled in this district. Rasmus Anderson arrived that year; so did Sophia Kousma with her step-father, Nelson. Many had come in by 1873, when homesteads could be had only by buying out claimholders. Olaf Pearson, b. 1861, a Swede, came directly from Skane in 1873 to a brother-in-law already established here, A. Holmberg. His immigrant ship was laden with Danes. Of these the Jorgensons came to this destination and bought out a claim. Many, but not all the new Kansans, had sojourned elsewhere in the United States before coming here. In Denmark most of these settlers came from the island called Land Oi, a few from very close Copenhagen; a few families were from Slesvig (Schleswig). The differences of dialect and of political opinion--it may be coincidence but the Slesvigers have left the district--were of sufficient importance to hasten Engl-izing. After settlement the group developed a church organization (Danish Lutheran), but it^{was} never sufficiently strong to build a church. Ultimately most of the Danes joined the "English Lutheran." Marriage outside the group did not

begin at once (as with the Strawberry Township Danes), but by the middle of the twentieth century they were "pretty well mixed up." In 1925 eleven foreign-born Danes told the assessor their years of arrival in the United States (three did not). The dates were:

1864	1870 (4)	1878	1892 (2)
1869		1881	
		1882	

Apparently two later and minor waves of immigration followed the first one. Representatives of the old Danish families are still living in the neighborhood; these names occur: Christiansen, Hanson, Johnson, Jorgenson, Nelson, Peterson.

The Danes at Greenleaf gave up the use of Danish in public almost as soon as they settled, for a number of them had already learned English elsewhere here in America, and dialectal differences encouraged a lingua franca. The great exception to this statement was the early church services held by itinerant preachers in the schoolhouses, for the abstract religious vocabulary was not acquired as soon as the language of every day life. Among the Danes in intimate conditions Danish persisted until the late nineties, fostered in part by continuing immigration. Some of the older women, seldom seen in public, never learned English, Mrs. Kousma Nelson, for instance. Lottie Shupe, upon becoming Mrs. Christopher Peterson toward 1890, learned Danish to speak with her father- and mother-in-law. However this new generation, exemplified by one of its older members, Sophia Kousma Hanson, b. 1861, did not use Danish with their spouses, and their children, though curious as to its use, never learned it. Among the

Danes born at Greenleaf, Danish was soon reduced to the status of setting up a basis of fellowship. No Danish appears upon their tombstones (found mostly in the Maplewood cemetery, 4m. east and 1-2 m. north of Greenleaf). Danish may be said to have become an unused utensil toward 1914.

Strawberry Danes (Low-x, Area K)

In 1895 the speakers of Danish in Strawberry and Sheridan townships numbered 78. The focus of their cluster, as shown by the platbook of 1882, was about five road miles northwest of Palmer.

One of the very first settlers of the region was James Rasmuson (b. Denmark, 1842, Iowa 1867). In 1869 he took a claim six air miles northwest of the Danish focus /ch90:1105. Martin Olson (b. 1838, /ch90:1169) settled at the focus in 1870. (He took a claim and left it in winter till 1874 to work in Missouri River towns; he had been logging in Michigan--via Chicago--since 1863.) Nels Thompson came in 1872 /ch82:50. Most of the Danes had come in by 1885. The connections between this community and the Danish group east of Greenleaf or with that near Waterville were tenuous. Martin Olson and perhaps others belonged to the Danish Lutheran church at Greenleaf, but because the group was rather indifferent religiously, the tie was not strong. Socially the Danes had not by 1950 been entirely absorbed so as to lose identity, but this was more because of the close knit character of other social entities than because of their own clannishness. Indeed intermarriage, one of the best evidences of general assimilation began early. J. Rasmuson married Katie Seifers, a Bavarian Catholic neighbor, in 1875. In 1880, Anderson, a carpenter, came out from Topeka, went to work for a Scot a little to the north of the Danes, married his employer's daughter and remained in the neighborhood.

The smallness of the group, which insured the children being mixed with others in the district schools, and intermarriages such as those mentioned prevented the use of Danish from extending beyond the first generation.

The immigrants, however, used their Danish together as long as there were enough of them. Still, their tombstones, almost all to be found in the Palmer public cemetery, without exception bear inscriptions in English.

Palmer-Greenleaf French Canadians (Lowest, Area N). Greenleaf, Palmer, and St. Mary's (Clifton Township) formed a chain whereby French settlers might proceed from the railhead established at Waterville in 1868 to the large Cloud County French settlements. Whatever unity the French groups of Washington County possess results from this fact. The Catholic churches at Greenleaf and Palmer are qualified by the 1882 Platbook as French, not so St. Mary's on Lower Parson's Creek and St. Bernard's on the upper creek, but in them too there was a French element. Until 1878 then, when the Central Branch was extended to Concordia, they had an importance greater than their population. St. Bernard's, isolated from the chain and otherwise less important may occupy us first.

The French on Parsons Creek are not geographically separated from the Cloud County settlements, and have the same linguistic history, although, as is to be expected of a fringe settlement, they have with exceptions among certain families near Clifton evolved more rapidly away from the use of French. Their general history is bound up with that of the Parsons Creek Germans. At Clara on upper Parson's Creek, where the French lived close to St. Bernard's Church, there were never very many families (Fortier, Lambert, Marcoux, Nault); they were, however, among the first settlers. Louis Nault (1813-1895) came in 1870; in 1871, E. Godefroi Fortier (1849-1913, Album p. 940, name locally pronounced to rhyme with English nickname, Torchy). Doler Marcoux (1871-1915) is said to have been born here. Like the Cloud County

Canadians, they had lived for varying periods at Kankakee, Ill. They have left no French inscriptions on their tombstones. Only George Nault remained in 1952. With an Irish wife he had practiced speaking French very little. The use of French died at Clara about 1914.

The French on lower Parson's Creek and to the west, that is, in Clifton Township, the southwest corner of Washington County were more numerous. In 1882 they owned some twelve quarter sections. Later, after a period of recession, they tended to spread again. Only a few of them attended St. Mary's Church on the Creek, where no French appears on their tombstone inscriptions.

The French settlement at Palmer had been begun by 1870. Isaac Nadeau arrived in that year; Joseph Carron in 1871 /ch82:50. The Historical Platbook of 1882 reads: "The French Catholic Church of Palmer was established some time in 1879 by Louis Ray [Roy] and others. Father Mollier was their first priest. The same year Messrs Pudre [Poudre], Ray, Adams, Seer [Chayer, locally pronounced Sheer], and others built a church in Palmer at a cost of about 700 dollars. About thirty families attend service every Sunday" /ch82:26. The church building was sold about 1942.

The French, as shown by the Platbook, occupied some twenty quarter sections north and east of Palmer with a focus at the very point later consecrated as the German center by the erection of St. John's Church two and a half miles southeast of the town. The French population at that time was probably about one hundred. These, except for one or two Belgian families, were French Canadians. In 1895 the township contained 17 foreign born Canadians and one Belgian. Though the number of foreign born Canadians cannot be regarded as representing all the "Canook" immigrants, for, as in

Cloud County, many of them had been born in Illinois and were still linguistically French, still it is evident that the Germans were displacing the French. The process was of course not one of forcible ejection, but, naturally restless and finding these surroundings distasteful, a much larger proportion of young Frenchmen than is normal to a rural population went elsewhere to seek their fortunes. When their parents retired, or lost their farms in hard times, Germans were the purchasers. In 1952 only Clyde Chayer, son of Edward, and Earl Adams remained as French farmers in the neighborhood; in town only the Belgian, A. Debauche, a garage shop-owner, with a Cloud County Frenchwoman for a wife, and Mrs. E. Wilson were of French origin.

None of these persons use French habitually. The Debauches had done so twenty-five years before, and their older children (residing elsewhere) learned to speak somewhat the Walloon patois learned of their grandparents. Occasionally on an appropriate occasion a little French was flying about for old times' sake; that was all. Tombstone evidence corresponded: inscriptions in French occur on four tombstones commemorating deaths between 1892 and 1903; French names appear with English inscriptions on eight stones ranging from 1884 to 1905. These are about half the stones in the cemetery; the others commemorate Irishmen.

Although the village of Greenleaf was not founded until 1876, its future site had become a focus of French settlement in 1868 as soon as the railhead at Waterville was established. Salomon Lanoux took the first claim in that year. Soon his wife's brother-in-law, G. C. Talbot, with M. Savoie and their families followed him from the French Canadian settlement at Kankakee, Ill. He met them at the train with his ox cart. Lanoux

later moved to Concordia. He had the southwest corner of the townsite. G. Cedion Talbot (1826-1899) and Flevia (1828-1899) came from Canada to Kankakee in 1854. Their claim included the southeast corner of the townsite. The Savoies settled three and one half miles southeast (Sec. 14). Others moved in soon, and the nucleus for a church was assembled. Mass was first said at the Lanoux home in 1871, and in 1880, after Greenleaf was founded a church was bought. In 1882 sixteen families attended it. The church was called French Catholic, and until 1890 or thereabouts it was truly French. It, like Palmer, was served in the beginning by the Pioneer French Catholic priests in Cloud County, Fathers Mollier and Perrier. Then the settlement began to dwindle. The Lanoux and the Otott families joined the Cloud County settlement. Some of the Merciers heeded the emigration lure of western Canada. Sons went a-wandering, and did not return. The representatives of the colony living in Greenleaf in 1952 were reduced to Felix Blanchette and his wife, and Oliva Savoie Schleier, b. 1859. George Talbot, b. 1860, had died recently.

The early settlement was as nearly completely French as it could be in an English matrix. M. Savoie and his wife knew almost no English as late as 1888, but learned a little before their death. Flevia Talbot never could speak English; her husband ultimately learned a little. Until 1888 preaching at church was regularly in French; then Father Hoffman, who also served Palmer from Kimeo, left, and his German successor still made some attempts, as did Father Grotiers (a Fleming-Frenchman from near Lille, France). The latter tried a Sunday or two with German, French, and English (for certain Irish families). Then a few Czechs appeared; his linguistic resources were exhausted, and he declared that all must listen to English.

But the surroundings were such in 1887 that when Henry Savoie's Scottish widow, Ella Hayes Savoie, b. 1870, came from Colorado to live with her husband's parents, she learned to speak French in a year, and heard it ever afterward so frequently that she continued to understand it. However her children never learned their father's language, though the two born in 1891 and 1893 could understand it. They were typical of their generation. Their father too, born at Kankakee in 1860, gradually abandoned his parents' language except to converse with his brother. The colony's survivors named above were still using French somewhat. With their demise, and they were old, it was to perish in Greenleaf.

Kimeo Luxemburgers (Low-y, Area L). Not all the people here were Luxemburgers. Adam (1839-1910) and Michael, born 1840, Schroll may not have been. They arrived in 1871 and 1870 /ch06. Two numerous families, the Diedrichs and the Pirottes who came at very nearly the same time as Schrolls used the Luxemburg dialect. The elder Pirottes, Anton born 1838 and Susan, who was born in Wisconsin, did not become fixtures in the community, but journeyed on to other Catholic communities, Beloit, Saint Benedict, Leoville. Three Pirotte daughters, however, married three Diedrichs at Kimeo. In the family of Mary Pirotte Diedrich, three sons born between 1908 and 1911 learned to speak dialect; the next born 1913 and the rest did not. Peter Diedrich (1872-1950) and his wife, Elizabeth (Pirotte), used it in their home and all except their youngest son, born later than 1907, learned to speak it. Before his father's death, Leo, born 1906, had become inexpert. The first Diedrich to settle in Illinois appears to have been a Rheinlander but his son Hubert (1839-1911) was accustomed to converse in the Luxemburg dialect.

Chepstow Germans (Low-v, Area M)

The focus of the Chepstow Germans is located near the original home-
stead of John Stigge at the site of St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Missouri
Synod (295, I, 22). Most of the families live within a radius of three to
four miles from the focus.

The data on the years of arrival in the United States furnished by
the 1925 census for foreign born Germans indicates that this year, 1895,
is the terminal date of immigration.

Before 1870	1870-5	1876-9	1880-4	1885-9	1890-4	only one later
9	2	0	10	9	5	1924

In 1895 in the third of Lincoln Township's population in which the speakers
of German were most numerous, they were present in a concentration of 40
per cent. The St. Peter's Lutheran congregation numbered 190 souls in
1950. For earlier years membership in souls was:

1890	90	1900	131	1910	245
1895	108	1906	153	1916	248

In an area where the German population never became important enough
to deserve study on the northern edge of the territory later occupied by
the Germans at Chepstow, (a post office existed beginning in 1871) settle-
ment began along Coon Creek in 1858. The first Coon Creek Germans were the
family of P. J. Poersch (Wash. Co. Register). P. J. Poersch (1823-1886),
born at Barbach, Germany, had land on Greenleaf Twp., Sec. 36. He is
buried in the Catholic cemetery just to the east on Barnes Twp., Sec. 31.
In the first days of settlement the cleavage between Catholics and Protestant
was hardly apparent; P. J. Poersch read German books of piety of his Lutheran
neighbors. Late in 1869 German settlement in the Chepstow district proper

really began; in that year six men took claims there, including five Catholics, later with Kimeo, and John Stigge, a Lutheran from Oldenburg, who located at the Chepstow focus. Another Lutheran, Fred Kilman, an East Prussian, joined Stigge and Haverkamp in 1873. John Stigge, 1839-1914 /ch90:722, born in Oldenburg, Germany, had been in the U. S. only a year and a half when he came to file his claim (1869). His first wife, Lena Tomshef, of Waterville, born in Germany, died in 1877, and John then married Caroline Kilman, the daughter of Fred. Fred Kilman (w. Maria, 1849-1912) came to Atchison from Wirbauen on the Russian frontier in 1872. The Stigges and Kilmans continue to have representatives living in the Chepstow district. After this first influx of immigrants there was a pause in German settlement for about a decade. About 1880 the new and principal wave began to come in. It was made up largely of Hanoverians, though Stigge was joined by comrades from Oldenburg. These newcomers made possible the establishment of a church, and St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, was organized in 1883 by the aged pastor, Theodore Jungck, whose pony carried him over from Palmer. In the same year the Ober Zion Church, Evangelical Association, was founded four miles to the south. Though the Ober church, a mile over the line in Riley County, must be reckoned for various reasons a part of the Riley Fancy Creek German community, still it has shared a certain number of families with St. Peter's, Richters, Toburens, Vathauers and Wichmans, and local political affairs have mixed the congregations' fortunes.

As the statistics on membership presented above show, St. Peter's enjoyed steady growth; at the same time it became more socially self-sufficient, large enough to provide all the necessary mutual aid and

amusement contacts that were necessary. For thirty years the pastors doubled as teachers, and concentrated on the year of instruction preceding confirmation; there was never a regular teacher in the Missouri Synod tradition--theology students and young ladies taught for irregular periods. Finally in 1942 the school building was torn down.

If isolation consists in being at a distance from towns and cities and main roads, Chepstow had the characteristics of isolation. The generation that grew into power after 1918, however, strode rapidly away from the conservatism of their elders, partly because, in spite of its self-sufficiency, the Lutherans were in rather close geographic contact with the members of other churches, partly because in the days of war-time stress the spirit of competition was awakened.

From the time of its foundation St. Peter's Church was closely connected administratively with the smaller St. John's Church (organized, 1884, also Missouri Synod) in Riley County at Winkler eleven miles away--Winkler's Mills the place was at first called. Indeed, the separation into two congregations was the result of disagreement on the location of a single church. The pastor resided at St. Peter's. Intermarriage between the two congregations has not been very common; nor have Chepstow youths and maidens often mated with the Greenleaf Lutherans some miles to the northwest.

The connection with the Palmer Germans has been somewhat more important, as exemplified by Pastor Jungck's role in founding St. Peter's and by the movements of the Kilman family, some of whom married into Palmer families or went there to live.

Somewhat inbred, comparatively speaking, the Chepstow community did not in the middle of the twentieth century have the characteristics attributed to inbreeding. On the whole it now seems less conservative than neighboring districts. It had no past to preserve like Waterville and Blue Rapids near by, and found so many shopping centers of about the same degree of accessibility or inaccessability that it knew several of them and maintained a sort of economic independence.

The Chepstow Germans, because of the smallness of their group and the economic and social peculiarities described above, remained linguistically static for some time, but after the First World War evolved rapidly away from the use of German. The evidence of the cemetery is as follows:

Date	Tombstone Inscriptions		% German
	in English	in German	
1887	0	1	100%
1890-99	3	7	70%
1900-09	1	10	90%
1910-19	8	7	47%
1920-29	11	5	31%
1930-37	11	5	31%
since 1937	23	0	0%

As compared with other communities of its size German appears on Chepstow tombstones with frequency until quite a late date, but as compared with the neighboring Linn-Palmer region German was abandoned early; the shift about the time of the First World War was abrupt.

The district may be regarded as essentially German until then. Though English had been acquired by practically all men and by all the young, still everybody knew and used German. The war brought a quick transition in official usage. German, even in religious teaching, was dropped during the war as a basis of instruction, so that no confirmations in German occurred

after 1919. Preaching in English was introduced, and in 1920 half the sermons became English.

The fiftieth anniversary history of 1933 says: "During Pastor Keller's time (1917-1926) the change from the use of the German language to that of the English began, and in the ensuing years the transition from the one language to the other became more rapid, so that today most of the pastor's work is in the language of the country."

About 1943 German was dropped entirely.

Boys and girls born before 1918 learned German; those born since are unacquainted with it. A family arriving ca. 1950, originating at Tilsit, East Prussia, was nearly too much for the linguistic resources of all but about eight persons. To be sure, the limited ability of the community in this case is essentially occasioned by rustiness in the use of High German instead of Platt-deutsch. The general ignorance of standard German is to be attributed to briefness of schooling in German. But Low German was not in 1952 as widely known as in neighboring communities because all children attended the district school part of the time, where the language of the playground was habitually English. Even in using Low German at that time Chepstowans born in the United States were not sure whether they are uttering real German words or vocabulary items borrowed from English.

95A

WICHITA COUNTY F15.

See Finney County, # 48.28.

48.95 WILSON COUNTY E23.

Vilas Swedes (Mid-n, Area A). C. J. Eklund (born 1841) and Swan Swanson (born 1833) stated that they settled here in 1869 /ch10. Concerning the settlement of Colfax Township, the 1881 platbook says: "In 1870 the township was taken by storm by seekers for homes. Thirty arrived in a single day in the month of May. A large colony of Swedes settled in the northeast corner of the township that year. They are industrious and have made their neighborhood bloom and blossom as the rose" /ch81. The 1870 census bears this out; it shows 34 adult male Swedes in Colfax Township and 6 more in adjoining Pleasant Valley Township. Many were unmarried; only a few had children. The youngest of the men was aged 25; most were at least ten years older. The immigrants' movement had as its base the Swedish Baptist settlement which had been begun in 1868 in the northwest corner of Neosho County (for Swede Center see Chanute).

The Vilas Lutheran church was organized in 1872. In 1906 it had 88 members and no regular paster /ot266. The "traveling brothers" of the Swedish Mission Covenanters were at work here too. Of Vilas Strödda Drag says, "This was a quite lively society for several years beginning about 1900..., but as the Swedes living there were of various denominational convictions, it never reached truly organized activity. Still the treasurer's records for a number of years show a very significant contribution to the conference's activities. Now an Augustana congregation is located in this place" /s d257. The Lutheran church kept its records in Swedish until 1920. About then English was introduced for part of the services. Swedish once a month was abandoned in 1939. In 1949 persons aged 60 still spoke Swedish with those a generation older. Those a generation younger knew a little Swedish, rarely a few born after 1925. But of 92 monuments in the cemetery in 1949 five bore some Swedish; the latest was of 1928. One of 1878 was for an infant son of Nils (1835-1902) and Ingrid (1845-

1906) Pearson; the child's said that his parents came from Häglingfors in Christianstadlän, that is, far south in Sweden. Many came directly from Sweden; those from other states, were most frequently from Illinois.

Year of Arrival in the United States
of Persons Born in Sweden and
Resident in Colfax and Pleasant Valley Townships in 1925

1866-70	15	1887-93	6
1871-79	3	1907	1
1880-84	16	None later	

Fredonia Germans (Low-x, Area B). In 1870 there were 26 adult males born in Germany in Center Township. There were with them two two-year-olds and one X three-year-old born in Kansas. No true settlement began in the area before this time. A surname then appearing and also to be found a mile east of Fredonia on the 1940 landowner map is Schleser (Schlosser). F. and A. born in Luxemburg in 1839 and 1846 had in 1870 two children, 8 years old and 1 year old born in Missouri. Despite the large early German contingent Fredonia did not develop as a Reich German center. It interests us because of Russian Mennonite activities. The Mennonites began to settle here in the 1930's. A Holdeman Congregation was organized in 1936, a General Conference in 1937. The latter led a precarious existence and lapsed from 1944 to 1947. There was also for a short time about 1938 a Mennonite Brethren group. One family remained from it in the General Conference in 1953, Seibel here early. There were in the church seven other families, 2 from Oklahoma, 2 from Goessel, 2 from Whitewater. These were two or three families that had broken away from it. At the very start there was a small effort to have German in school house services, an effort soon abandoned. The parents in these families spoke German and when grandparents came to visit them. The Holdeman Mennonites came from Oklahoma (part from Chickasha) and from Montezuma, Kansas. They did not use German in their Fredonia church. In the family of Alvin Koehn, which is typical, sons born in 1933 and 1936 learned to understand but not speak German.

960

Younger children knew none in 1957 except that a girl in another family then aged 18 had spent her early childhood at Goltry, Oklahoma, and had learned English only after entering school.

48.96 WOODSON COUNTY E20.

Turkey Creek Germans (Low-v, Area A). the 1860 census shows Gottlich (born 1817) and Charlotte (1819-1871) Weide in the area. Their descendants and those of a brother, Carl (1824-1902), who arrived at least a decade later are numerous here. The census of 1865 shows also John Light (1832-1910). Weide with his family /ch01:735 and Light who remained single for many years settled here in 1858 /ch01:694. The important German institution which developed here was the Evangelical Association (EUB) church. Another family of which one branch was a member of the church was Stockebrand; William of that name settled somewhat to the south in 1857 (see Yates Center). The Evangelicals set up a class of 10 members, all Weides, in 1876 /pz117. Both Gottlieb and Carl, "Uncle Carl," were influential. The Sunday School records shifted from German to English in 1914 after an entry that in part read thus: "Sontag den 24 Jan dei Schula vurde eroffnete mit gasong und gebete don vurde dei lection obvechsecks- lnd galesen..." The next Sunday's English had fewer mis-spellings. Preaching in English began about 1912. After English superseded German in the pulpit, there was a German Sunday School class. In the closing decades of the 19th century some parents insisted on their children answering them in German, but in the John Light family bilingual conversations were permitted; Henry Amil born in 1885 learned to speak German, but not very accurately. His brother Fred remained proficient. August Beine, born in 1856, still living in 1955, used German throughout his century; his son August born ca. 1883, remained proficient, and so did two of August's brothers, but Walter, born 1903 did not learn to speak German. There were scarcely any others able to speak German in 1955.

Yates Center Germans (Low-x, Area B). Like most towns near German settlements Yates Center received retired farmers and the young who went into business. The significant group, however, was the Evangelical Association (EUB) congregation which originated somewhat east of town on Owl Creek, but upstream from settlements discussed under that name. Platz under the year 1868 says: "During the past year H. Haas, who served Humboldt Mission, held a meeting in the home of August Lauber on Owl Creek...after which a class was organized /pz62. In it there were the Laubers, the Stockebrands, the Toedmans and a few others. August Lauber, born in Westphalia, Germany in 1827 or 1830 and Wm. Stockebrand, born in Lippe-Detmold in 1833 settled here in 1857 /all89, ch01:889. August Toedman, born in Prussia in 1832, does not appear (despite /all89) with these two in the 1860 census; the 1865 census shows that he had a son then aged 4 born in Kansas and one aged 7 born in Prussia. The Freverts, Friedrich, born 1828 in Lippe-Detmold, and wf. Minnie, born in Prussia, came in 1858. There were other Lippe people /ch01:820. In 1885 a church was built in town. The linguistic habits of this congregation differed very little from those of the people on Turkey Creek. The German Sunday School class could continue in town until 1946. But in 1949 after the death of a woman aged 84, no households were reported using German.

Owl Creek Germans (Mid-1, Area C). This area was partly occupied by members of the Evangelical Association belonging either with Yates Center or with Humboldt. Ernest Linder who settled in 1857 on Owl Creek in the second section west of the Allen County line is an example. He was born in Baden in 1827 /ch01:727. Among the Protestants of the area were two families of Pomeranians the Hartwigs and Pribbernows. Both names appear on the 1940 landowner map. Gottlieb Hartwig (1816-1905) and wife Wilhemine (1819-1878) were in Neosho Falls township from 1858 to 1863; then they settled here /ch01:729. John (1822-1867) and Ernestine (1825-1875) Pribbernow joined them before 1865. Gottlieb had been in Illinois 1856-1858. Christian (1813-1889) and Sophia (Buzz) (1823-1876) Pribbernow came to them in 1867 directly from Pomerania /ch01:650. The

Pribbernows left several children. Another Protestant stock was from Schleswig-Holstein. Claus Peters (1833-1912) and wife Margaret (1841-1899) were born in Holstein and came to Leavenworth in 1866; by 1870 they were in this area. Peters was a Lutheran. The Lutherans, Missouri Synod, had a congregation here by 1890 and built a church. Between 1890 and 1916 the souls severed were usually about 80 in number. In 1910 when English was preached every three weeks the number mounted to 109. Before 1948 the church had been closed, presumably in favor of St. Peter's at Humboldt. At least the son of Claus Peters, who helped build the Lutheran church on Owl Creek, was a member of St. Peter's /ik913. St. Mary's Catholic church founded here accumulated in its cemetery twice as many Irish graves as German by 1949. The two stocks were segregated distinctly from each other in the cemetery. In 1864 Owl Creek was listed as a mission of Scipio /b66; in 1867 the mission was described as a settlement of Germans and Irish /b89. The mixed character of the various stocks on Owl Creek did not make for the preservation of German. The early immigrants were not greatly reinforced by more recent arrivals. The German-born in Owl Creek Township in 1925 numbered 14. Two did not report the year of their arrival in the United States; 8 had arrived before 1870, one each in 1875, 1876, 1880 and 1894. Under these conditions the use of German died out early.

Batesville Germans (Low-y, Area D)

According to the 1870 census William Fuhlhage and his wife were then living in Belmont Township, and others with the same surname later lived in the same area.

There was a Missouri Lutheran congregation from at least 1906 to 1916--local informants said it lasted ten or twelve years. The year books for 1906, 1910, and 1916 show for "Batesville" a membership of 52, 49, 50. A note of 1910 says that preaching occurred every three weeks. Confirmations in German occurred about that time.

There was also an Evangelical Association congregation /pz63, 118; which ceased meeting separately from Yates Center about 1940. The members were related to those at Turkey Creek and Yates Center and were organized later. The congregation was named for Cedar Creek which flows through the northern part of this area.

German was commonly used in the neighborhood during the first decade of this century, but no one born later became proficient. In 1955 the use of German was but a memory.

48.9 7 WYANDOTTE COUNTY E7.

See Settlement Histories for Kansas City.

Bonner Spring Germans (Low-x, Area A). Carl Herrwald, born in Prussia in 1828, arrived in Wyandotte County according to his daughter Emma in 1859 /ch11:815; it is hard to interpret the information in the censuses to make them agree, but they would show that he was in the neighborhood by 1862. Emma, his oldest child, was born in Kansas in that year. She married

Jacob Scheidt, born in Bavaria in 1850. He studied engineering at Heidelberg University, but emigrated to Cincinnati in 1871. By 1878 he had

accumulated enough money working in a brewery to buy land in this area. His marriage took place the next year. Jacob and Emma had 12 children, and in 1956 it was reported that "the Scheidt boys speak enough German for secrecy". Another family with a continuous history in the area was that of Carl Schubert, who according to family tradition, came to the area from Saxony in 1863 already an adult with \$2 in his pocket to buy a trowel in order to pursue his mason's trade. He married Henrietta Treff of a family in the neighborhood from near Berlin in Germany. Reversing the usual order of acquisition, Henrietta learned English but Carl learned very little. German was the usual language of the family. His son, Clarence, born in 1896, claimed not to have "been up on English in 1919". We need not take the statement literally, but Clarence's accent in 1956 made it certain that he had heard a great deal of German. He had no children, but he said that his nephews and nieces could not speak German. These two examples illustrate a longer duration of use of German and a more stable population than is true elsewhere in this county. From early times, as far out as this, city workers with an ambition to own farms came to establish themselves as soon as earnings permitted the move. For example, Jacob Blanz, born in Wurtemberg in 1861, after working in the meat packing houses for several years beginning in 1892, bought 80 acres here near the beginning of this century /ch11:814. New residents of this sort and those arriving at retirement age who established themselves here prevent an orderly consideration of development, but on the whole the neighborhood has preserved more unity, combined with tolerance for old habits, than was to be expected. Conservation of German endured in individual cases.

Wolcott Swedes (Low-x, Area B). In 1865 in all Wyandotte County there were only two persons born in Sweden. In 1870 among a half dozen Swedish families living close together in Quindaro Township was Peter Larson with a son a year old born in Kansas. Anders L. Wahlin, born 1840 in Sweden, provided the land for the Swedish cemetery shown in Vol. I, 303, 14. He was in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1869 and bought the farm on which the cemetery lies

97A
C

in 1871 /ch11:741. Just to the north, Ola Johnson, born in Sweden in 1843, had established himself in 1869 /ch11:743; in 1871 again Gustav Forsberg came to a farm between the two. These Swedes were all Lutherans and while the settlement never became numerous enough to have a church, for a time until 1912 a Swedish pastor from Kansas City came to direct their worship in Swedish. Funerals conducted partly in Swedish went on until 1950. The old were using Swedish together sometimes in 1955. In the Wahlin family Anders and his wife Brita (Pearson), 1846-1910, used Swedish regularly. A daughter Frida, born in 1892, became Mrs. Oscar Johnson, and in their family Swedish was common until 1918. ~~Her~~son Eugene, born in 1916, still understood the language in 1955. Bernice, born 1918, and Oscar, born 1926, learned only a few words. Charles Anderson, born in Lind, Sweden, in 1864, and his wife Anna, born in 1867, came to the area in 1887 and 1886. They spoke Swedish until she died in 1929. Sons Harry and David, born 1895 and 1900, learned Swedish but after their mother's death ceased speaking it.

Bethel Germans (Low-v, Area C). Bethel is near enough to Kansas City so that people wishing suburban rather than urban life began to take over the area very early. In the middle of the twentieth century large samples of all the immigrant stocks in the city were assembled there and in the rest of the broken country west of Kansas City between the two rivers. No measure of community foreign language usage can be fixed. The German landholdings in the area marked on Map I are more concentrated on the maps of 1887 and 1940 than elsewhere, but few owners were the same; Stockhoff repeatedly and Rothert occur on both maps. Bearers of the names arrived after 1870. The census of that year records the presence of Wm. Gerding born in 1840 in Prussia. There were two brothers with him, no families. William's name appears as an owner in 1887. There were Germans born in the larger neighborhood from 1857 -- C. Morasch who continued to be there. In 1956 there were families where German persisted among the old in this area; there were others harboring Slavic and Scandinavian languages.

Shawnee Township Germans (Low-v, Area D). The character of the population here has some of the characteristics described for Bethel, but on this side of the river the persistence of early families is greater and the history of usage of German can be more easily traced. Peter J. Pretz, born in Germany in 1820 came to Wyandotte County in 1857, but finally settled on his farm in this area in 1863 /a1249. He was a Hessian from Limburg-^{-der-}an Lahn; a fellow Hessian, Theodore Bender, born in 1837 at Lollscheid-^{-der-}an Lahn, preceded him in Wyandotte County, arrived there in 1855, but settled in this area only in 1867 /a1247. Other Germans (Baker, Fry) were in the township by about 1860. Irish neighbors and fellow Catholics of the family of Henry Pretz (born in Kansas in 1858, died 1941), report that at the time of the First World War Pretzes had abandoned German. The 1870 census shows that John Straub, born in Wurtemberg in 1841, with wife Mary, born in Pennsylvania in 1848, was in the area with a daughter a year old born in Kansas. William Straub, born in 1871, learned German, and he and his wife talked German with the family of Fred Huhnen, who came into the area about 1916. Indeed German was not uncommon in the early 1920's in the neighborhood. The predominant Catholic influence, with its element of Irish and Flemish, tended to discourage the use of German.

Kinney Heights-Shawnee Flemish (Mid-n, Area E). The origins of the group of Flemish in eastern Wyandotte and Johnson Counties is multiple. In May, 1912, Father William De Boeck of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Louvain, Belgium, arrived to seek out the Flemish who might form a parish. "He bicycled around the countryside and found" /lp A:213:

21 families in Argentine	12 in Merriam (i.e. Shawnee)
8 in Armourdale	<u>33</u> in Lenexa
3 in Rosedale	45 in Johnson County
32 in Kansas City, Kansas	
45 in Johnson County	
<u>39</u> in Kinney Heights (Belgian Corner")	
Total	116 families

In the Johnson County group, Joseph (1824-1883) and Luch (1828-1903) Van Hercke came to Shawnee Township, Johnson County (probably to the north edge of the township) in 1866. Leven (1813-1891) and Mary Teresa (1821-1902) Caenen came to a farm just west of Lenexa in 1868 /ch15:334. Remi Caenen (1853-1949) married Mary Van Hercke (1861-1901), remained in the area, and became prosperous, well-known to late-comers. Joseph Van Hercke was born at Ostende on the Belgian coast and came to Harlem, Missouri, just across the Missouri River from Kansas City, Kansas, in 1851. The Caenens had come from Belgium to St. Clair County (60,110), Illinois, opposite St. Louis, in 1856. The immigration was very minor until the late 1880's; a small thriving settlement existed in Shawnee township, Johnson County in 1895 (44 born in Belgium).

The origins of the Belgian truck farmers of Wyandotte County went back a few years earlier, but the first settlers may have been originally French speaking. The census of 1865 and 1870 show Eraste Lambert (b. 1814) and Joseph Goddart (b. 1817) living close to each other south of the Kaw River in that county. These men were born in Belgium. Lambert's name indicates that he was French-speaking, and Goddart's wife, Madeleine was recorded as born in France in 1825. In 1895 Madeleine, now recorded as born in Germany, and her son Alfred were in the same township. Alfred, born in 1863 in Kansas, according to this census, in Missouri according to that of 1865, had taken a French wife. They lived in a neighborhood where there were several Belgians with Flemish names, all recent arrivals - Burke, Dewendt, Degrand, Cassel, Gusseal, Vandock, Duvatter. They were all directly from Belgium except that Burke had been in Missouri a few years and Peter Duvatter, born 1861, had a child born in Kansas in 1885.

The group in southern Kansas City, Kansas, were later, and probably also, at first employed in the various industries, few in the packing houses, which they did not like, quite a number with the railroads, and the rest with the metal-working industries. The first of them, therefore, came about 1880 or not long before. They tended to acquire small farms with the others, and will require only casual attention henceforth.

By 1895 the Flemish settlement at Kinney Heights definitely existed, and had definite relations with the settlers of the mid-1860's, but it was just beginning to establish its linguistic identity. At nearly the same time on the other side of Kansas City, Missouri, in the "East Bottoms" another Flemish settlement was growing. Both settlements were made up mainly of truck gardeners with a rather close relationship to the

neighboring industrial areas. In the East Bottoms, however, the growth of industry displaced a considerable number of the truck farmers, and many of them moved to the Kinney Heights area in the first decade of the twentieth century. The settlements to the east did not become extinct, however; remained perhaps the stronger of the two, and relations between the two groups persisted. They were distinct entities, however, partly because most of the people who remained in the East Bottoms were East Flemings and the Kansans, in general, hailed from West Flanders. Despite difference of dialect, each group was to some extent a support to the other against Engl-izing pressures.

The statistics on the dates of arrival in the United States of Belgians in the area in 1925 show that the Johnson County section predominated in numbers until 1900 and that the great growth was in the years following up to the beginning of the First World War. The influx of immigrants did not as with most groups halt immediately after that war, a fact of linguistic importance.

Year of Arrival in the United States of Persons born in Belgium
and Resident in 1925 in Parts of Wyandotte and Johnson Counties

Johnson County		Date	Wyandotte County	
Mission Twp	Shawnee Twp		Shawnee Twp	Kansas City
--	1	before 1870	-	-
-	-	1870-4	-	-
-	-	1875-9	-	-
2	3	1880-4	1	-
3	4	1885-9	1	3
6	21	1890-4	1	7
3	4	1895-9	2	1
1	18	1900-4	15	8
2	12	1905-9	19	8
2	25	1910-4	22	10
-	3	1915-9	4	11
2	5	1920-4	12	4
-	-	1925	-	-
-	6	undated	-	6
<u>21</u>	<u>101</u>		<u>77</u>	<u>58</u>
Grand Total <u>257</u>				

In 1942 Father Thienpont, pastor at Sacred Heart, felt that immigration had truly begun about 1907. Certainly by then the settlement was becoming strong enough so that it felt the lack of pastoral guidance by priests acquainted with Flemish. The people belonged to the churches territorially nearest. The most important was St. Joseph's at Shawnee in Johnson County. Many of the Flemings are buried in its cemetery. But St. Joseph's was all through its history a cosmopolitan parish, and did not satisfy the thirst for

spiritual service in Flemish. The coming of Father de Boeke was arranged through the Catholic Belgian Bureau in New York. One of the most zealous Flemings when the good father came in 1912 was Edward Lust, with whom the missionary lived at first and who offered land for a church. He happened to live in a central location for the scattered group, and the Belgians immediately built their own church at Kinney Heights (3008, South 34th Street) in Kansas City, Kansas eventually). A parochial school was established the same year, but instruction was never in Flemish. Father deBoeke was an ascetic whose ambition besides serving his people was to found a monastery. His people, however, wanted a proper rectory and built one in 1923. Father de Boeke refused to consider living in it. He was never obliged to, for a car ran over him and his bicycle too soon. His successor, Father Arnold de Rycke, sent immediately by the Congregation in Belgium, was less resistant to modern comforts. He remained until 1931. Then the Order withdrew from the diocese, and thereafter, though the new priest, Julian Thienpont, was a member of it, he was under the direct control of the diocese. The church had until then been a national parish, indeed it continued to be so until the beginning of 1943, but the land about it became more and more thickly populated with others than Flemings, who moved elsewhere to lands freer for truck gardening. From the diocesan point of view, which was not Father Thienpont's, de-nationalization became a necessity. The change meant, not only acceptance of many outsiders as members of the parish, but also the transfer of more distant parishioners to other parishes. The shift in the geographical distribution of families so that Kinney Heights instead of being a nucleus was little more than a bridge between two groups is illustrated by the character of membership in 1942 just before de-nationalization.

Argentine	42 families
Kinney Heights	18 families
Shawnee	58 families
Lenexa	33 families
Total	151 families

Testimony as to the frequency and duration of preaching in Flemish varies. It appears, however, that de Boeke's sermons were in Flemish because he could not speak English. Father de Rycke preached less often in Flemish. Father Thienpont was an ardent nationalist, but he seems to have yielded to the current so that even before de-nationalization, at popular hours for masses he spoke rather rarely in Flemish, probably much more frequently at early masses. His enthusiasm for the use of Flemish by the young was decreased by the imperfect character of their speech.

At the outbreak of the Second World War Father Thienpont feared the economic ruin of his parishioners because the draft would take the young men from the fields. His fears were groundless because women and children had long been trained to work in the truck gardens, and stepped into the places of the departed men. The work habits of the Flemings were one of the very conservative linguistic forces among them. In the gardens the young were kept in intimate contact with their parents and in the late 1940's families working there used Flemish even when outside employees had been hired. This custom of the use of Flemish while working was so well taught that children who ordinarily spoke English with each other because of school influence used Flemish altogether in the fields.

A closely connected conservative linguistic force was the attitude toward education. Since the whole family was expected to work in the fields, the hours spent at school reduced the breadwinning capacity of the family; short careers in the schoolroom were thus normal. Consequently, family linguistic habits could be preserved. This attitude was common until at least the end of the Second World War.

This war brought about to some extent a break-down of marriage traditions. Until then marriage to non-Flemings was quite exceptional and discouraged by the priests. "They did not work out well." But the mixing of service men into the general population brought in brides from elsewhere.

In the earlier days perhaps the most important influence for Anglicization was the scattered geographical distribution. The furthest limits of residence have not been named. Families were to be found almost as far away as Bonner Springs and Olathe some twenty miles from Kinney Heights. The number of the Flemings was so small that thus scattered, very frequently neighbors were not of their language. If anything happened to injure family unity, the influence of neighbors became important. In 1942 a widow near Bonner Springs had ten children, the youngest born about 1930. The three oldest had learned to talk Flemish; the English of all but the youngest had marked accents, because the children had learned ^{it} mostly from each other, but still English was the language of the household. The mother preferred their English, though her own was decidedly imperfect, because the youngsters' Flemish was so bad.

The families working in Kansas City were also subject to much outside influence and they receded from the use of Flemish in the manner usual in small groups. The older children of immigrants who came at the beginning

of the century learned to speak Flemish, the younger only to understand.

As regards the greater number of families the situation in 1950 was that all those born in 1930 had learned to speak Flemish, and did so at home but not with each other. The older people used Flemish with each other in social meetings. The young were still learning Flemish imperfectly.

In 1956 households with small children had stopped using Flemish; none was heard after services at the Kinney Heights church. The invasion of the truck gardening area in Johnson County by suburbia had led to nearly the same situation as at Kinney Heights.

48.98 For the FARTHEST SOUTHWEST containing the COUNTIES of GRANT F24, HAMILTON F20, HASKELL F25, MORTON F27w, SEWARD F28, STANTON F23, and STEVENS F27e, see Vol. I, 309.

48.99 Duration of Engl-izing in Kansas. It does not seem proper to draw conclusions concerning Engl-izing without verifying whether the phenomena described are the same in the rest of the United States, and without examining to what extent conditions in other states and in Europe accounted for the behavior of settlers in Kansas. Volume III of this work is devoted to a consideration of these matters. It shows that in the matter of Engl-izing Kansas is typical and the usual course of development is summarized in Sections 99.80 to 99.99.

Here one item of summary is presented because data of corresponding detail is lacking for conclusions regarding other states.

On the basis of dates fixed in Volume I we find that the period elapsing between the year of founding of a for-ling settlement and the critical year has a relationship to the size of the settlement, which is no surprise, and also the incidence of the critical year is more predictable for the large settlements than for the small. The critical year is that in which f-lang ceased to be used in the majority of families with growing children.

For 106 settlements of mid-importance the median length of the period from year of founding to critical year was 51 years; the range was from 26 to 83 years. Six settlements took less than 36 years; five took more than 66.

For 32 settlements of hi-importance the median was 59 years. The range was 37 to 71 years. Five settlements took less than 46 years, six more than 63 years.

For 20 settlements of ultra-hi-importance the median was 63. The range was 51 to 83 years. Four settlements took less than 57 years; 4 more than 69 years.

The longest periods considered, those over 71 years, were those of the Worden Germans, the Kinney Heights Flemish, both of mid-importance, the Cuba Czechs and the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans of ultra-hi-importance. Worden and Bremen-Horseshoe were founded early. Kinney Heights received immigrants early and late, few in intermediate years. Cuba represents typical conservatism. The Catholic Volgans in Ellis County and the Main Mennonite District were considered as units. At points within their areas the critical period reached a length of more than seventy-five years, both are of ultra-hi-importance.

The index is not a finished product either in typing quality or in typographical style, but it should be quite usable. The reference numbers are to sections so that, if thought wise, they need not be reworked for page references in case FLUK, II, appears in print. It was prepared at this stage for the guidance of editorial readers and for researchers who may consult it if it does not appear in print.

INDEX

No main entry is the name of a person.

An underlined number refers to a section treating the subject at more length than the sections indicated by numbers without underlining.

Numbers refer to section numbers; those preceded by * should be interpreted as preceded by 47.; those preceded by . should be interpreted as preceded by 48 , thus: *18 equals 47.18; .22 equals 48.22.

Capital letters following numeral references beginning . identify settlement areas.

Numbers that without spacing are preceded by a comma or hyphen are decimal numbers having the same whole number as the reference next preceding, except that after a capital letter they refer to page numbers of a settlement area discussion. Thus: 42.6,9 means 42.6, 42.9; .16C2,5 means Pages 2 and 5 of the discussion of Area C in Section 48.16.

Lower case letters attached to any reference numeral represent page enumeration of discussions not found in Sections 48.00 to 48.99; 42.19b,f means Pages b and f of Section 42.19; *18g,n means Pages g and n of Section 47.18.

Lower case letters after the names of each county isolated by spacing and in the cemetery list similarly isolated represent linguistic stocks -- in the case of the counties those having discussed settlements within the county, in the case of the cemeteries the language of the persons buried within the cemetery.

The abbreviations are as follows:

c -- Czech	h -- Hollands, Dutch	s -- Swedish
d -- Danish	i -- Italian	w -- Welsh
f -- French	m -- Mexican	x -- various stocks mingled
g -- German	n -- Norwegian	y -- Yugoslav, South Slav
Ger-lings from all geograph- ical locali- ties	p -- Polish	
	sp - Spanish	

A

Abilene, Ks. .21

Dunkards 41.29, Kansas Pacific 8.4

Mexicans *89c, Reformed Church 41.18,

River Brethren 41.29

Achilles, Ks., Scand. .73A1

Danes 15.01, 42.15

Ada, Ks. See Delphos

Advertisement in f-lang 33.8,9,

.23C

Afton, Ks., Ger. .56G, .56A4

Agenda, Ks. *16b

Agriculture 34.0 - 35.0,

mechanization 35.4

Alamota, Ks., Blackseamen 16.0,

41.24, .64G

Albert, Ks., Ger. .05E, .29D,

Iowa Synod 41.14,16, and Otis .79D

Alert, Ks. Swd. .77D1,2,4. 42.34
Aleppo, Ks. Ger. *01b. See also Andale
Alexander, Kan. Ger. .79A, 41.14,24
Alexander ~~Wend~~feld, Ks., Menn. *50i-j
Alexanderwohl, Ks., Menn. *50a-c, *49c
Aliceville, Ks. Ger. 16C, .56A4
Alida, Ks., Ger. .21A
Allen Co., Ks. gs .01, 45.41
Allen Creek, Lyon Co. *19a
Allen, South, Danes .53B,D
Alma, Ks. Ger. .92A1-3, 9.3, 40.02, 41.4
Almena, Ks., 42.90, Ger. .65B
Almena, South, Scand. .65 end
Alsace, people from, Alsatians; settle-
ments containing: Andale-Colwich *01a,
Clearfield .23E, Huntsville .74B,
Lapeer .23D, Ludell .73D1, Old St.
Jo .39E, Osage Mission .63C, Rollin
.63B, Stull .23A 2,5, Washington Co.
44.52, Worden *70c
Alta Vista, Ks. Ger. .92A1,3,5, Scand.
.92C, and Dwight .61B, Ger. Baptist
4122, 21I, Ger. Methodist 41.23,
and South Wabaunsee .92B,C,
Swedish 42.13, .92C
American GI Forum (Mex.) 45.61
Arkansas City *71a,c, Garden City *24a,
Dodge City *76c
American Lutheran (Ger.) 41.14
Albert .05E, Milberger *53i,
St. Francis *66a, State Line .56B,
Tipton .59D2. See also Iowa Synod
and Ohio Synod.

Americus, Ks., Ger. .53C,B

Ames, Ks. Ger. .15H

Amish 41.28, *44c, maintain German

41.91, *06k, settlements at:

Conway Springs .37E, Garnett 41.20,

.02 IV, Vol. I, Harper Co. .37A2,

Hartford .53H, Ransom .64A, South-

west McPherson .54C, Yoder-Partridge

.74 E-G

Amy, Ks. Ger. .28D-F

Andale-Colwich Ger. *01, 4.3, .04A,

.37E, Catholic ultra-hi 40.7,

and other settlements: Schulte .83F,

St. Leo .45C, Tipton .59D1, people

from Moselle valley 41.01, persistence

of German 41.7, year Ger. arrived 40.02

Anderson Co., Ks. g .02 Ger. settlement

40.6, school 30.1

Angelus, Ks. Ger. .85D, 40.9, .26C

Anglo defined 45.02

Antonino, Ks. Volgans, *04d

Apostolic Christian Church 41.28,

congregations at: Bern .62B3-6,

Gridley-Lamont .16A, Harper .37A1,

Sabetha .62F

Arabic 46.7, *08c, .83D3

Argentine, Ks., *30e, Flemings .97E1,6,

Mex. *86b,c,f,i,j,l,n

Argonia, Ks., Ger. .37B

Arizona, Mex. 45.02, *82,(at Wilcox)

Arkansas City, Ks. Mex. ~~82~~ *71, 45.41-

43, *95d

Arkansas River and Valley 3.3, *22c, Mex.

45.3,61, Sugar beets *22e,k

Arlington, Ks., Menn. .74F, 41.25

Arma, Ks. mining population *07-14,

Particularly *07i,j, *10e, *12b,c,d,

n,p, *13f, 43.44note, 43.63, *58m

Armour and Co. *33b,c,e,f,g,l, and

Mex.*86b,d,j,l

Armourdale, Ks., *30d, *37a, *46b,c,i,

j,k,n, .97E1

Arrivals, years of. See Year, also

Surviving

Arvonias, Ks., Welsh .66F, 16.0, 46,10,11,

46.3, *20b, .77F1,2

Asherville, Ks., Scand. 5.6, 42.13

Assaria, Ks., Swd. *44a,47f

Atchison, Ks., Dutch 42.00, Ger. .03G;

Freestaters 40.6, newspapers 41.50,

Religion 23.4, 26.0, 40.6, Turners

41.4, Land office 7.3, Mex.*72,

45.41,43, Roles 43.41, and other

Settlements: Andale-Colwich *01a,

Block .58B4, Chepstow .94M2, Lancas-

ter-St. Louis .03C, Swedes 42.13

Atchison, Co., Ks. gmn .03, French

44.51, Greek 46.41, Mex. 45.41-

43, Religion 40.6

Athol-Gaylord, Ks., Ger. .87C,

40.02,8, 41.14

Atwood, Ks., Burlington railroad 8.9,

Czechs .73G, 43.12, *28a, .73B

Auburn, Ks., Ger. .66A

Augusta, Ks., land office 7.3, *77e

Augustana Synod (Swedish Lutheran)

42.30-32 , Kans. Conference minutes

42.43, Congregations and Missions:

Assaria *47f, Axtell .56I, Brantford

.94F4,7, Burdick .66D, Children's

Home *48g,k, Clay Center .14B, Cle-

burne (see Mariadahl), Concordia

(see Sibley), Cottage Hill .56L,

Delmore (see New Gotland), Enne (see

Herndon), Enterprise .21E, Falun

*47c,d, Farlington .19A, Freemount *47b,

Garfield .69E, Herndon .73H2,4, Hutch-

inson .74B, Jerome .32B, Kackley *64d,

Kansas City *31f, Lawrence *39a,

Leonardville (see Walsburg), Linds-

borg *44c, *45a,b, *46a, McDowell

Creek .31D, McPherson *47i, Manhattan

.77H, Mariadahl *48a,d,g,h, Marion

Hill .61A, Marquette *47b, New

Andover .54B, New Gotland *47g,

Ogallah .91D, Olsburg *49b,g,h,

Osage City *56a,d, Ottawa .30A1, Page

City .52B, Salemsborg*47d, Salina .

.81D, Savonburg .01B2,5-8, Scandia

*64d, Sharon Springs .93A, Sibley .

.15B, Smolan *47e, St. Marys .71D3,

Stockholm .93B, Swedesburg (see Clay

Center), Topeka *67b,c, Tribune .93B

Vilas .95A, Walsburg .77D1,2,6, Water-

ville (see Cottage Hill), Weskan .93B

Baden and Badenese *26j, *70f, .16A1,
.23D, .33A, .39A, 43A, .62D, .63C, .64E,
.71D4, .83F, .88A, .96C

Baileyville, Ks. Ger. .62C

Baker T wp., Crawford Co. *07h

Bala, Ks., Welsh .77E, 46.10-11

and Arvonla .66F2, and Kansas Pacific

8.4

Baldwin, Ks. See Palmyra and Prairie City

Bangor, Ks., Welsh .16A6

Banner Twp., Dickinson Co., Ger .21J,

6.0, 41.22

Baptists 27.0, at Arma *12j,

Danish .15A

German (this group latterly North

American Baptists; for another group
see Dunkards) 41.22, Congregations and

Missions: Alta Vista .92A, Banner Twp.,

Dickinson Co. .21J, Bedford, (see Staf-

ford), Bethany .50B, Bison .79C, Coman-

che Twp., Barton Co., .05J, Durham .

.55C, Elk .09A, Ellinwood (see Coman-

che Twp.), Herington .21 G^X3, High Point

Twp., Ness Co., .64F, Junction City (see

Lyona), Lorraine .27G, Lyona .21F,

Marion .55H, New Basel .21I, Stafford

.88D, Strassburg .55G, Tampa-Ramona

.55B, Upper Lyon Creek, Dickinson Co.

.21G5, Vesper (see Bethany),

Mexican --see Protestants

Baptists (cont.)

Swedish 21.0, 42.32,33,37

Congregations and Missions:

Brantford .94F5,6, Chanute .63A,

ClayCenter .14B, Concordia .15B,

Cottage Hill .56L, Dwight .61A,

Enne .73H1,3, Enterprise .21E,

Falun *47b,d, Kansas City *31f,

Leonardville .77D6, Lindsborg *45c,

Osage City *56f, Stockholm .93B,

Topeka *67b,c, Vilas .95A,

Welsh -- Padonia .07A

Barber Co., Ks. g .04, 45.42

Barnes, Ks., Coon Creek Catholics

.94 M1, Czechs .94E, Ohio Synod 41.15

Barrett, Ks., Ger. .56K1

Barton Co., Ks. gc .05, 45.42, railroad

lands 4.6, Poles 43.41, schools (for-

ling) 30.1, Volgans (relations with

other Germans) 40.8,22, *53a,g

Basehor, Ks., Ger. .49E

Batesville, Ks., Ger. .96D

Bavaria and Bavarians *26d,j, *65c, *70b,c,

.03G1,5, .05B2, .23A2,5C8,56D,E,K, .66A,

.71D4, .77A2,4,G, .83F, .97D

Baxter springs, Ks. 8.2

Baynesville, Ks., Ger. .83H

Bazaar, Ks., Ger. .09C

Bazine, Ks., Volgans .6_4C. 17.0, churches

29.0, 41.14,23,24, and other settlements:

Alamota .64G, Alexander .79A, High Point

.64F, Milberger *53e, Ness City .64D

Augustana Synod (cont.)

White City (see Marion Hill), Win-
dom (See New Andover), Wolcott .97B

Augustinian Recollects

active at: Kanopolis *85, Kansas
City *86e,f, Salina *95b, Topeka *96d

Aurora-Clyde, Ks., French Canadians *02,
44.7, for Aurora particularly *02d,
e,i,n, and other settlements: Da-
mar .7881, Grainfield .32A5,
Washington Co. .94N

Austria (as of before 1914) and Austrians

(same period) *11b, Germans *26j, *
30c, .60B, .64A, .66A, Moravians
(see also Bukovinans, Galicians),
non Germans *33g, *42f (see also
Croatsians, Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks,
Slovenians), localities mentioned:

(of the Austria of before 1914):

Bukovina (several villages) .26A
Carniola , , Moravia *16e .05B,D,
.76A (German towns within: near
Brtn, otherwise Brno, .05B2, .84A1,
Olmuetz, otherwise Olomouc, .05D),
Tyrol *43a, .60B. For towns in
Bohemia see Czech0-Slovakia

Automobiles 35.3

Axioms, linguistic, regarding adults

2.1,4, children 2.1,3

Axtell,Ks., Ger. .62C, Swd. .56I,

42.73, 8.3, 42.16,20, .74D,

town non-for-ling 16.0

Beardsley, Ks., Ger. and Czechs .73C

Beattie, Ks. Ger. .56end

Beaver Creek, Cloud Co. *02d

Beaver-Dubuque, Ks., Ger. .05A

Beaver Valley, Rawlins Co. 98.9, *28a-f,i

Bedford-Stafford, Ks., Ger. .88D

Beet sugar -- see sugar beets

Belgians (in general Walloons rather

than Flemings) 42.04,05,53, 44.4 note,

Settlements containing: Aurora-Clyde

*02c, Crawford-Cherokee *07-14 (especial-

ly *07a,i,*09c,*10b,*11e,g, *13e-h),

Florence .55I, Neuchatel *54b, Rice

.15F, Scipio *65d

See also Flemish and French

Belgium -- locality mentioned: Charle-

roi *13g, Liège.15F, Ostende .97E, Tirlemont .15F, Volhohem .71D7

See also Belgians, Flanders, Flemings,

Walloons

Bellegarde, Ks. Swedes *48e,h,i

Belleville, Ks. 8.8, 43.03, Czechs *16e-f

Poles .75C, 15.1, 43.40,42

Belle Springs, Ks. PennGermans .21

Belmont Twp., Phillips Co. .70D

Beloit, Ks., Ger. .59B,C, 41.02 Central

Branch 8.3, and other settlements:

Belpre .24E, Kimea .94i

Belts of Kansas 3.5

Belvue, Ks., Ger. 41.14 See also

Kaw Twp. Wabaunsee Co.

Benedictines 23.4, .03G3, .07D, .29B,end,

.62C3, .88A,.94G2

Bennington, Ks. Ger. .68F'

Scand. .68F", 42.15

Bern, Ks. Ger. and Swiss .62B, 40.24,7,

17.0, Apostolic Christians 41.28, .16A67,

Bessarabians -- Logan Co. .52C, Rush Co.

40.8, Russell Co. *53d

Bethany, Ks., Ger. .50B, 41.22

Bethany College 42.21,40, *44d,e, *45a,b,

*46j

Bethel, Ks., Ger. .97C

~~Bethel College~~ 41.25, .38C1, D2,3

Bigelow, Ks. 6.3, *25a

Big Blue River 3.1, .77A

Big Springs, Ks., Ger. .23A6, .84D

Bird City, Ks., Ger. .12B, 41.14

Bison, Ks., Ger. and Volgans .79C,

40.22, 41.16, and other settle-

ments: Bedford .88D, Otis .79D,

Shaffer .79F

Bitlertown, Ks., Ger. .53H1

Blackseamen in Far Northwest 4.81,

and C. Jansen 8.9, year of arria

val 40.22, and Mennonites # *49b

Settlements containing: Collyer

40.22,8, 41.01, .91A, Jaqua .12D

Park .32A, ScottCo. .28D,E, St. Francis

40.9, 41.16, *66, St. Francis, South,

.12C, Wallace Co. .93B,C, Wathena .22A

Black Vermillion River 6.3, *25a,h

Black Wolf, Ks., Moravians 43.03,.10,

*~~3~~69e

Blakeman, Ks., Czechs .73C See also

Burntwood-Driftwood

Block, Ks. Ger. .58B, 40.23,6, and
other settlements: Cole Camp, Mo. 41.11,
Linn-Palmer *60b, Pittsburg .19E
Bloom, Ks. Swd. 42.13
Blue River 3.1, 4.1, 42.23, *25b, *48a,f,i,
.77A1
Bluff City, Ks. Ger. .37C, 15.01,
Czechs .37D
Bohemian Catholic Union .94E
Bohemian Germans .64A, .79E
Bohemian halls 43.24; localities
containing: Claudell .87F, Delia
.84A2, Delphos .68A, Esbon .42C,
Irving .56M, Pilsen .55D, Timken
.79E, Voda .91B (more than one
in the Cuba and Wilson settlements
*16-17, *69 -- there are others)
Bohemians -- See Czechs
Bonaccord, Ks. Ger. .21H
Bonner Springs, Ks., Mex. 45.41,
Flemings .96E7
Books in f-lang 33.3
Bosland early name for Wilson *69a
Bourbon Co. See Vol. I, 412
Bow Creek, Graham, Co. Ger. .33A
Brandenburg *26j, .65B, .92A3
Brantford, Ks. Swd. .94F, 42.13, *34,35,6,
and Parson's Creek .94A2
Brazilton, Ks. Ger. .19B See also Hepler
Breezy Hill coal Camp, Ks. *10a, *12p,
*15a

Bremen, Ks.-Horseshoe Ger. .56A, 6.3,
 40.7, 41.11, 12, 7, 44.23, .99, and
 other settlements: Afton .56G,
 Aliceville .16C, Hanover *26u, *27h,j,
 Lanham .94C, Linn-Greenleaf .94I2,4,
 Linn-Palmer *60a, *61d, Ludell .73D,
 Shady Bend .50G, State Line .56B5,
 Stuttgart .70B

Brethren, Church of the 40.25

See also Dunkards

Brookville, Ks. Fr. 44.50, 52

Brown Co., Ks. gmnw .07, French 44.52,
 Kickapoo lands 5.4, Mex. Stat 45.42,
 Norwegians direct from Norway 42.22,
 Penn-Germans 40.25, River Brethren 41.29,
 Scandinavians 42.11

Brudertal *49c, *50g

Buffalo Twp., Lincoln Co. 42.11

Buhler, Ks., Menn. 41.26, 6, *51f,i,j, *52d,e

Bukovina(ns) 4.6, 41.90, settlements

containing: Ellis 41.01, 16, *03m, .26A

* Kansas City *30c, *31d, * Ogallah .91C

Bulgarians 43.8, *33g

Burdick, Ks., Swd. .61D, 4.2, 6.2

42.13, #####16, 20, .53D

Burlingame, Ks. 8.5, *55c, .77F1

Burlington, Ks. Ger. .16B

Burlington Railroad 8.9, at Hanover *26,

Herndon *28

Burns, Ks., Danes .55J, 42.15, Ger. .08B

40.24, 41.23

Burntwood, Rawlins Co., Danes .73A,

42.15

Burntwood-Driftwood, Rawlins Co.,

Czechs .73B, 23.1, 43.03, 22,

and Herndon *29c

Burdette, Ks., Ger. .69AC

Burr Oak, Ks. .42A

Burrton, Ks. Menn. *51k, Welsh .38F,

46.10, 11

Bushong, South, Ger. .53A

Bushton, Ks. Ger. ^{.75C} .40.02, 41.23, .05H,

and other settlements: Bazine .64C

Crawford .76B, Larned .69D

Business Cycle 35.1, English pro-

moted by 12.4, observations on

flang in, Osage City *55i, *56b,c, *57a,

*58d,h, k, on Czech in, Wilson *69h,

on French in, Aurora-Clyde *02m,

on German in, Atchison .03G1,2,

Buhler 41.6, Dorrance .80H,

Eudora .23C8,9, Newton .38d 4,

Lawrence *38g, Leavenworth *42d,

Russell .80D, Worden *70i, on

Swedish in, 42.5 Lindsborg *46i, Ran-

dolph *48b

Butler Co., ^{Ks.} .08 French stat. 44.52,

Mex. stat. 45.41-43, Norwegian Lutheran

42.90, Prussian Ger. 4.3, 40.7

C

Caldwell, Ks., Czechs .37D, 3.5, 43.03, 10,

11

California -- Danes *32d, Ger. *70j,

Mex. 45.02, *74, *77e, *95d, *99b

Swd. .86A, locality mentioned: Occident

*22b

California Road *25b See also Oregon

Trail

Calvinistic Methodists (Welsh) 46.2

Congregations and missions: Ar-

vonias .66F4,5, Bala .77F2,4, Em-

poria *19f,m, Osage City *57a,b

Camps Fifty and Fifty-one (mining) *07h

← Camp Creek, Atchison Co., Ger. .03F

Canada *02, *34c, localities mentioned:

Alberta *60c, Berlin, Ont. .27G2,

Manitoba *49c, Mitchell, Ont. .28DE,

Montreal .78A1, Nova Scotia *58a,

Ontario .27G2, .28DE, Quebec (province)

*02b, Sainte-Marie des Monimes *02k,

Stellarton, N. S. *58a, Hav istock,

Ont. .27G2, Trois Rivières *02b,i,

West Farnham *02k

Canadians -- Menn 41.26,27. See also

French Canadians

Canton, Ks., "Poles" 41.25, and Pawnee

Rock .05F

Capaldo, Ks. (mining) *07h, *10c, *12p

Captain's Creek. See Clearfield.

Capuchins 23.9, *04b,c, *12n, *28d, .28A,
.64E,F, .73B

Carbondale, Ks. Ger. .66A, and Santa Fe
8.6
Railroad ~~###~~, Trail 6.2

Carmelites *42g, *65c,i, .01A, .02B4

Carola, Ks. Ger. .55E

Case histories of individuals and families

(Partial listing; numerous Mexican cases
will be found at the end at the each
of Sections *71-*99), Czech: Cuba *17c-e,
Delphos .68A, Zurich .78C, Danish: Kan-
sas City *32g-h, Dutch: Dispatch .87E4,
Prairie ~~###~~ View *63f, French: Osage
City *58i, German: Athol-Gaylord .87C,
Bison .79C, Bushton .76A, Hanover *27f,g,
Kearney Co. .28F, Lapeer .23D, Linn-Pal-
mer*60g, Logan .70D3,4, Menn. District
*51h, Otis .79D, Scipio *65h,i, Stutt-
gart .70B, Westphalia .02B7, Victoria
*06d,i, Worden *70j,k, Italian: Craw-
ford-Cherokee *14, Osage City *58p,
Polish: Leavenworth *43e (see also Slav),
Slav -non-Czech-, Kansas City ~~###~~ *36a
and following, Spanish: see note above
on Mex., Swedish: Burdick .61D, Linds-
borg *46h, Osage City *56g, Scandia *
*64h, Scranton .66B, Yiddish: Kansas
City *37d-h

Cassoday, Ks., Ger. .08C

Catherine, Ks., Volgans *03-*06 (especi-
ally*03a,c, *06a,h)

Catholic Russian German Settlement,

Primary. See Primary, also Ellis Co.,
Russian Germans, Volgans, and names
of appropriate towns - Hays, Victoria
etc.

Catholic Church (Roman) and Catholics 22.0-4

(parishes and missions listed at end
of item), immigration propaganda .01a,
politics 9.1, regional distribution

40.6-9, stocks: Czechs 43.22, Dutch

(42.01-02, Flemish 42.07, French Canadians

44.81, French from # Europe 44.54, Ger-

mans 41.01,31, Italians 44.21, Mexicans

*71-*99 (especially *72, *73b, *76b,c,

*77b,c, *78, *80, *81c, *83b, *85a,

*86e,f, *88a, *89b, *93, *95b, *96c,d,

*97c,d, *98#b, Polish 43.44, South Slavs

43.62, congregations and missions except

Mexican (for which see list above) :

Alma .92A2, Alta Vista .92A5,

Andale-Colwich *01, A ngelus .85D,

Atchison .03C^{.07G3}, Aurora-Clyde *02 (especi-
ally h)

Beloit .59BC, Belpre .24E, Big ##

Springs .23A7, .84D Blakeman .73C,

Burlington .16B, Burntwood-Driftwood,

Rawlins Co. .73B, Bushong .76A

Cedar Point .55 I, Collyer .91AB,

Conway Springs .37E, Coon Creek, Wash-

ington Co. .94M1, Crawford-Cherokee

*12j-r, Cuba area *16g,h

Catholic congregations and missions cont.

Damar .78S, Danville .37AB,

Delia .84A3, Delphos .68A,B, Dens-
more .65D, Dodge City .29end, Dubuque
.05A,

Easton .49A, Ellinwood .05I, Ellis
.26A~~2~~2,4, Ellis Co, *03-*05 (especially
*04), Elivon .54F, Emporia .53D,G, Es-
bon .42C, Eudora .23C8,13

Florence .55~~1~~^h, Flush .71B, Fowler
.57A,

Garden City *22p,q, Gorham .~~8~~80F,
Granada .62E, Gr eeley *65a, Greenleaf
.94N,

Hanover *26a-c^h,*271, Hartford .53F
Hays (see Ellis Co.), Herndon *28b-e,
*29b,c, High Point .64F, Homewood .30B,
Hope .21G5, Horton .07I, Humboldt .01A',

Irving .56M, Jennings .20C,

Kansas City *31d, *34, Kinsley .24D,

LaCrosse .79A, Lancaster-St.Louis
.03B,C, Lapeer .23D, Leavenworth *42b-e,
g-i, *43a,b,d, Lenexa .43C, Leoville
.20E, Liebenthal (see Ellis Co.), Lit-
tle Blue Czechs, Washington Co., .94E,

Marienthal .28A, Marysville .56E,
Maydale .53H, Mercier .07E, Meriden .84C,
Mooney Creek, Jefferson Co. .41B,

Ness City .64D, New Almelo .65C,
New~~bury~~bury .92A6, Newton .38D1, Non-
chalanta .64E,

Catholic Congregations and missions cont.

Oakley .52C, Odin .05B, Offerle
.24C, Old St. Jo .39E, Olpe .53H, Osage
City*58e, m,n, Osage Mission .63C, Owl
Creek, Woodson Co. .96C

Palmer .94N, Park .32A, Parsons
.63D, Parsons Creek, Washington Co.,
.94G, Pilsen .55D, Plains .57A, Prairie
City .23G,

Salina .81B, Scipio .65b,c,g
Schulte .83F, Scranton .66A, Seguin .85C
Seneca-St. Benedict .62C, Seward .78A,
Sharon .04A, Shawnee Twp., Wyandotte
Co. .97D, South Olpe .53G, St. Leo .45C,
St. Marys .71D, St. Paul (see Osage Mis-
sion), St. Peter .33B, Sts. Peter and
Paul, Barton Co. .05H, Sts. Peter and
Paul, Edwards Co. .24A, St. Theresa
.28I,

Timken .79E, Tipton, .59D, Topeka
*68 especially *68e-h

Victoria (see Ellis Co.)

Wathena .22A 2,3, Wea .58A, West-
phalia .02B4, Wichita .83D, Willowdale
.45C, Wilson *69g, Windhorst .29B

Zurich .78B,C,D

Catlin *50a

Cawker City, Ks. Ger .59A, 7.3

Cedar point, Ks. French .55I

Celtic, see Welsh

Cemeteries -- Czech National 43.23

See also National Czech Cemeteries.

nationality marked unless German
Inscription data: Afton .56G, Albert

.05E, Alida .21A, Alma .92A3, Alta Vista

.92A5, Andale-Colwich *01f; Aurora-

Clyde f *02g, Axtell^s.56I2,

Bellegarde s *48j, Bern .62B3,

Bison .79C, Block-Highland .58B7,

Brantford s .94F6, Bremen-Horseshoe

.56A10, Burntwood-Driftwood c .73B,

(Byron .75A,

Caldwell^c.37D3, Cheney .83E,

Clark's Creek, Geary Co., .31C,

Chepstow .94M4, Clay Co. East Border

.14C, Crawford-Cherokee iy *12p,r,

Cuba c *17f,

Delia c .84A4, Delphos c .68A,

Denmark d *18f, Dispatch h .87E6, Du-

buque .05A, Duluth .71A,

Elbing-Whitewater .08A, Ellis

.26A5, Ellis Co. *04g, Ellsworth, North

.27C, Emporia w*19h, Enterprise s .21E,

Eudora .23C14,

Fairview .07C, Fancy Creek, Riley

Co. .77A7, Freemount s *47a,

Gaylord .87C, Gnadenberg, Harvey

Co.,.38E,

Hanover *27b,c, Haven .74H, Hepler

.19B, Herndon *29b, Holyrood .27F, Hud-

son .88B,

Independence .60A2, Jennings c .20C

Cemeteries--Inscription Data cont.

Kackley s *64h, Kansas City
x *36j, Kensington .87A

Lanham .94C, Leavenworth *42m, L
Lincoln.50H, Lincolnville .55E, Linn-
Greenleaf .94I5, Linn-Palmer *62b,
Little Blue c .94E, Lorraine .27G3,
Ludell .73D3, Lyona .21F,

Marak c .07G, Mariadahl s .48j,
Marion Hill s .61A, McFarland .92A8,
Menn. Concentrated Area *52a,b,
Mexican (five towns) sp *76c, *81c,
*85b, *95c, *96h, Milberger *53k,
Mooney Creek, Jeff. Co., .41B,

Natoma .67C, New Andover s
.54B, New Gotland s *47h, North Nemaha
.62A,

Odin .05B. # Olmitz cg .05D,
Otis .79D, Park .32A3, Pilsen c .55D,
Pittsburg .19E6,

Randolph s *48j,

Salemsborg s *47c, Savonburg s
.01B11, Scipio-Greeley*65a,b,f,
Spring Valley, McPherson Co., .54E,
St. Benedict .62C5, St. Peter .33B2,
Sts Peter and Paul, Barton Co., .05H
--Edwards Co. .24A, State Line .56B6,
Stull .23A8, Swedesburg s .14B,

Timken c .79E, Tipton .59D#2,
Upper Lyon Creek .21G4,

Vassar .66D

Cemeteries--Inscription Data cont.

Wathena .22B, Wea .58A, Wells Creek,
Wabaunsee Co. .92A5, Westphalia .02B5,
Whitewater (see Elbing), Willowdale-St.
Leo .45C, Wilson c *69k, Windhorst .29B3,
Worden *70m

Census Data -- See Population Statistics,
Surviving Immigrants 1925, Year of Imig
Immigration.

Central Branch Union Pacific Railroad
8.3, 7.5, *02d, *59b, *60e, .40, .56A1,
J,K,end, .94I2

Central Jewell Co. Scandinavians .42D

Centralia, Ks., Ger. .62C1, ~~#####~~

Cesky Lev 43.26

Chanute, Ks., Mex. *73, 45.3, 41-43,
45.60, *74, Swd. .63A, 42.13, 35, 27.0

Chardon, Ks. .73I, Swd. 42.13, Czech 43.03

Chase, Ks., Ger. .76A

Chase Co., Ks., ~~###~~ g .09, 8.72, 30.1,
44.51, 52, 45.41

Chautauqua Co. ^{Ks.} .10 Chapman Coal Camp *07h

Cheney, Ks., Ger. ~~###~~ .83E, 41.14, .37B

Chepstow, Ks, Ger. .94M, *60a, .77A5

Cherokee, Ks., miners *07i ,*12d,m,p

Cherokee Neutral Lands 5.3

Cherokee Co. x .11 (see also Crawford-

Cherokee), stocks, French and Belgians
*13f,g, 44.52, Italians 44.10, Lebanese
46.8, Menn. 41.28, miners 37.0, ~~*~~*10c,
*11h, Welsh 46.10⁻¹¹ for-ling school
30.1

Cherokee Strip *60c, .07A,D1

Cherryvale-Mortimer Ger. .60B

Chetopa Creek, Montgomery Co., Ger. .60A(C)

Cheyenne Co. g#s .12, 30.1

Chicopee, Ks. *07-*14 (especially *07h,i,
*08f-h, *10c, *12m, *13f-g.)

Child Labor Laws 31.5, 37.8, *22e,n

Chinese 46.7

Christian Reformed Church 42.01, *63b,c,
.87E4,5

Christliche Botschafter 33.5

Churches --See the names of the various
denominations, also Publications, Records
of Churches

Church of God in Christ, official name
of Holdeman Mennonites, q.v.

Church of the Brethren, official name of
the main branch of the Dunkards, q. v.

Cimarron, Ks. Ger. .34B

Cities, early importance for for-lings
in the Northeast 3.7

Civil War .01B2

Claflin, Ks., Ger. and Volgans 40.24,
.64C1

Clannishness 12.3, 43.27

Clara, Ks. Ger. .94G

Clark Co. ^{Ks.} .13

Clark's Creek, Geary Co., Ger. .31C,
6.0, 41.12, .31A,B

Claudell ^{Ks., Cz.} .87F, 43.03,25

Clay Center, Ks., Ger. .14D, 41.23, 24

Swd. 42.35, *64f, .14B

Clay Center Twp., Clay Co., Canadian

Fr. *02a

Clay Co., ~~###~~ Ks., gs .14, 6.0, *02a, h

Clay Co. East Border Ger. .14C

Clay Co. South Border Ger. .14E

Clearfield, Ks., Ger. .23F, 6.3, 40.02,

*70k, 1, .02C, .66D

Cleburne, ~~#~~Ks., Cz. 43.03, Swd. *48a, c,

d, i, 1

Clifton, Ks. Fr. Can. *02d, Ger. .94G1

Climate of Kansas 3.3, 5, 4.0, 4, 80, 9

Cloud Co., Ks., ~~###~~dfgs .15,

Fr. Can. 4.1, 44.7, 80, Fr. from Europe

44.50, 52, Scandinavians 42.1, 35

Clyde, Ks Fr. Can 44.7, 80, *02 especial-

ly *02a, e, and Brantford Swd. .94F2

See also Aurora~~#~~-Clyde

Coal Creek, Ottawa Co., Ger. .68D

Coal fields 3.6, 9, 37.1-9, Crawford-

Cherokee *07, *091, *11, Leavenworth

*40, *42f, *43a, b, ~~###~~, Osage City

and Co. *40, *42f, *43a, b, .66B

Coalvale, Ks., *07h

Cockerill coal camp *07h

Codell, Ks., Ger. .78F

Coffey Co., Ks. fg .16, Apostolic Chris-

tians 41.28, Fr. 44.52, ~~####~~ Welsh

46.11

Coffeyville, Ks., 8.2, 15.1, Ger. .60D,

Greeks, 46.41, Mex. *74, 45.3, 41-43

Colby, Ks. 7.3, 8.9

Collyer, Ks. Cz. 43.03, .91B, Ger., par-

ticularly Blackseamen ~~###~~ .91A, 40.8,

41.01

Colonization Companies, Ger. .29B, Swd.

42.20, *44b, *47a, .52B, .93B, Welsh

.77F1

Colony-Welda, Ks. Ger. .02C

Colorado 9.0, beets *22b,g-r, gold miners

*21a,b, .62B1, Menn. 41.20, Mex. *76d,

*77b, *80, *88b, *92, Swd. .86A, Vol-

gans *53d, .91A -- Localities mentioned:

Denver 8.4, *76d, Fort Morgan *22g,

Greeley .85C, LaJunta *92, Loveland .

.91A, Pueblo *76d, *88b, Rocky Ford

*22c,g

Colwich *01, especially *olc, See also

Andale -Colwich

Comanche Co., ^{Ks.} .17

Comanche Twp., Barton Co., Ger. .05J

See also Ellinwood

Communists, idealistic, ^{44.50 note} Neuchatel *54d,

Silkville (Fourierists) .30 end.

Concentrated Menn, District, see Menn.

Concordia, Ks., Catholic 23.3, diocesan

see 24.0, 24.3, Central Branch 8.3, 19.4,

36.1, land office 7.3, ^{polyglot 44.82} *19a, Stocks:

Belg. *02g, Fr. & Fr. Can. 44.50, 52,

*02, especially *02 f,k,m, Mex. 45.2,

(Norwegian (luth.) 42.90, Swd. (Bapt)

42.35 On Swd, see also Sibley

-- and other settlements: ^{Fr.} Greenleaf

.94I4, Osage City * 5#8c, West Olpe

^{Swd.} .53G, ^{Fr.} Chanute .63A

Concordia, Diocese of, 24.0,3, *o21, *04c

Congregationalists 29.0E-R becomes 41.18,

Ger. 41.24, Welsh 46.2, Congregations and

missions: Ger.: Alamota .64G, (Dighton),

Alexander .79A, Bazine .64C3, Burdette

.68AC, Durham .55C, Herington .21G3,

Herndon *28e, Hoisingon *53h, Welsh:

Arvonja .66F4, Bala .77F2,4, Empo-

ria *19g,h, Osage City *57a

Connecticut *70b, .27G2. Locality

mentioned, Meriden .27G

Conway Springs, Ks., Ger. .37E, Amish

41.28

Coolidge, Ks., Ger. 15.01

Cordia, Ks., Volgans *04d

Cornell, Ks. (later Westphalia) .02B2

Corning, Ks., Ger. .62C1,2

Cottage Hill, Marshall Co., Swd. .56L,

42.13

Cottonwood Falls, Ks., Ger. .09B

Cottonwood Ranch *25a

Cottonwood River 3.2, *19a

Cottonwood Twp., Chase Co., 44.51

Council Grove, Ks. 6.2, 8.2, Ger .61C,

Mex *75

Courtland Ks., Swd *64 g,i,j

Covenant, see Mission Covenant

1648
Ks.
Cowley Co. m .18, 45.4, 43

Crawford, Ks, Ger. .76B

Crawford-Cherokee Mining Area *07-*14,
9.0, 4, 19.0, 37.1-9, ^{45.3,} politics 9.1, 5,
prohibition 9.4, Stocks: Fr. 44.50, 53,
54, Italians 44.10, 11, 20, Poles 43.40,
43, other Slavs 43.00, 60, 61, 62, 63

Crawford Co., Ks. fgsc .19, Cherokee
lands 5.3, miners 37.0 and see Crawford-
Cherokee, Stocks: Fr. and Belg 44.52,
*13f, Italians 44.10, Lebanese 46.8,
Mex, 45.42, Poles 43.41, 42, Welsh 46.11

Creighton University *26q

Croatians (see also South Slavs) 43.00, 60,
46.90, present in Crawford-Cherokee
*07a. *11b, f, g, n, in Kansas City *30a-c, e,
*33f-1, *34a-c, *35a, b, *36a-c, k, l

Crop years 35.0

Croweburg, ^{miners} Ks. *07h, j, *12p

Crystal Springs, Ks., Menn. 41.28, .37A",
.54C

CSPS (Czech lodge) 43.25, lodges mentioned,
Caldwell .37D1, Cuba area *16j, Wilson
*69f

Cuba, Ks., Area Czechs *16-*17, 43.03, 10,
18 | Engl-izing late .99, lodge (CSPS)
43.25, newspaper 43.26, religion 29.0,
43.21, 22, and other settlements:

Brantford .94E4, Tiago .75C. See also Munden, New Tabor, Narka.
Cudahy meat packing co. *53b, g, l, *86d
Curranville, Ks. *07h

Czecho-Slovakia --Localities mentioned

Albre^ctice *69d, Bohemia *16e, Kaurim
*69f, Krokovice *69, Litomisl *69d,
.94E, Loda *69d, Mistek 43.10, Moravia
*16e (see also Austria), Pozdichove .

(.84A1, Prague *69f, Schildberg *69d,
Vltava-Tyn *69d

Czechs 43.0-3. 4.1,2,6, 16.0-18.0

mother tongue 46,90-91, on Pottawatomie
land 5.2, and railroads 8.3,4c, religion
23.1, 29.0, schools 30.1, See also

National Czech cemeteries. Settlements:

Atwood .73G, Burntwood -Driftwood .73B,
Caldwell-BluffCity .37C, Claudell,
.87F, Collyer-Voda .91B, Cuba *16~~87~~-*17
Delia .84A, Delphos .68A, Dubuque
.05A, Ellsworth .27C, Esbon .42C, Ever-
est-Marak .07G,

Hanover *26a,b,~~h~~,i,~~h~~k,r, Irving

(.56M, Jennings .20C, Kanopolis, South
(.27H, Kansas City *30a,b,*33g,

Little Blue .94E, Logan .70D, Lowe
Twp., Washington Co., .94A, Lucas .80C,
Ludell-Herndon .73F,

Oberlin .20A, Oketo .56C, Old St.
Jo .39E, Pilsen .55D, ^{Timken .79E,} Wilson-Palacky
*69, Zurich .78C

D

Damar, Ks. Fr. Can. .78B, 44.7,80, .52B
Dances -- See Social Events

Danes and Danish 42.80-93, especially
42.80-83,4.6, 16.0, 40.00, 42.10-12,

22,7, 46.90, during First World War

9.6, 42.7, religion 26.0, 27.0

28.1, 42.80-81, .94J

See also Denmark

Present in Settlements:

Achilles .73AI, Allen South .53B, Alta

Vista .92C, Almena, South .65 end,

Burns,.55J, #Burntwood, Rawlins

Co. .73A, Frontenac *09c, Greenleaf .24J,

Herington .21G^x3,4, Hodgeman, South .

.39D, Jamestown .15A, *64f,k, Junction

City .31B, Kansas City *30a,b,c, *32,

Lyndon .66E, Moray .22C, Mulberry

Creek, Clay Co. .14A, Flum Creek, Phil-

lips Co. .70C, Scandia *64c,e, Straw-

berry .94K, Tescott .68E, Walnut Twp.,

Marshall Co. .56H, Whiting .40B

Danish Brotherhood 42.82, *32b

Danish Lutherans 42.80, Congregations

and Missions: Denmark *18, Jamestown

.15A, Kansas City *32c,f, Lyndon .66E,

Randall .42F, Walnut Twp., Marshall Co.

.56H, Whiting .40B

Danish People's Society .66D

Danish Society, United *32b

Danske Amerika 33.3

Danville, Ks., Fr. .37AB, 44.50,52, .04A

Decatur Co.^{Ks.}:cgns .20, *28c,f, .85A

Deerfield, Ks., Ger. .28F, Mex. 45.41,

50, *22d,*24b, *72

Delaware Indian Lands 5.1, *40a

Delaware, East, Ger. (Leavenworth Co.)

.49F

Delia, Ks., Cz. .84A, 5.2, 43.03, 11, 21
 Moravians 43.10, ZCBJ 43.05, and other
 settlements: St. Marys .71D8,
 Delphos, Ks. Cz. .68A, 43.03, 25,
 Germans .68B, Swd. .68B"

Denmark, localities mentioned:

Beltris *18a, Copenhagen .55J, .94J,
 Funen .01B1, Land Oi .94J, Odense
 .01B1, Slesvig *32a, .56H, .94J

Denmark, Ks., Danes *18, 16.0, 42.15, 16,
 22, Indian troubles 5.6, not near Swd.
 42.7, and Tescott .68D

Densmore, Ks., Ger. .65D

Derby, Ks., Ger. .83G,

Dialects, importance of *03b

Diamond Creek, Chase Co., .09A, .31C

Diamond Springs on Santa Fe Trail 6.2

Dickinson Co., ^{Ks.} ~~gms~~ .21, Ger. religious
 bodies 41.22, 23, 29, Penn-Ger. 40.25,
 Mex 45.41-43, schools, for-ling 30.1,
 Swd. Baptists 42.35, Swiss 40.03, Vol-
 gans *531, and Bennington .68F1

Dighton, Ks., Ger. 41.24, .64G

Dioceses, Catholic # 24.0 and following

Discrimination against ~~Mex.~~ ^{*24c,d} 45.8, *72,
 *73b, *74, *75, *76b, *77d, *78, *81,
 *83b, *86d,e, *88b, *89a,b, *90, *91b,
 *92, *93, *96e, *98a,b

Dispatch, Ks., Dutch .87E, ~~##~~ 16.0, ~~##~~
 42.00, 63a

Dodge City, Ks., Ger. .29 end, .29d, 40.8

41.14, Mex *76, 45.2, 41-43, *82, misc. 6.0, 7.3, 8.6, 24.2

Dodge City, South, ^{Ks.,} Ger. .29D
 Doniphan, Ks., 7.3, 23.4
 Doniphan Co., Ks., fgn .22, Dutch
 42.00, French 44.51,52, Norwegians
 42.90, and Ost *01a
 Doniphan Co., Northeast, Ger. .22A
 Doniphan Co., Southeast, Ger. .22B
 Dorrance, Ks. Penn-Ger. .80H, Volgans
.80E, 41.14, Menn. 41.26, Ks. Pacific 8.4
 Douglas Co., Ks., fgs .23, French 44.50,
 51,52, Ger. 40.6, *70k, Mex. statistics
 45.41-43, Penn-Ger. 40.25, 41.29,
 Swd. Baptist 42.35, Santa Fe Trail 6.2
~~Santa Fe Trail 6.2~~, schools, for-ling
 30.1, and other settlements: Tecumseh
 .84D, Vassar .66D
 Downs, Ks., Ger. .67A, .87D, and Dispatch
 .87E5
 Dresden, Ks., Ger. .20E
 Driftwood --See Burntwood .73B
 Dry Creek, Lyon Co. *19e,f
 Drych (Welsh paper) *19a
 Dubuque, Ks. Ger. & Slavs .05A, 43.40,41,
 44.14
 Duluth, Ks., ^{Ger.} .71A, 6.3, 16.0, 41.11
 Dundee, Ks. .05F
 Dunkards (Church of the Brethren) 40.25,
 41.29, congregations and missions:
 Abilene Area .21 beg.,G5, Brown Co. .
 .07, Conway Springs .37E, Dorrance
 .80H, Eden Valley (Stafford Co.) .88C

Dunkard congregations and missions cont.

Granada .62D, Herington .21G^x3,4, Huntsville .74B, McPherson and Southwest McPherson .54C, Osborne .67B4, Sabetha .62F, Sawyer .72B, Stolzenbach .56D, Willow Springs *70a,g,l, Zook .69F

Dunkirk, Ks. *07h,j

Duration of Engl-izing in Kansas --

general .99 See also Engl-izing

Durham, Ks., (Durham Park) 6.2, Volgans .55C,B, 41.24, and Shaffer .79F

Dutch 42.00-04, 4.5, 30.1, 40.00, 41.25, 46.90, present in: Dispatch .87E, Frontenac *09d, Grainfield .32A5, Kansas City *30b, Logan .70D, Prairie View *63, Shannon Twp. (Atchison Co.) .03C, Stull.23A, Willow Springs *70g

Dwight, Ks., Ger. .61B, For * Swd. see Marion Hill.

E

Eagle Creek, Kan., Ger. .53H1

East Belt of Kansas 3.5-9, 9.0, 40.25,6

~~Stocks~~ Stocks in: Czechs 43.02, French 44.50, Germans 40,6, 41.11, Scandinavians 42.12,20

"East" commencing a name. For settlements with such names see next word or the word following "Border," for instance, for East Emma Creek see Emma Creek.

East Frisians, see Frisians, East or Ost

East Prussia(ns) .28F, .76D, .94M2,5

Easton-Potter, Ks., Ger. .49A, 6.3, 40.6

Ebenfeld, Marion Co., ^{Ks.} Menn. *50b

Economic conditions 34.0-35.2, with

Mex. 45.7, at Bremen-Horseshoe .56A7

Eden Menn. Church, McPherson Co., *26a

Edson, Ks. 42.00, *07h

Edwards Co., Ks. gs .24, 41.20, 45.41

Edwardsville, Ks. Swd. Baptist 42.35

Effingham, Kans., Ger. .03E, ^{Norw.} *21c

Eisteddfod 46.2, at Arvonja ^{.66F5,} *20b, at

Bala .77F5

El Dorado, Ks. Mex. stat. 45.41-43

Elbing-Whitewater, Ks., ~~####~~ Prussian

Menn. .08A, 8.72, 17.0, 40.02,

and Fredonia .95B

Elivon, Ks., Fr. Can. .54F, 44.7, *49a,

*51i

Elk Co., Ks., .25, 45.42, .84C

Elk-Immanuel, Chase Co., Ger. .09A, 8.72

Ellinwood, Ks., Ger. .05I, 8.72, 40.8,

41.4, and Bedford .88D, Belpre .24E

Ellis, Ks. Ger. .26A, 36.1, 41.14, 16,

and Primary Cath Volgans *03b,m, Ogallah

.91C

Ellis Co., Ks. g .26, 7.2, 8.4; the ref-

erences below are to the Primary Cath-

olic Volgans (*03-*05), when that group

is referred to as of Ellis Co.: 4.6,

40.8, Catholicism 24.3, 41.01, Capuchins

23.9, schooling in Ger 30.1, 41.31;

and other settlements: Densmore .65D,

Ellis Co. cont.

Garden City *22n, Herndon *28d, High

Point .64F, Ness City .64D, Park .32A,

Salina .81B, St. Marys .71D6, Topeka

(*68b, Wallace Co. .93C

Ellsworth, Ks., Conglomerate .27D,

Fort 6.0, Czechs 43.03, *69e

Ellsworth Co., Ks., cgm .27, 30.1,

stocks: Czechs 43.11, *69a, CSPS

43.25, Ger. 4.6, 40.8, 41.11, 22, Mex.

(stat. 45.41, Penn-Ger. .80H

Ellsworth, North, Ger. .27C, 40.02

Elm Creek, Cloud Co. *02d

Elmo, Ks. 41.22, see also New Basel

and Banner Twp., Dickinson Co.

Elmore, Ks., Swd .01A¹₄, 5, 9

Elyria, Ks., Ger. .76B

Emigrant, see Colonization and Immigrant

Eminence, Ks. Menn. .28H

Emma Creek, East, Harvey Co., Ger. .38B

Emmeran, Ks., Volgans *04d

Emporia, Ks., Polyglot .53D, Cath. *02k,

Santa Fe RR. 8.5, 6, Ger newspaper 41.50,

Mex. *77₄, 45.2, 4-43, 50, and Kansas City

*86k, Topeka *96h, Welsh - see Emporia,

South

Emporia, Ks., South, Welsh *19, 46.10, 11,

2, and Arvonla .66F2, 5, Bala .77F2

English affected by f-lang, most ex-

tended statement *12

Englishmen at Victoria *03e, in Crawford-

Cherokee *07a, *09c, *11a, e, f

Engl-izing -- for each settlement, or,
 within complex settlements, the latter
 portion of discussion is devoted to
 Engl-izing. General statements cover-
 ing all stocks occupy in Vol II. 2.0-4
 and .99; in Vol III, 97.0-99

Enne, Ks., Swd (south of Herndon) .73H,
 16.0, 42.3, 35, *29e

Enterprise, Ks., 6.0 Ger. .21D, 41.23,
 Swd. .21E, 42.13, 20, 35, and other settle-
 ments: Junction City .31B', Lund .20D,

(Scranton .# .66B2

Esbon, Ks. Cz. .42C, 43.03, 10

Estafette du Kansas 44.54, *41a, *42b

Etoile du Kansas 44.54

Eudora, Ks. Ger. .23C, 5.1, 17.0, 40.02,
 6, religion, 40.6, 41.19, *70d

Eureka, Ks. Norwegians .36A, 4.3, 42.14,
 16, 7 Lutherans 26.0, 42.90 and Everest-
 Willis *21a

Evangelical and Reformed Church, earlier
 composed of the Evangelical Synod, q.v.,
 and Reformed Church, q.v., later fused
 with Congregationalists q.v. 41.18-
 19, Congregations treated as ER:
 Alida .21A, Herndon *28e, Hiawatha .
 .07B, Milberger *53e

general statements for various stocks:

Czechs 43.40, Danes, 42.83, Flemings
 42.08, Fr. from Europe 44.6, Fr. Can.
 44.9, Ger. 41.7-91, Greeks 46.6, Ital-
 ians 44.3, Lebanese 46.8, Mex. 45.91, Norw. 42.92, Poles 43.5, South Slavs

43.7, Swd. 42.6, Wel46

Evangelical Association, latter part of

Evangelical United Brethren, q.v.,

28.1, 41.20-21, congregations and mis-

sions: Abilene .21 beg., Alida .21A,

Americus.53C, Atchison .03G4, Batesville

.96D, Baynesville .83F, Bern .61B1-3,

✓ Butler Co. Circuit ,

Camp Creek (Atchison Co.) .03F,

Cawker .59A, .08, Clay County South

(Border .14E, ^{Clearfield.23F} Derby .83G, Downs .67A

Emporia .53D, Eudora .23C12,

(Fair Haven .65D, Hanover *25i, Holton,

.40C, Humboldt .01A, Huscher .15G,

~~*****~~ Jewell City .42E,

Lawrence *38c, Leavenworth

*42b,c,k, Leonardville-Riley .77E5,

Lucas .80B, Milford .31A, MoundRidge

*51i, Newton .38D1, Offerle .24D,

Olpe .53H4, Onaga .71A3, Osborne Mid-

County .67B3, Owl Creek (Woodson Co.)

.96C

Paradise .80A, Powhattan .07E,

Rosette .50C, Stull .23A3,4,6,8,

Swede Creek (Riley Co.) .77B,

Tampa-Ramona .55B, Tecumseh .84D,

Turkey Creek (Woodson Co.) .96A, Val-

ley Falls .41A, Vassar .66D,

Winkler .77A6 (and Chepstow

(94M12, Wolf River (Brown Co.) .07H,

Worden *70^de,g,k,n, Yates Center .96B

Youngstown .55H

Evangelical Lutheran Church (Norwegian)

See Norwegian Lutheran

Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (EMB) 4126,
.57B

Evangelical Mennonite Church 41.24, .74B

Evangelical Synod, later part of Evan-

gelical and Reformed Church, q.v.,

Congregations and missions: Alma .92A2,

Atchison .03G4, Bluff City .37C, Ellin-

wood .05E, Emma Creek (Harvey Co.) .38A,

Eudora .23C10,

Hardtner .04B, Herkimer .56A4,

Highland(-Block) .58B8, Hudson .78B,

Junction City .31B, Manhattan .77H,

Marysville .66E, North Nemaha Co. .62A,

Powhattan .07E, Salina .81B, Sax-

man .76D, Stolzenbach .56D, Stull .23A1,

Vesper .50E, Wichita .83D, Worden # *

*70d,f,h,n

Everest, Ks., Czechs .07G, 43.03,10,22,

.03E

Everest, South, Scandinavians .03A, 42.13

Everest-Willis, Ks., Norwegians *21, ~~##~~

42.14,16,22,91,92, and other settle-

ments: Everest Czechs .07G, South

Everest .03A, Lancaster .03D

F

Fairfax, Ks., Swd. .66B1

Fairmount, Ks. Ger. .49E

Fairview, Ks., Ger. .07C, 41.14,18

Falun, Ks., Swd 42.35, *44a, *45c, *47b,c

Fancy Creek, Riley Co. Ger. .77A, 6.9, 40.02,

42.23

Far Northwest and Far Southwest. See

Far West Belt

Far West Belt 3.12, 8.4, 34.0, 40.20, 41.11,

27, 42.2, 42.20, 43.02, 44.7, 45.3, 46.10

Farlington, Ks., Swd. ~~###~~ .19A, 42.13

Farmer Twp, Wabaunsee Co., Ger. 9.3

Farthest Southwest ~~###~~ .98

Fellsburg, Ks. .24E

Festivals. See also Fiestas, Social Events

Czech -- ~~■~~ Jennings .20C

French -- Bastille Day 44.54, *58e .55I

German -- Eudora .23C7, Hanover *25g

Swedish -- Lindsborg *46C

Welsh -- see Eisteddfod

Fidelity, ~~■~~Ks, Ger. .07D, * 26m, 15.01

Fiestas 45.60, Chanute *73b, Dodge City *76c,

Garden City *79, Salina *95b, Topeka *96d,

45.60

Finney Co. ^{Ks.} gm .28, Mex. stat. 45. ~~■~~41-43

Finns few in Kansas 46.7

First World War, see World War

Flanders 42.06 See also Flemings

F-lang (foreign language) , abandonment of

(general) 2.0, .99, for abandonment in

particular settlements see the end of the

treatment of each settlement, or for complex

settlements the end of the treatment of each

stock; for the various languages see also un-

der their names.

F-lang (cont.)

in coal fields 37.9, rare types in Kansas

2.3, written use 33.13- 9, ~~#####~~

Fleming, Ks., (coal mining) *07a, *12m,n

Flemings and Flemish ~~#####~~ 42.04-08, 40.0 0,

42.03, 46.90, national parishes 23.00, pres-

ent in: Kansas City *30b, Kinney Heights-Shaw-
nee

^ .97E, Lenexa .43C, Scipio *65d, St. Marys

.71D1,7

Flint Hills 3.3,5,8,4.1, .21F

Florence, Ks., Mex. *78, *91d, 45.41

Florence-Cedar Point, Ks., Fr. .55I,

44.50-54

Florida .74E⁶

Flush-St. George, Ks. Ger. .71B, 40.7, .04A

Ford Co., Ks., gm .29, '.71,72, 30.1, 45.41

Foreign language, see F-lang

For-ling, i.e. foreign linguist, see par-

ticularly F-lang and Engl-izing

Fort Hays 6.0

Fort Leavenworth *40a

Fort Riley 6.0,3, *90, .31B,

Fort Scott 5.3,6.0, 7.3, *07b, Swd 42.13

For Ger. see Vol. I, 312

Fort Scott and Gulf RR. 7.5, 8.0,2, *07b,c

Fort Zarah 6.0

Forts -- see Military posts and the 6 items

above

Fostoria, Ks. *55c

Fourteenth of July, see Festivals

Foxtown, Crawford-Cherokee, *07h

Framat 42.44

France (see also French) localities mentioned:

Alès *58i, Ardèche *58c, Belfort *13g, *58c,
.23G, Bessèges *58, Fresse .19C, Lille .49B,
Lorraine .49B, Montour .49F, Le Nord *13g,
Pas-de-Calais *13g, Paris *54f, Périgueux
*54f, Savoy *02h, .71D, St. Etienne *58c

Franciscans, at ^{Burns .08B} Emporia *77c, .53D5, Kansas

City *31d, Newton *91b, Olpe-Maydale .53H1,
Wichita *97c,d

Frankfort, Ks., Ger. .56K, especially

*07a,h-j, *10b, *13f-g, 43.44n, 63

Franklin Co., Ks. .30, .49E, French 44.50, 52,

(Franklin, Crawford Co., Ks., miners *07-*14

especially *07^ah-j, *10b, *13f,g, 43.44n, 63

Penn-Ger. 40.25, Mex. stat. 45.41-43

Franklin Twp., Trego Co., Ger. .91F

Fredonia, Ks., Ger. ~~###~~ .95B

Freemount, Ks. Swd. *44a, *47a,b

Freeport, Ks. Ger. .37B,C

Free-State movement and for-lings 5.0, .92A1

Freija, Danish *32b

French (from Europe) 44.4-9, 46.90, 91,

present at: Claudell .87F, Concordia .15C,
Crawford-Cherokee *07-*14, especially *07a,i,
*09c, *10c, *11c,e,g,m,n, *12b,c,g, *13e-h,
Danville .37AB, Delaware, East, Leavenworth
Co. .49F, Florence-Cedar Point .55I, Green-
bush .19C, Guittard Station, Marshall Co.,
.56 end, Kansas City *30b, Leavenworth *41a,
Neuchatel *54, Olpe, South .53G, Osage City,
*55e-i, *58a-f, Prairie City .23G, Silkville

.30 end, St Jo of the Valley .49B, St. Marys .71D2, Summit Twp., Cloud Co. .15D, Topeka .84b
Wathena .22B

French from Europe (cont.) Present also
sometimes among Belgians, Fr. Can. and
Swiss, q. v.

French Canadians 44.7-9, 4.1,5, 6.3, 40.0

Catholic 23.1,3, 24.3. See also Canada.

Present at: Aurora-Clyde *02, Damar-Zurich
.78ED, Elivon .54F, Grainfield .32A5, Page-
Monument .52B, Palmer-Greenleaf .94N,F3,4

Frisco RR *07c

Frisians, East, or Ost Fries 41.16,22.

Present at: Albert .05E, Bushton .76A,
Dodge City .29D, Lanham .94C, Lorraine
.27G, Riley-Leonardville .77E2-6, State
Line, Marshall Co. .56B

Frontenac, Ks, mining community*07-*14,
especially *07c,i, *09, *11f, *12b,d,n-p,r,
*13f, *14, *15a

Fuller, Ks. *07h

G

Galatia, Ks., Volgans 41.14, *53g,k

Galena, Ks. .07b, ~~#####~~

Galesburg Colonization Co. -- Galesburg Land
Co. 42.20, *47a

Galicians -- Menn. 41.25 Present at: Arling-
ton .74F, Hanston .39B, Kansas City *30e

Garden City, Ks., Volgans and Mex. ~~#####~~

*22-*24, 4.80, 7.3, 39.0, additional for:
Menn. .34A, Mex. 45.1,2,41-43,58, Volgans
40.22,9, 41.01,8, .57A

Garden Plain, Ks., Ger. *01b
Garden Twp., Harvey Co., Menn.*51k
Garfield, Ks., Swd. .69E, 8.73, 42.13

- Garfield, West, Swd .24B, 4213
- Garnett, Kans. Amish 41.20, Vol. I, 83,
and Scipio *65f
- Gas Wells .01, *07c
- Gaylord, Ks., Germans .87C See also
Athol-Gaylord
Ks.
Geary Co. -gs .31, 30.1
- General Conference Mennonites 41.25, *49c,
*50e-i, *51b-1. See also Mennonites;
GCM
all congregations in Kansas are there
marked +; the -references above refer to
congregations in the Concentrated Mennon-
ite District.
- Geography of Kansas 3.0-4.9
- Ger-lings, i.e., German linguists, See intro-
duction to entry Germans
- German American Advocate *03f
- German Evangelical Synod -- See Evangelical
Synod
- German Nebraska Synod, later Midwest Synod,
q.v., part of United Lutheran Church. q.v.
41.17, Congregations and missions:
Ellis .26A3, Greenleaf .94I5, Hanover *26e,
see also Lutherans, Home City .56F, Lanham
.94C, Linn .94I, Milberger, *53f,h,j,k
Russell .80D, Silver Cliff .94B, Stolzen-
bach .56D, Trego Center .91E3
- Germania, Ks., Ger. .01a
- Germania (Lawrence newspaper) 33.6, *38e-g,
.23C6

Germania Colony 8.72 See also Ellinwood

Germanic speakers most numerous in Kansas 2.2

Germans and Ger-lings. For those in ~~###~~

or from Germany , see also Alsatians,
Bavarians, Westphalians, etc., for those
from elsewhere, Austrians (pre-1914),
Bessarabians, Blackseamen, Bohemian Ger.,
Bukovinans, Hungarians, Luxemburgers,
Mennonites (meaning particularly Mennon-
ites from South Russia, the Ukraine, as
distinguished from non-Mennonite Black-
seamen), "Poles", Russian Germans, Swiss,
Volhynians, Volgans. See also under the
names of German religious bodies.

40.0-41.91, Baptists 27.0, Catholic Church

23.1 et seq., 41.01, censuses: 1925 --40.02

(see further Survivors), 1930 --40.00,

Congregationalists 29.0, geographic
distribution 3.4-6.0, ^{history of settlement 4.10-23}
40.3-8, homesteaders

~~###~~ 7.2b, hostility between Reich Germans and

Russian Ger. #*04b, importance ratings 15.01

et seq. , Lutherans 26.00, 41.02-29, Mennonites

25.1, 41.25, Methodists 28.0, mother tongue

statistics 46.90-91, Presbyterians 29.0,

Prohibition 9.2-3, Santa ~~###~~ Fe RR 8.72;

schooling in Ger. 30.1 (see further Schools),

societies 41.4, near Trails 6.2,3, during

First World War 9.6 (see further under W).

Present in settlements-- Germans from

Germany -- for Germans from elsewhere

see under headings specified above

Germans --present in settlements (cont.)

Ackerland-Tonganoxie .49D, Afton .56G, Albert

.05E, Aliceville .16C, Alida .21A, Alta

Vista .61B, .92A,B, Americus .53C, Ames

Andale-Colwich *01a, Angelus .85D,

.15D, Argonia-Freeport .37B, Arlington .74F, Arrington .03H,

Atchison .03G, Athol-Gaylord .87C, Atwood

.73G, Auburn .66A,

Basehor .49E,

Banner Twp. (Dickinson Co.) .21J, Bates-

ville .96D, Bayneville .83F, Bazaar .09C,

Beattie .56 end, Beaver-Dubuque .05A, Bed-

ford -Stafford .88D, Beloit .58BC, Belpre

.24E, Bennington .68F', Bern .62B, Beth-

any .50B, Bethel .97C, Bird City-McDonald

.12B, Bison .79C, Blakeman .73C, Block-

Highland .58B, Bluff City .37C, Bonaccofd

.21H, Bonner Springs .97A, Bow Creek (Gra-

ham Co.) .33A, Brazilton .19B, Bremen-

Horseshoe .56A, Burlington .16B, Burns .08B ,

Bushong, South .53A, Bushton .76C, Byron .75A,

Camp Creek (Atchison Co.) .03F, Car-

bondale-Auburn-Scranton .66A, Cassoday .08C,

Cheney .83E,

Cawker City .59A, Chepstow .94M, Cherokee--

see Crawford-Cherokee, Cherryvale-Mortimer

.60B, Chetopa Creek (Montgomery Co.) .60A,

Cimarron .34B, Clay Center .14D, Clay Co.,

East and South Borders .14C,E, Coal Creek,

Ottawa Co., .68D, Codell .78F, Coffeyville

Colwich *01a, Collyer .91A

.60D, Colony-Welda .02C, Comanche Twp. (Bar-

ton Co.) .05J, Conway Springs .37E, Cot-

Crawford .76B,

tonwood Falls .09B, Crawford-Cherokee *07a,i,

*09b,d (at Frontenac), *11b,c,f,g,m,n, *12

Deerfield .28F, Delphos .68B, Dens-
more .65D, Derby .83G, Dodge City, South .29D,
Doniphan (Co.), Northeast and Southeast .22A,B,
Downs .67A, Dresden .20E, Dubuque .05A, Duluth-
Wheaton .71A, Dwight-Alt-a-Vista .61B

East Delaware (Leavenworth Co.) .49F, #
East Emma Creek (Harvey Co.) .38B, East White-
woman (Wichita Co.) .28C, Easton-Potter .49A,
Effingham-Monrovia .03E, Elbing-Whitewater .08A
Elk-Immanuel .09A, Ellinwood .05I, .05H,
Emporia .53D, Enterprise .21D, Ellsworth .27D,
Ellsworth, North .27C, Fairview .07C, Fancy
Creek (Riley Co.) .77A, Fidelity .07D,
Flush-St. George .71B, Fowler .57A, Franklin
Twp. (Trego Co.) .91F, Frankfort .56K, Fredon-
ia .95B, Freeport .37B, Garfield Twp. (Norton
Co.) .65A,

Gaylord .87C, Glasco .15I, Glendale .81A,
Goodland .86B, Gorham .80F, Granada .62D,
Grant Twp (Norton Co.) .65B, Great Bend .05G,
Greeley *65, Greenleaf .94I, Gridley-Lamont
.16A, Gypsum .81E,

Halstead .38C, Hanover *25-*27, Hanston
.39B, Hardtner .04B, Hartford.53F, Harrison
.42A, Haven .74H, Hazelton .04C Hepler-Braz-
ilton .19B, Herington .21G^X, Hiawatha .07B,
High Point .64F, Highland .58B, Hitschman .05C,
Holton .40C, Holyrood .27F, Home City .56E,
Homewood .30B, Horseshoe .56A, Horton .07I,
Howell .29A, Hoxie .85B, Hudson .88B, Humboldt
.01A, Hunter-Victor .59E, Huntsville .74B

Huscher .15G, Hutchinson .74D2,

Independence .60A, Jaqua .12D, ~~##~~

Jerome .32B, Junction City .31B,

Kansas City *30a-c,e, *31a-d, *33e-k,

Kaw Valley (Pottawatomie Co.) .71C, Kechi .

.83B, Kensington .87A, Kimeo .94L, ~~####~~

Kinsley .24D,

LaCrosse .79A, Lakin-Deerfield .28F, Lamont

.16A, Lancaster-St. Louis .03B, Lanham .94C,

LaGrined .69D, Lawrence *38, Leavenworth *42 ,

Lenexa .43C, Lenora .65C, Leonardville-

Riley .77E, Leoville-Dresden .20E, Levant .

.90A, Lincoln .50F, Lincolnville .55E,

Linn-Greenleaf .94I, Linn-Palmer *59-*62,

Little John Creek (Morris Co.) .61C, Logan

.70D, Lorraine .27G, Lowe Twp. (Washington

Co.) .94A, Lower ~~●~~ Lyon Creek (Dickinson

Co.) .21F, Lucas, North .80B, Ludell .73D,

Lydia .28B,

McPherson, Southwest .54C. Manhattan .

.77H, Marienthal .28A, Marion .55H, Maydale

.53H, among ^{cen} Contrated Menn. *51e, Mercier

.07E, Milford .31A, Mingo .90B, Minneapolis

.68C, Mission 43D, Monmouth .84E, Monrovia

.03E, Mooney Creek (Jefferson Co.) .41B,

Moonlight.21C, Mortimer .60B, Muddy Creek

(Shawnee Co.) ~~####~~ .84C, Mulberry Creek

(Clay Co.) .14A,

Nashville-Zenda .45D, Natoma .67C, Na-

trona .72A, Nekoma .79B, ^{Nemaha, North .62A, Ness City .64D,} Netawaka .40A, New

Almelo-Lenora ~~####~~ .65C, New Basel .21I, New

Cambria .81C, Newton .38D, Nickerson .74B",

Nonchalanta .64E, North Marena (Hodgeman Co.)

.39A, Nortonville-Mooney Creek .41B, Norwich

.45B, Oak Mills .03I, Oakley .52C, Oberlin

.20A, Odee .57C, Offerle .24C, Offerle, South

.29C, Ogallah .91C, Olathe, West .43A, Olpe-

Maydale .53H, Osage Mission .63C, Osborne

mid-County .67B, Ottawa .30A, Owl Creek (Wood-

son Co.) .96C, Palmer *59-*62, Paradise .80A,

Parsons .63D, Parson's Creek (Washington Co.)

.94G, Pawnee, North Border .69A, Pittsburg

Rural .19E, Plains .57A, Plainville .78E,

PoppenHill (Smith Co.) .87D, Potter .49A,

Powhattan-Mercier .07E, Preston-Natrona .72A,

Quivira .43B,

Ramona .55B, Ransom .64A, Riley .77E,

Rockville Twp. (Rice Co.) .76C, Rollin .63B,

Rosalia .08D, Rosette .50C, Rotate (Rawlins

Co.) .73K, Rozell .69C, Russell, Mid- .80 D,

Sabetha .62F, Salina .81B, Saxman .76D,

Schulte-Bayneville .83F, Scipio-Greeley *65,

Scott City .28DE, Seguin .85C, Seneca-St. Bene-

dict .62C, Seward .88A, Shady Bend .50G,

Shannon Twp. (Atchison Co.) .03C, Sharon .04A,

Sharon Springs .93ABC, Shawnee Twp. (Wyandotte

Co.) .97D, ^{Shermanville .86C,} Silver Cliff (Washington Co.) .94B,

Spring Valley .54H., St. Benedict .62C,

St. Francis, South .12C, St. George .71B, St.

John .88C, ^{St. Mark *01a} St. Marys .71D, Sts. Peter and Paul

(Barton Co.) .05H, (Edwards Co.) .24A, Staf-

ford .88D, State Line (Marshall Co.) .56B,

Stolzenbach .56D, Strong-Cottonwood .09B,

Germans -- present in (cont.)

Stranger-Basehor .49E, Stull .23A, Stuttgart .70B, Swede Creek (Riley Co.) .77B, Sylvan Grove .50D, Sylvia .74A,

Tampa-Ramona .55B, Tecumseh .84D, Tipton .59D, Topeka *67a,b, Tonganoxie.49D, Turkey Creek (Woodson Co.) .96A,

Upper Beaver Creek (Smith Co.) .87B, Upper Lyon Creek (Dickinson Co.) .21G, Utica .64B, Valley Falls .41A, Vassar .66D, Victor .59E, Vesper .50E, Violenta . 85A,

Wabaunsee, Great .92A, Wabaunsee, South .92B, Walker .26C, Waterville .56J, Wea .58A, Webster .78A, Welda .02C, Westphalia .02B, Wheaton .71A, Whitewater .08A, Wichita .83D, Wilburn .29E, Willowdale-St. Leo .45C, Windhorst .29B, Wittrup .39C, Wolf River (Brown Co.) .07H, Worden *70,

Yates Center .96B, Zenda .45D, Zook

.69F

^Germantown (Brown Co.), same as Mercier

Germantown (Smith Co.) ~~Ger.~~ Ger. .87A

Germany --The names of kingdoms and provinces that became part of the German Empire, 1870-1918 are items in the general listing; other names ~~#####~~ of places in Germany are listed below

Germany (cont.) -- places mentioned

Alma .92A1, Ansbach, Bav., *26d, Bamberg
 *65c, Barbach .94M1, Bentheim .87E3, Berlin
 *31c, .56A, Bonn *65i, .59BC, Borgholz~~####~~
 .02B4, Bremen .56A1, .58B4, .77E1, Breslau
 .94A, Coblenz .43B, .66A, Cologne .56D, Col-
 Danzig *70j, .50B
 bert .23C8, .Donsieders*65i,

Ellwangen .23A2, Eltville am Rhein
 .66A, Emden .77E², Filsen .94G1, Frankfurt
 am Main .71D4, *01a, Freckenhorst near
 Muenster *26q, Freiburg .64E, (Saxony) .83E,
 Furth .77G,

Gonz .59D1, Graeffenhainichen .74A,
 Grosskuchen *26A, Guttenberg .03G5, .81E,
 Halberstadt .55H, Halverstadt .92A4, Hamburg
 *60f, .29D, .94 I 1, Hanover City .56A3, .
 .58B4, Heidelberg *25f, .65C, .97A, Hil-
 desheim *65f, Hoch emmingen .88A, Hogen
 .56A1, Holtheim *31a,

Insterburg .28F, Jung-Linster, Lux.
 .23D, Kleinblanchenbach, Bav. .66A, Kork
 62D, Kripp, Pr. *26a,
 Lillersdorf .66A, Limburg^{an der Lahn} .97D, Linde
 .05E, Lollscheidt an der Lahn .97D, Ludwigs-
 burg .50H, Luneburg Heath *59b, *60b, Magde-
 burg .03G5, .77H, Memel .76D, Metz .77E3,
 Minden .41B2, Moselle Valley 41.01, Münden
 *59c, Munster *01b, .53F, .68B,

Nassau .77A2, Neu Ulm .65B, Neustadt
 *26c, Nuremburg .59BC, Ohmden .71A3, Older-
 sum .77E2, Olpe .53H2, Osnabrueck .77A6,
 Osterburg .5888,

Poppenhause .03G1, Prussian Saxony .58B8, Ryll-
burg .05B2,

Schlangen .23A6, Seligenstadt .59A,
Settensen , Han. .60A1, Stuttgart .03G1,
Templin .92A3, Thuringia *26e, .14A, Tilsit
.94M5, Trier *01a, *05i, Uckermark ,
Vistula Delta .08A, .38D2

Waldeck *26j, Wersau .88C, Werzin .06A1,
Wiesbaden .77A2, Wietzen .94I2, Wirbauen
Girard, Ks. *07b, *12p,
Glasco, Ks., Ger. ~~0000~~.15I, Czechs near 43.03,
Swd. near .68B", and Beloit .59BC

Glendale, Ks., Ger. .81A

Globe, Ks. , Ger. *70e,g

Gnadenau, Marion Co., Menn. 33.3, *49c, *50b

Gnadenberg (Grace Hill), Harvey Co., .38E

Gnaden thal, see Shaffer

Goessel, Ks., Menn. 41.25, *50e-g,i, .38D3,

and Fredonia .95B, and Mingo .90B

Goldschar, Harvey Co., Ger. 8.72, .38D2

Goodland , Ks. 3.2, 8.8, Ger. .86B, .20E,

Mex. *80, 45.41-43, Swd. 42.35

Gorham, Ks. Ger. and Poles ~~*80F~~, 40.24, 43.40 ,

*03m, and Natoma .80A

Gove, Ks., Volgans .32B

Gove Co., Ks. gs .32, Dutch 42.00

Grace Hill See Gnadenberg

Graham CO. Ks. g .33 Dutch 42.00

Grainfield, Ks., Volgans and others, .32A5,

42.00

Grant Co. , Ks. .98 sugar beets *22d

Grant Twp., Norton Co., Ger. ~~###~~ .65E~~#####~~

Grant Twp., Lincoln Co. , Danes 42.11

Gray Co., Ks. g ~~###~~ .34, Lebanese 46.8, Mex.

45.42

Great Bend, Ks., Ger. .05G, 8.71, 41.4, 50

near Ft. Zarah 6.0

Great Wabaunsee District. See Wabaunsee.

Greeks 46.40-6, 40.00, 46.90, Frontenac *09d,

Kansas City *30a-c, *33 h-k, *37a-c, Wichita .83D3

Greeley, Ks., Ger. See Scipio

Greeley Co., ^{Ks.} .35 (.93), 30.1

Greenbush, Ks. French .19C, 15.01, 44.52

Greenleaf, Ks., Czechs .94E, Danes .94J, 42.15,

and Strawberry .94K, Fr. Can. ^{.94N} .15.01, 44.50, 7,

*02d, Germans (Linn-Greenleaf) .94I, 41.02,

and Hanover *26d, and Linn-Palmer *61d

Greensburg, Ks. Penn-Ger. Menn 41.28

Greenwich, Ks., Fr. 44.50

Greenwood Co. n .36, Apostolic Christians 41.28,

.16A, Scand. 42.11

Gridley-Lamont, Ks., Ger. .16A, 3.5

Grinnell, Ks., Volgans .32A, Dutch 42.00

Gross, Ks. *07h,j, *10a, *12p

Guittard Station, Marshall Co., Fr. 44.50, 51,

52

Gypsum City, Ks. Ger. .81E, Mex *81c

H

Halls, Bohemian. See Bohemian Halls.

Halstead, Ks. Ger. .38C, 8.72, 17.0, 41.25, 50,

*49c, *52e, .39B

Hamilton Co., Ks. .98, *22d

Hampden Colony, Coffey Co., .16B

Hanover, Ks., Ger. *25-*27, 40.02, 41.01, 41.4

religious 40.7, 41.21, Czechs 43.03, and

other settlements: Bremen-Horseshoe .56A⁴,

Greenleaf .94I⁴, Little Blue .94E, Marysville

.56E, Silver Cliff .94B

Hanover (Kingdom) and Hanoverians 41.11, *04b,

*25d, *26j,m, *59b, *65h, .19E, .21J, .41B2,

.43A, .50D,H, .56A,⁴E⁵, .58B, .60A1, .62A, .

.63A, .66D, .71D⁴, .73D, .74B, .75A, .77A⁴,6,

.80E,I, .81B, .83F, .87A, .88D, .91A, .94C, I1

Hanston, Ks., Menn. .39B, 41.25, *52f

Hardtner, Ks.,Ger. .04B

Hargrave, Ks. Ger. .79A

Harper, Ks., Penn-Ger. and Swiss .37A',40.25,

41.28

Harper Co., Ks. cfigm ~~000~~ .37, 41.28, Fr. 44.50,

52

Harrison, Ks., Ger. .42A, 5.6

Hartford, Ks. Ger. ~~0000~~ .53F, *26q

Hartsook, variant of Herzog *03e

Harvey Co' ^{Ks.} ~~gmw~~ .38, Fr. 44.52, Menn. 4.2, 41.28,

*49a, *51k,1, Mex. ~~00~~ 45.41-43, Penn-Ger. 40.25

"Poles" 43.41, Santa Fe RB 8.72, Welsh 4610-11

Haven, Ks. Ger. .74H,EG

Hawkeye,Ks. Ger. ~~0000~~ .85A

Hays, Ks. 6.0, 7.3, 8.4, Volgans 40.8, 41.50, 6,

*04a, *06e

Hazelton, Ks. Ger. .04C

Healy, Ks., Ger. .28DE, .32B

Hebrew 46.7, *37c et seq.

Heizer, Ks. Ger. .05E

Hepler-Brazilton, Ks., Ger. .19B, 16.0, 41.11,
.19E

Herington, Ks., Ger. ~~8.8~~ 8.8, 36.1, Ger. 41.14,
32, Volgans .21G^x, 16.0, 29.0, 40.24, 41.24,
Mex. *81, 45.41-43

Herkimer, Ks., Ger. 16.0, .45D, .56A

Hermansberg, Marshall Co.) .56A~~5~~

Herndon, Ks., Czechs .73F, 43.05, .73B,D,
Hungarian Ger. *28-*29, 40.9, 41.90, re-
ligious 23.9, 41.11, 19, 24. For Swd. see
Enne

Herzog (Twp.), Ellis Co., Volgans 40.22, *03e-g,
See also Victoria

Hessdale, Wabaunsee Co., Swd. .92D, 42.13

Hessians (Hessia, Hesse(n) Cassel -Darmstadt,
Nassau) *26a,j, *42a, *70b,d-f, .41B, .49E,
.56A3, .66A, .71B,D4, .72A, .88C, .97D
Hesston

~~#####~~, Ks., Penn-Ger. Menn. 41.28, *51~~1~~

Hiawatha, Ks., Ger. .07B, 41.12, 18

Hills of Kansas 3.3
Menn

Hillsboro, Ks., ~~###~~ and other ~~##~~ Ger. *50j-1,
41.25, 26, 50, *49a, *50c-e, h, .34C, .55A, .
.90B

Hispano defined 45.02

^{Ks., Ger.}
Hitschman .05C

Hodgeman Co. gd .39~~1~~, 8.72

~~##~~Hodgeman, South, Danes .39D, 8.73, 42.15

Hoffnungsaus, McPherson Co., Menn. *49c, *50f,
*51f,j

Hoffnungsfeld, McPherson Co. Menn. *51c,d

Hoge, Ks. Ger. .49E

Hoisington, Ks. 8.8, Volgans 41.18, *53f,h

Holcomb, Ks. Mex. *24b,f

Holdeman Mennonites (officially Church of
Mennonite
God in Christ) 41.27, congregations and
missions: Burns .08B, Cimarron .34B, Hal-
stead .38C2, in McPherson and Marion Cos.
*49c, *50i-j, *51a-b, Montezuma .34C, Scott
Co. .52D, Tampa .55A, Wallace .52A

Holiness Church .55C,G

Holland, Ks., Ger. .21

Holstein *26j, .45B, .56A3,J, .65B

Holton, Ks. Ger. .40C, .49A

Holyrood, Ks., Ger. ~~0000~~ .27F, .52B, Cz. 16.0,
43.003, 43.25, *69e

Home City, Ks., Ger. .56F, *26d, .56D

Homesteads 7.2

Hope, Ks. Ger. 40.24, .29G5, Penn-Ger. 40.25,
Poles 43.40

Horseshoe Creek, Washington Co., Ger.

See Bremen-Horseshoe, especially .56A13,14

Horton, Ks., Ger. .07I, Mex. *82, 45.42, *86n,
.95D

Howell, Ks. Ger. .29A

Hudson, Ks. Ger. .88B, and Seward .88A, and
Bedford-Stafford .88D

Humboldt, Ks., 7.3, Ger. .01A, 5.3,4, 41.12,20,
Mex. *73a, .96C

Hungarian Ger/ 4.81, 41.01,90, Herndon *28-*29

Hungarians -- non-Germans. See Magyars

Hungary -- all localities mentioned in *28a

Hungary (cont.)

Andau, Burgenland, Golls, Oedenburg, Sanct

Johan, Sanct Peter, Soprin, Co.of, Zannegg

Hunter, Ks. Ger..#59E,BC

Huntsville, Ks., Ger. .74B, 41.28

Huron, Ks. Ger. .03E, Huscher, Ks. Ger. .15G,

*02g

Hutchinson, Ks. 8.73,8, 38.0, 45.1, Ger. 40.25,

7, 41.25,28,50, *52e, Greeks 46.41, ~~#####~~

Mex. *83, 45.1-3,50, Swd. #.74D, 42.13, .54B

Hyacinth, Ks., Volgans *04d, *06b

Hyllningsfest *46c

Hymer, Ks. Ger. .09A

I

Illinois --State mentioned, by categories:

Mining *07h, Belgians*54b, Flemish .97E6,

Fr. .19C, Fr. Can. 44.80, *02, .78AD, .94N,

Ger. *60b, *65c, *70d-g, .02B3,7,C, .05B2,

.07E, .16A1,2,5, .9E, .21A,G, .23A1,3,C8,

.24C,E, .27G, .29C, .37A1,C, .42A,E, .43A,

.50D, .56A3, .58B3, .59BC, .62B,G, .64A,

.65A,C, .66A, .67G1,C, .68D, .69B, .73D1,

.74B,E~~###~~,G,H, .76A,C, .77E1,2,4, .83B,

.85A,B,C, .87A, .88C, .92A5, .94A,G,I2,N,

.96C, Irish *54b, Lebanese .83D2, Mex. *86n,

*96i, Norw. .68F", Swd. *56~~###~~a-c, *64h,k,

.01B2,3, .54B, .61D, .68B, .71D3, .95A,

Welsh *19c, .66F2, Towns, Counties, etc.

within---- mentioned:

Illinois places within -- (cont.)

Alton .43A, Andover *48a,c, .20E, .52C, .54B,
Aurora .59BC, .66F3, Batavia 42.33, Belleville
.43A, Bensonville .21A, Bishop Hill *47c, .
.54B, Bloomington .83D2, Bourbonnais *02b,
Braidwood .15F, Bureau Co. *56a,

Chester .87A, Chicago 3.3, 8.4, *33b,
(Cz. *69b-d,k, Fr. *54g, Ger. *07c,h,i, *08f-h,
*10c, *12m, *13f,g, Mex. *86n, *96i, Swd. 42.20,
*48d, *64a, .83C, .94F2, Volgans .21G^X2),
Cessna Park .16A5, Cicero *96i, Coal Valley
*19c, Cook Co. .77E1, Dixon Co. .19C, Free-
port .64A, .77E2, Galesburg 42.20, *47a,c,
^a
*48d, ~~*****~~ *56b, Geneseo .24C,
Green Garden .27G,

Henry Co. .01B2, .61D, Kankakee, Fr. Can.
44.80,82, *02, .78AD, .94N, Ger.*59c, .43A,
LaSalle Co. .66A, Lee Center .19C, Leland
Lyons .94I,
*64h, Lively Grove *26m, Minonk .27G2, Moline
*82, .01B2,9, .07I, Ogleton .77E2,

Paxton *56a, Pekin .66A, .88C, Peoria
.62B4, .66A, .74B, Peru .07E, Princeton
*48d, *56a,b, Red Bud .58B3, Richland Co.
.59BC, Rock Island *82, Rock Island Co.
.01B2

Shelby Co. .74EG, Spring Valley , *11f,
St. Anne *02b, St. Clair Co. .43A, .91E1,
St. George *02b, Stephenson Co. .42L, .94G1,
Summerfield *49c, *51e, .37C,

Tazewell Co. .16A1,5, Toluca *12m, *43c,
Tremont .16A3, Vandalia *26a, WillCo. .27G,
Woodford Co. .16A5, Woodhull 8.72, .01B2,4, Woodstock *48d, Worden *60b

Immigration, -- history of Fr. Can. 44.80,

Year of ---; See Year and Survivors.

Immigration Commission, Congressional, Report
to Senate *11, *33i-m

Immigration promoters -- See Promoters and
Promotion

Importance ratings of settlements 15.00-19.0

Independence Ks. 7.3, Ger. .60A, 41.12, Greeks
46.41, Mex. *84, 45.3

Indian lands -- See Indians and the names of
Indian tribes

Indiana -- stocks mentioned, by categories:

Fr. *54a,g, Ger. *60b, *65j, 02B,C, .09C,
.41B, .50D,H, .53H, .58B1, .62B4, .64A,
.74EG, .76A, .77A, localities within --
mentioned: Columbus .50H, Evansville .41B,
Gary *75, Napoleon .53H, Noblesville *54a,
Randolph Co. .09C, ~~##~~ Seymour .58B1, .77A1,3,
Wells Co. .62B4

Indianola 6.3

Indians 5.1-6 , in Brown Co. .07, languages 46.7,

and Mex. *88b, Oregon Trail 6.3, troubles:

Kansas Pacific 8.4, Scand. 42.7, Settlements
affected: Beloit .59BC, Brantford ^{Denmark} *18, ^{94F} Mar-

shall Co. *25c, Scandia *64a,b,d, Rawlins Co.

White Rock, Jewell Co., .42A,B.
.73D, See also the names of the several tribes

Industry, Ks., Ger. .14E

Industry 36.0 See also Meat Packing, Mining,

Salt, Sugar

Ingalls, Ks., North, Menn. .34A, 41.26

Inman, Ks., Menn. *51g-h, 41.25,26, *49a,

*51b,c,f, *52d,e. Other Ger .54C, and Meade

.57B, and Mingo .90B

Inmixed Individuals 10.01, Scand. 42.11

Inner Zone 3.5, 4.9

Inscription data from cemeteries -- See

Cemetery

Intermarriage (a few examples from various

stocks) *58f, *46g, *86k, .70D3, .84A~~3~~3,4

Investigators, Congressional, of 1909 and 1910

-- See Immigration Commission, Congressional

Iola, Ks., smelters *07c, Ger. .01

Iowa -- State mentioned, by categories:

Czechs 43.10,22, *16a-c, *26a, *69a, .20C,

.42C, .84A2, .94E, Danes *18b, .94K, Dutch

*63b,e, .32A5, .87E, Fr. *54e,g, Ger. *65i,
.03H,

*70b,c,e, .02B2-3,, .09C, .20E, .28F, .38C,

.41B2, .53H2, .57C, .59D, .62B4,D, .64A, .69B,

.70D2, ~~88~~, .71D4, .73D,H3, .74B",EG, .76C, .

.77E4, .85A,D, .87C, .88C, localities within

mentioned: Arth~~ur~~ur (east Ida Co.) .63A, Breda

.56B9, Burlington *38b,*48d, Calmar *69a,

Cass Co. .09C, Cedar Rapids *16b, .94E,

Clinton Co. .53H2, Dubuque *19c, .28F, Dy-

er~~sville~~ville .59D1, Elgin .62B5, Gava *47c, Ham-

burg *26b, Icaria Colony *54e, Johnson Co.

.09C, Kalona .74EG, Lee Co. *51e, .38C, .41B2,

Linn Co. *16b, Marshall Co. *16c, Page Co. ~~0~~

.52B, Pella *63b, .87E, Pulaski .64A, Red

Oak *64f, Shenandoah *64f, Wesley *65i, West

Union Branch .62B5, Westphalia .02B2, Winne~~sh~~-

shiek Co. *69a

Iowa Indians .07

Iowa Synod Lutherans (later part of American

Lutheran Church, q.v.) 41.14,16,32,

Congregations and Missions: Athol .87C, Ba-

zine .64C3, Byron .75A, Dodge City .29D, Dor-

rance-Dubuque .80E,I, Ellis .26A3, Gaylord

.87C, Hargrave-LaCrosse .79A, Herington .21G1,

Kensington .87A, Logan .70D3, Milberger *53f,

Nekoma-Rush City .79B, Otis .79D, Phil-

lipsburg-Belmont .70D2, Pittsburg .19E5, Ra-

mona .55B, ShadyBrook .21G1, St. Francis

(*66a,b, Stuttgart .70B, WaKeeney .91E2

Irish element in f-lang settlements:

Beattie .56end, Corning .62C2, Crawford-

Cherokee *07i, *09c,k, Danville .37AB, Dubuque

.05A, Frankfort .56K, Gorham .80F, Hanover

*26a,h, Herndon *21a, High Point .64F,

Kansas City *31d, *33a,f,g, *34b,c

McDowell Creek .31D, Meriden .84C,

Old St. Jo .39E, Osage City *57c, Owl Creek

.96C, Palmer .94N, Parsons .63D, Parson's

Creek .94G, Salina .81B,D, Scranton .66A,

Shawnee Twp., Wyandotte Co. .97D, St. Bridget

.62C1, St. Jo of the Valley .49B, Stull .23A3,

Tampa .55B, Tecumseh .84D, Worden *70s

Irving, Ks., Cz. .56M, 29.0, 43.03,10,21

Italians 44.10-23, 40.00, Catholic 23.1. mother

tongue 46.90, Prohibition 9.4b, present in

settlements: Crawford-Cherokee *07-*14, es-

pecially *07a,i, *08b, *09, *10a-c, *11e-k,

m,n, *12, *13a-c, *14, Kansas City *30b, *33

h,k, Leavenworth *41a,b, Osage City *55e-i, *58g-q

Italy, localities within mentioned:

Abruzzi *58e, Boretto *14a, Brusnengo *58h,j,
Calabria *13b, Campobasso *58e, Chiavenna *41b,
Corrio *14b, Genoa *14b, Liguria *13a, Lombardy
*13a, *41c, *58i,

Masserano *58j, Milan *58i, Mileto *12n,
Parma *14a, Piedmont *13a, *14b, *41b, *58g,h,i,
Perugia *13a, *14c, Pizzoni *58c, Romagna *13a,
Sicily *13b, Turin 23.2, Umbria *13a, Venetia
*13a, *14b, Villa d'Alma *58i

J

Jackson Co., Ks. gd .40, 5.2, 84A2, Jackson-
ville coal camp *07h~~*****~~

Jamestown, Ks. 5.6, 16.0, Danish .15A, 27.0,
42.15,16,7, .42F, Fr. *02g

Japanese few in Kansas 46.7

Jaqua, Ks., Swd. and Ger. .12D, 42.13

Jarbalo, Ks., Ger. .49E

Jefferson Co.^{Ks.} g .41, 40.25,90, .84C

Jennings, Ks.,Cz. .20C, 43.03,25

Jerome, Ks., Swd. and Ger. .32B, 42.13

Jesuit Missions 23.2,.63C, .71D, .92A6

Jewell City, Ks. .87E4

Jewell Co., Ks. ~~*****~~ cgn .42, 41.20

Jewell Co., Central, Scand. .42D, 42.13

Jews 46.7, 43.42, Kansas City *30b-d, *

*37c-h, Leavenworth *42n et seq.

Johannestal, Marion Co. Menn. *50h

Johnson Co. Ks. g .43, 5.1, 6.2,3, Fr.

44.51-52, Mex. 45.41

^CJunction City, Ks. 7.3, 8.2, 4 Ger. .31B,

40.7, Swd. .31B, *18a, .94F2-3

K

Kackley, Ks., ~~####~~ Swd. *64d-h

Kanorado, Ks., Dutch 42.00

Kansas Central RR *48c, *54d, .77D1

Kansas City, Ks., Polyglot *30-*37

in General 3.1 ,5,7, 6.3, 8.6, 9.0,1,4,5,
19.0,5,6, 24.4, 39.0, 40.25, 43.00,45.3,
.97A,B,C, stocks present: Danish 42.16,80,
Flemish .97E, Fr. 44.53, Ger. 41.12,28,50,
.77A1, Greeks 46.42, Lebanese 46.8, Lithu-
anians 43.9, Mex. *86, 45.1,2,3,41-43,50,60,
92, *82, *96h, Polish 43.40,42,43,44, Rus-
sians 43.00,8, Slovaks 43.00,8, South Slavs
43.60,61,62,63, Swd. 42.13,16,35, *18f,
Ukrainians 43.8

Kansas City, Fort Scott and Gulf -- See Fort
Scott and Gulf

Kansas City und sein Deutschtum 37.3

Kansas Freie Presse *421

Kansas Pacific RR 8.4, 4.6, 7.5, *03d, .26A1,4,

~~####~~Cz. *69b, Dutch .87E2, Ger .27G1, Penn-Ger.

.80H, Swd. 4.2, .94F3, Volgans *03e, *53d,e, .89D, .91A, Welsh .77F1,2

Kansas Posten 42.44

Kansas River -- See Kaw River

Kansas Staats Tidning 42.44

Kansas Synod -- See United Lutheran Church

^SKansake Rozhledy 33.6, 43.26, *69h

^AKansasky Pokrok 43.26, *69h

Kaw Indian Reservation .53A,C

Kaw River 3.2, at Kansas City *30d

Kaw Twp., Wabaunsee Co. 9.3, .92A1,5-6

Kaw Valley and Mexicans 45.3

Kearny Co. ^{Ks.} g .28 (~~44~~), 45.41, *22c,d

Kechi, Ks. Ger. .83B

Kelly, Ks., Ger. .62C2,8

Kendall, Ks. Ger. .28F

Kensington, Ks. Ger. .87A, 40.02,8, 41.14

Kentucky, State of *54f, .26C, .60A1,

locality mentioned: Covington .26E

Kepferle, Ks. Ger..12B

Keystone, Twp., Scott Co., Ger. .28DE

Khiva, Asia .38D2

Kickapoo, Ks. land office 7.3

Kickapoo Indians 46.7, lands 3.7, 5.5,

.07 beginning,E, .40

Kill Creek, Osborne Co. Penn-Ger. 41.20,

.87B1,2

Kimeo, Ks., Ger. .94N

Kingman, Ks., Menn. .45A

Kingman Co., Ks. g .45

Kinney Heights-Shawnee Flemish .97E, 42.05,

.97D, .99

Kinsley, Ks., Ger. .24D, Mex. 45.41

See also Sts. Peter and Paul, Edwards Co.

Kirchenverein 41.19

Kiowa Co., Ks. .46

Kirwin, Ks. 7.3, 8.3

Kismet, Ks., Menn. *52f

Kleinegemeinde Menn. 41.26,27, .57B

Krainer -- See Slovenians

Krimmer Menn. 41.26, *49c, *50a,b, *51b, .21H

Ku Klux Klan 9.6c, *55h, .38F

Labette Co., ^{Ks.} .63 (.47), 44.52, 45.41

Labor -- in general 34.0-39.0, --

in Crawford-~~Ch~~Cherokee coal fields *07f, *11, 37.6,

in Kansas City meat packing *33d,e, in Gar-

den City beet fields *22e-q

LaCrosse, Ks., Ger. 41.50, .79A

Ladore, Ks. Ger. .63D

Lagrange, Ks., Welsh .56 end

Lakin, Ks., Ger. .28F, Mex. 45.41, *24e

Lamont, Ks., Swiss and Ger. .16A

Lancaster, Ks., -St. Louis Ger. .03B, ~~##~~

40.6, 41.02, .03E,

Lancaster, Ks., Scand. ~~###~~ .03D, 15.01, 42.13,

*21c

Lancaster Twp., Atchison Co. early Greek

46.41

Land grants 7.5-8.73

Land offices 7.3, *02f, *69a

Lane Co., ^{Ks.} .64 (.48), 15.01, 29.0

Lane, Southeast, Blackseamen .64G

Language -- ^{Engl-izing} See ~~A~~F-lang, Linguistic, Mother

tongue, Schools and concluding portions of

settlement accounts (47.00-48.99)

Lanham, Ks., Ger. .94C, 5.6, 40.7, *26d, .56B5,

.73D1

Lapeer, Ks. Luxemburgers .23D, *70k

Larned, Ks., 17.3, Ger. .69D, *69b, Mex.

*87, 45.41-43

Latimer, Ks., Ger. .21G5

Latvians 43.9, *30b, *34g

Lavoratore italiano 33.6, 44.23, *08b,

Lawrence, Ks. 3.8, 6.3, 7.5, 8.2, 4, .01B2, 4,

Ger. *38, 8.4, 8.71, 26.0, 40.02, 41.29, 4, 50,

*70c, k, .23A7, Greeks 46.41, Mex. ~~###~~ *88,

45.41-43, Swd. *39, 3.8, 42.13, 20, 35, Volgans

*53b, Welsh 46.2, *19b

^{Ks.}
Leavenworth *40, 3.7, 5.0, 6.0, 3, 9.4, 19.0,

23.5 Cath. (for Prot. see under Ger. of this
heading) 23.0, 3, 5, 24.0, 4 ^{mining 37.1-9,} -- Stocks: Fr.

*41, 44.50, 51, 52, Ger. *42, newspapers 41.

50, 51, *02n, religion 26.0, 40.6, ~~###~~ 41.12, 18,

and other Ger. settlements: Easton .49A,

Hanover *25 , Hutchinson .74D, Marysville

*25d, Scipio *651, Italians *41 44.10, 20,

Jews ~~#####~~ *42 end, Lithuanians 43.9,

Poles *43, 43.40, 42, 43, 44, *34a, Slavs 43.00,

*43e, Slovaks 43.8

^{Ks.}
Leavenworth Co..fgip .49, 5.1, 37.0, 40.6,

schooling in f-lang 30.1, stocks: Fr. 44.

50-52, Italians 44.10, Mex. 45.41, Poles

43.41

Leavenworth, Lawrence and Gulf RR 8.2, *65e,

*74

Lebanese 46.7-8, 15.1, Frontenac .09c,

Pittsburg .08c, Wichita .83D2-4

Lebanon, places mentioned within: Hulta

*08d, Beirut *08d

Lebo, Ks., Welsh .66F4 see also Arvonja

Lecompton, Ks., Ger. .23A, land office 7.3

Lehigh, Ks., Ger. 8.72, 41.14, 26, *50*i*

Lenexa, Ks. Flemish .97El,6, Ger. .43C, 41.14,15

Lenora, Ks. 8.3, .33A, .65C

Leonardville, Ks., Ger. .77E, 40.02, and

Huscher .15G, and Winkler .77A4, Swd.

.77D, 42.13,16,35, and Bala.77F2

Leoville-Dresden, Ks., Ger. .20E, 40.9,

.26C, .94L

LeRoy, Ks. 8.9

Lettish, Letts -- See Latvians

Liberal, Ks., 8.8

Liberty Twp., Marion Co., Menn. 40.22

Liebenthal, Ks., Volgans *03-*05, especially

*03a,c, *04c, *06b, and St. Peter .33B, and

Old St Jo .39E

Lincoln, Ks. 5.6, 8.9, Ger. .50F, 40.8

See also Lincoln-Westfall .50H

Lincoln Co., Ks. gd .50, 4.4, 30.1

Cz. *69e, Danes (Scand.) 42.11,22, Ger.

41.11,22, Penn-Ger .80H

Lincoln Twp., Crawford Co. *07h, Russell Co.

*53g

Lincoln-Westfall, Ks., Ger. .50H

Lincolnville, Ks., 8.72, Ger. .55E, and

Pilsen .55D

Lindsborg, Ks. Swd. *44-*48, 4.2, 42.13,16,20-

23, Religious: Baptist 42.35, Lutherans

42.30-31, Mission Church at Rose Hill 42.33,

Newspapers 33.6, 42.44, and other settlements:

Brantford .94Fl, Burdick .61D, Hutchinson

.74D, Mariadahl *48c, Salina .81D, Page .52B,

Stockholm .93B,
Scandia *64d, Tescott 42.7

Linn, Ks. Ger. See Linn-Greenleaf and

Linn-Palmer especially *60c,e,f, *62d

Linn Co., Ks. .51, 3.8

Linn-Greenleaf Ger. .94I

Linn-Palmer Ger. *59-*62, 40.23,7, 41.11,7

and other settlements: Block .58B, Chep-

stow .94M3, Linn-Greenleaf .94I4,6, Par-

son's Creek .94G2,3, Washington Co. Fr.

Can. .94N

Lippe-Detmold .23A6, .96B

Litchfield, Ks., miners *07h, *12n, *13f

Lithuanians 43.9, 46.90, Kansas City *30b,c,

*33g,h,k, *34b,c,f,g, Leavenworth *43e

Little Blue (Washington Co.) Cz. .94D,

43.03,10, *16a,c

Little Blue River 3.1, 6.3, *25b,i, *26h

Little John Creek (Morris Co.) Ger. .61C, 6.2

Lodges 32.0-3 See also Societies and the

names of various lodges and societies

Early Kansas City -- Danish *32b, Ger. *31b,

Swd. *31e,f, Halstead .38C

Logan, Ks. Ger. .70D, 41.4

Logan Co., Ks. fgs .52, 30.1, 44.7

Lone Star, Ks. Ger. *701

Long Island, Ks., Flemish 42.05

Loretta, Rush Co. Volgans *04d, *06c, .39E

Lorraine, Ks. 8.4, Ger. .27G, 16.0, 40.02, •

41.22, and Crawford .76B

Lorrainers at Parsons Creek .94G1

Lost Springs, Ks., *81a

Louisville, Ks., 6.3

1688

Lowe Twp., Washington Co., Ger. .94A

Lower Lyon Creek, Dickinson Co., Ger. .21E,
and Banner Twp. .21J, Enterprise .21D,
Junction City .31B

Lucas, Ks., North, Ger. .80B, 15.01

Lucas, Ks. South, Cz. .80C, 43.03, *69f

Luctor -- See Prairie View

Ludell, Ks., Cz. .73F, 43.03, Ger. .73D,
40.24, 41.11,12, *28f,i, *29e

Lund, Ks., ~~*****~~ Swd. .20D, 42.13

Luray, Ks., Ger. .80A

Luther League (Swd.) 42.43

Lutheran Church, American (Ger.) --
See American Lutheran Church, Iowa Synod,
Ohio Synod

Lutheran Church in America -- See United
Lutheran Church and German Nebraska
Synod

Lutheran Church, Augustana Synod (Swd.) --
See Augustana Synod

Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod -- See
Missouri Synod

Lutheran Churches other than those named in
the four preceding entries -- See Danish
Lutherans, Norwegian Lutherans and Lutherans
(second item below)

Lutheraner, Der 3.5

Lutherans -- General 9.1, 26.0, Danish 42.80,
Ger. 41.10,32, Norwegian 42.90 --German
Lutheran congregations or missions with
unascertained, shifting or non-existent
synodical membership: Bushong .53A, Enter-

Lutherans -- no or doubtful synod, cont.

prise, .21D, Glendale .81A, Hanover *25i,
 *26c-d, *27d, Kechi .83B, Lawrence *38i, Le-
 high *50, Little John Creek (Morris Co.)
 .61C, Manhattan .77H, Milberger *53e,
 Osborne .67B3, Rollin .63B, Schulte-
 Baynesville .83F, St. Francis *66a .
 For German and Swedish Lutherans with
 ascertained synodical membership, see the
 preceding entries.

Luxemburgers *01a, *65j, .05A, .15B2, .30B
 present in: Andale-Colwich *01a, Beloit .
 .59BC, Dubuque .05A, Fredonia .95B, Kimeo
 .94L, Lapeer .23D, Leoville .20E, Marys-
 ville .56E, New Almelo .65C, Parsons Creek
 (.94G1, Tipton .59D, Willowdale-St. Leo .45C1
 Lydia, Ks. Ger. .28B

Lyndon, Ks., Danes .66E, 42.7, 81
 Lyon Co., Ks. dfgmsw .52, Fr. ~~44~~.52, Mex.
 45.41-43, Welsh 46.10-11
 Lyon Creek 6.0, 41.11, 12 -- See also Lyona,
 Lower and Upper Lyon Creek.

Lyona, Ks. Ger. .21F, 41.23
 Lyons, Ks., Mex. *89, 38.0, 45.41-43

M

McAllaster-Wallace, Ks., Ger. .52A
 McDowell Creek, Geary Co., Swd. .31D, 42.13
 McFarland, Ks., Ger. .92A1, 7-8
 McPherson, Ks. 16.0, Ger. 41.50 (see also
 McPherson, Southwest), Swd. *~~44~~ *48. es-
 pecially *48h, 1, 42.13, 23,

(see also Lindsborg)

McPherson Co., Ks. # gs .54, 8.73, 30.1,

31.6, Fr. Can. 44.7, Menn. *51a-i, 4.2,

41.27, #43.41, *49a, and Crawford .76B,

Penn-Ger. 41.28,29, .54C, Swd. ^{42.11}4.2,³⁵42

McPherson, Southwest Ger. and Penn-Ger. .54C,

.64A

MacDonald , Ks. Ger. 12B

Madison, Ks., *99b, .16A8,9

Mafia *08g, *11j,k

Magyars 46,90, 46.7, present at: Fronte-

nac *09c, *11b, Herndon *28a, Kansas

City *30b

Main Mennonite District --See principally

41.25-28,38,⁵⁴55 -- See also Menn.,

Concentrated.

Manhattan, Ks, Ger. .77H, Mex. *90, *95d, *96h,

Swd. 42.13, *48f, .94F2

Mankato, Ks., Scand. .42D

Marena, Ks., North, Ger. .39A

Marais des Cygnes River 3.2,8, .58B3, .66F6

Marak, Ks. -- See Everest

Mariahdahl, Ks. Swd. *48, 6.0, 42.13,16, 20,22,

and Leonardville .77D1, Fancy Creek .77A2

Marienthal, Ks., Volgans .28A, 23.9, 40.22,9 ,

41.01,8, and Ellis Co. *03b, and St. Leo

.45C, and St. Peter .33B

Marion, Ks., Ger. .55H, 40.7, 41.22,50,

and Herington .21GX, and Gridley .16A5

Marion Co., Ks. cdfgm .55, 4.2,6.2, 8.72, Fr. 44.52,

Menn. *50, 43.41, *49a, .34A, Mex. 45.41, Penn-Ger 40.25, Volgans *53h

Marion Hill, Morris Co. Swd. ~~61A~~ 61A, 16.0,

42.13. See also Dwight, Parkerville, White
City

Marquette, Ks., Swd. *44a, *47b, .75E

Marshall Co. ^{Ks.} agds .56, 30.1 Cz. .94E,

Fr. 44.51-52, Ger. 23.5, 40.7, Swd. 42.35

Maryland, State of .21, .70 D2, localities

mentioned: Baltimore *03a, Frederick Co. .21

Marysville, Ks. 5.6, 6.3, 8.3, *25d, Cz. near

43.03, Ger. .56E, 40.7, 41.19, 4, 50, and other

settlements: Bremen-Horseshoe .56A4, Hanover

*26r,u,v, Linn-Palmer *60a, State Line .56B4,

Stolzenbach .56D, Upper Beaver Creek (Smith

Co.) .87B

Matfield Green, Ks. Ger. .09C

May Day, Ks. Ger. .77A4

Maydale, Lyon Co., Ger. .53H

Meade, Ks. 40.9, 41.11, .34B, .90B

Meade Co., Ks. .g.50, 30.1

Meat Packing -- See Packing Houses

Mecklenburg (both parts) *25f,j, *65a, .43A,

.56A3, .66A, .77A,H

Medicine Lodge, Ks. ~~24~~ 24.4

Mennonite Brethren 41.56, *49c, *50b,e,

*51j,k, .34A, .55A

Mennonite Church -- ~~See~~ See Old Menn.

Mennonites 41.25-28, 3.4, 4.2, 6.2, 7.2b, 9.1,

19.0, 25.1, 40.7,9, maintenance of Ger. 41.8,

.99, compared with Swd. and Volgans *44b,

constituents of Main District *49a, Concen-

trated District *49-*52 (for ~~towns~~ towns prin-

cipally concerned see also: Buhler,
Goessel, Hillsboro, Inman, Lehigh, Mound
Ridge), other settlements than those in
Concentrated

~~####~~ District occupied or affected:

(names followed by ~~####~~ + have General Con-
ference churches -- the greater number are
found in the ^{Concentrated} ~~####~~ District) Arlington + .74F,
Burdick .61D, Burns + .08B, Cimarron .34 C.,
Crawford .76B, Elbing-Whitewater + .08A,
Eminence .28H, Fredonia + .95B, Gnadenberg
(Grace Hill) + .38E, Halstead + .38C, Hunts-
ville .74B, Hutchinson + .74D2, Ingalls, ~~##~~
North .34A, Larned .69D, Meade .57B, Mingo
+ .90B, Montezuma + .34C, Murdock + .45A,
Newton + .38D, North Menn., Marion Co. +
.55A, Partridge (see Yoder), Pawnee Rock +
.05F, Plains .57A, Pretty Prairie + .74I,
Ransom + .64A, Spring Valley .54E, Topeka *
*68a, Whitewater + (see Elbing), Yoder-
Partridge .74E~~##~~G, Youngstown .55H

Mennonite Life 33.5

Mercier, Ks., Ger. .07E, *21d, .07I

Meriden, Ks., Ger. .84C

Meridian, McPherson Co., Penn-Ger. *51h

Messiah at Lindsborg 42.21, *44~~##~~d

Methodists~~##~~: "American" among Mex. --

see Protestants, "American" among Ger.:

Arrington .03H, Belpre .24E, Burlington .16B,

Franklin Twp., Trego Co., .91F, ^{Granada .62D} Grant Twp. ,

Norton Co. .65B, Hillsboro *50j, Hope .21G5,

Jaqua .12D, Nonchalanta .64E, Olpe .53H3,

Powhattan .07E, among Swd. Garfield .69E

Methodists (cont.)

German Conference 41.23,31b, Congre-
gations and missions: Abilene .21, Atchi-
son .03G5, Bazine .64C4, Beaver .05A, Bison
.79C, Burns .08B, Bushton .76A, Captain's
Creek .23F, Clark's Creek .31C, Clay Co.,
East Border .14C, Edwards Co. (near Sts.
Peter-Paul) .24A, Enterprise .21D, Eudora
.23C11, Fairmount .49L, Fancy Creek .77A3,4,
Halstead .38C, Jarbalo .49L, Kechi-Green-
with .81B, Ladore .63D, Lawrence *38c, Leav-
enworth *42b, Lyona .21F, Newton .38D1, Nor-
wich .45B, Otis .79D, Sylvia .74A, Wathena
.22A2, Wichita .83D, Woodbine .21F;

Swedish: 42.32,36,37 : Congregations
and missions: Lindsborg *45e, Mariadahl
*48b,c,j, Scandia *64i, Wayne .75E

Mexicans 45.00-92, *71-*99 (settlements are
here treated in alphabetical order; for list
see Table of Contents), defined for this
study 45.02, defined for 1930 census 45.40,
presence treated or mentioned outside of
*71-*99: Deerfield .28F, Frontenac *09c,
Garden City and sugar beets *22, *24,
Marienthal .28A

Mexico and Santa Fe Trail 6.2, localities
within mentioned: (In this list the sign
* applies in every case, and is hereafter
omitted) Aguas Calientes 73c, 77~~4e~~, 99b,
Baja California 91d, Buenaparte 89c,
Chihuahua 92,96j, 97f, 99b,

***** Mexico -- places (cont.)

Durango 71c, 84, 86n, 96b,h,i,j,

Falfurrias 86m, El Marmol 82, Guadala-

jara 97f, Guanajuato 73c,74, 83c, 85a, 86j,l,m,

90, 93, 96b

(Hidalgo 96b,k, Irapuato , Jalisco 73c, 84,

86k,l, 89c, 96b,i, Lagos 96i, La Paz 91d,

Leon 86n, 90, Lerdo 96i, Matamor#os 99b

Michoacan 75, 77e, 82, 86i,k, 95d, 96b,h,

99b, Monterrey 86n, 96i, Nuevo Leon 96b,

Oaxaca 85b, Omitlan 96k, Queretaro 76d, 86l,

Saltillo 80, San Juan de los Lagos 92,

San Luis Potosi 96b, Sombrerete 96j, Ta-

basco 71c, Tanguansicaro 86i, Torreon 96k,

Zacatecas 71c, 74, 93, 96b,h,j,k, Zamora

95d

Miami Co., Ks.^g.58

Miami Indian Reserve .58B2

Michigan *56a, *63b,e,f, *69d, *70b, .05B2,

.27B2, .71D4, .87E1,3, .94E,K, localities

within mentioned Allegan .87E2, Detroit *69d,

.27G2, Drenthe *63b, Fillmore Center *63,

Graafschaap *63b, Greenleifton *63b, Has-

tings .27G2, Holland .87E3, Kalamazoo *63f,

Minden .94E, Saginaw *69h, St. Joseph .27G2,

Walshville .27G2

Midland College .03B,C

Midway coal camp *07h, *12n

Mid-Russell Ger. .80D

Midwest Synod (Luth.) See German Nebraska

Synod

Milberger, Ks., Volgans *53, 41.14, and

other settlements: Bazine .64C, Gorham .80F,

Onaga .71A, Trego Center .91E

Milford, Ks., Ger. .31A, 6.0

Military Posts 6.0

Mines and Mining 37.0-38.0, 3.6. See also

Coal, Salt; also for coal Crawford-Cherokee,

Leavenworth, Osage City; also for salt Hutch-

inson, Kanopolis, Lyons

Mingo, Ks. .90B, Menn. 15.01, Swd. 42.13

Minneapolis, Ks. Ger. .68C

Mineral, Ks. See West Mineral

Minnesota -- Minnesotans present in Kansas

at: Andale *01a, Burdick .61D, Hanston .39B,

Jennings .20C, Lorraine .27G2, Lowe Twp.

(Washington Co.) .94A, Osborne .67B4, Na-

toma .67C, Paxico .92A6, Prairie View

*63b,e, Stuttgart .70B, Wilson *69d; locali-

ties within mentioned: Mountain Lake 41.26,

.39B, Northfield .64B4

Mission, Ks., Ger. .43D

Missions, Jesuit, for Indians: ^{23.2} St. Marys 5.2,

.71D, Osage Mission (St. Paul) 5.4, .63C

Mission Covenant Church (Swd) and antecedents

28.1, 42.32-34, Congregations and Missions:

Alert .77D2, Assaria *47f, Axtell .56I,

Brantford .94F4,6, Burdick .61D, Clay Cen-

ter .14B, Cleburne *48c,h, Courtland *64i,j,

Enne .73H, Enterprise .21E, Farlington .19A,

Jaqua .12D, Kansas City *31f,g,

Leonardville .77D5, Lindsborg *45b, Lund
.20D, McPherson *47i, Marquette *47b, New
Gottland *47h, Osage City *56a, Ottawa .30A',
Randolph *48b,h, Salina .81D, Savonburg .01
B8,9, Scandia *64i,j, Scranton .66B, Smolan
*47e, Stockholm .93B, Swedesburg .14B,
Stotler *56a, Topeka *67b

Mississippi, place within mentioned: Gib-
son .02 IV

Missouri 3.1, 41.27 -- Missourians present i n
Kansas at: Ackerland .49D, Alma .91A2, Al-
mena, South .65D, Angelus .85D, Bern .62B1,
Bethany .50B, Bison .79C, Block .58B1, Clau-
dell .87F, Delia .84A2, Emporia *19c,d, Fan-
cy Creek (Riley Co.) .77A3, Harper .37A',
Hepler .19B, Hudson .88B, Hunter .59E,

Independence .60D, Kansas City *30d,
Kinney Heights .97E1,2, Linn-Palmer *59c,
Little Blue .94E, Meade .57C, Odin .05B2,
Olathe .43A, Osage City *58m, Parsons Creek
(Washington Co.) .94G2, Pittsburg .19E,
Poppen Hill (Smith Co.) .87D, Ransom .64A ,
Rockville Twp. (Rice Co.) .76C,

Scipio *65b,d,h, St. Jo of the Valley
(Leavenworth Co.) .49B, St. Marys .71D4,
State Line (Marshall Co.) .56B, Stull .23A1,
Sylvia .74A, Tiago .75C, Wathena .22A1,2,B,
Worden *70b-g,o

places within mentioned;

Missouri -- places within -- (cont.)

Andrews Co. .62B1, Atchison Co. .56B1,

Blackburn .88B, Bucklin *64e, Cape Girar-

deau *60a, Cass Co. .37A, Cole Camp 41.11

(Ger. from Cole Camp present at: Block

.58B1, Coffeyville .60D, Hepler .19B,

Independence .60A1, Linn-Palmer *60b,

Meade .56C, Pittsburg .19E),

Cole Co. *65b,h, Concordia *59c, *60b, #####

.19E, Cosby .22A2, Farley .49D, Florissant

23.2, French Village (near St. Louis) .49B,

Gentry Co. .64A, Harlem .97E1, Hermann

*70b,c, .79C, Jefferson City *32a,b, Joplin

*07b, Kansas City *31a,f, *32c,f, *86 passim,

LaFayette Co..19E, Lexington ### *58m,

Minden Mines *07j, Monett *34a, Palmyra

43.10, Perry Co. .43A, Sheffield *86c, St.

St. Louis .02B2, .77A3,H, .91A2, .94E,
Joseph 3.7, 6.9, *261,w, *48d, .22A, Stover

-- see Cole Camp, Sugar Creek *34a, Taos

*65b, Wellington *70e, Weston 23.3, *42a,

.03C, Westport 6.2,3

Missouri, Kansas and Texas # RR 7.2, 8.2, towns

affected by: Bangor .16A6, Brantford .94F3,

Burdick .61D, Coffeyville *74, Council Grove

~~###~~

~~###~~

~~###~~

~~###~~

*75, Gridley .16A1, Humboldt .01B2,4, Marion

Hill .61A, Olpe .53H1, Parsons *93, .63D

Missouri Lutherans -- See Missouri Synod

Missouri Pacific RR 8.8, 45.2, towns affected

by: ~~Missouri Pacific RR~~ Coffeyville *74, Council Grove *75, Crawford-Cherokee *07c, Greeley *65a, Gridley-Lamont .16A7, Gypsum City *81, Herington .21G^X1, Hutchinson *83a, Osage City *55e, Salina *95a, Westphalia

.02B2. See also Central Branch.

Missouri River 3.7, 6.3

Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf RR --

See Fort Scott and Gulf

Missouri Synod, Lutheran Church 41.0-13, 32,

Congregations, Missions and Stations:

Afton .56G, Albert .05E, Alma .92A2,

Aliceville .16C, Alta Vista .92A4, Ar-

gonia .37B, Atchison .03G3,4,6, Basehor

.49E, Batesville .96D, Bazine .64C2,

Block .58B, Bremen-Horseshoe .56A,

Chase .76A, Cheney .83E, Chepstow

.94M, Cimarron .34B, Clark's Creek .31C,

Clay Center .14D, Coffeyville .60D, Colby

.90A, Deerfield-Lakin .28F, Dodge City .29 end,

Downs-Poppen Hill .87D, Duluth .71A, Dur-

ham .55C,

Elk-Immanuel .09A, Ellinwood .05I, Em-

poria .53D, Fairview .07C, Fowler .57A,

Greenleaf .94I, Haven .74H, Herndon *28b,e-g,

*29b, Hiawatha .07B, Hillsboro *50k, Holton

.40C, Hoxie .85B, Humboldt .01A, Hunter .59E,

Hutchinson .74D2,

Independence .60A, Junction City .31B,

Kansas City *31c, Kensington (Germantown)

.87A, Kinsley .24D, Leavenworth *42b,d,e,i,k,

Lincoln, South .50H, Lincolnville .55E,
Linn-Palmer *59b et seq. Ludell .73D, Lucas
.80B, Luray .80A, Lydia .28C, Lyon Creek,
Upper .21G,

McAllaster .52A, McFarland .92A7, Mil-
berger *53f,g,i, Mound Ridge *51i, Mulvane
.83G, Nashville .45D, Natoma .67C, Netawaka
.40A, Newton .38D1, North Nemaha .62A,B2,
Norton .65A, Nortonville .41B2, Odee .57C,
Offerle .24C, .29C, Olpe .53H3, Owl Creek
(Woodson Co.).96C,

Paxico .92A7, Pittsburg .19E4, Plain-
ville .78E, Plevan .74B, Potter .49A, Pow-
hattan .07E, Preston .72A, Ramona .55B,
Riley .77E6,

Scott City .28DE, Shady Bend .50G,
St. Francis *66a, Strong City .09B, Spring
Valley .54E, Stuttgart .70B, Sylvan Grove
.50D, Tampa .55B, Topeka *67b, Upper Bea-
ver Creek (Smith Co.) .87D, Vassar .66D,
Wathena .22B, Westfall .50H, Wichita .83D,
Winkler .77A5, Wittrup .39C

Mitchell Co., Ks. g .59, 30.1

MKT -- See Missouri, Kansas and Texas RR

Modoc, Ks., Ger. .28D

Monmouth Twp., Shawnee Co., Ger. .84E

Monrovia, Ks., Ger .03E

Montezuma, Ks., Ger .34C, 15.1, 44.23, .95B

Montgomery Co., Ks. gm .60, Greeks 46.41,

Mex. 45.41-43, Poles 43.40 note, 41, Slo-
venians 43.60

Monument, Ks. -- See Page

Mooney Creek, Jefferson Co., Ger. .41B, 6.3,

.03E. See also Nortonville

Moonlight, Ks., Ger. .21C

Moravian (religion) .67B4

Moravians, Ger. 4.6, 41.10,90, present at Od in

.05B, Olmitz, .05D, Slav, present at Black

Wolf *64e, Burntwood (Rawlins Co.) .73B, Delia .84A1,

Timken .79E, Zurich .78C. See also Czechs

Moray, Ks., Norwegians and Danes, .22C, 42.14-

16,7,81

Moreland, Ks. Ger. .33B2

Morris Co., Ks. gms .61, 6.2, 30.1 Scand.

42.11,35, Mex. 45.42, and Lyon Creek Ger.

.21G4

Morris Meat Packing Co. *33b,

Morrowville, Ks., Ger. 41.15

Mortimer, Ks. -- See Cherryvale

Mother Tongue Statistics 46.90-91, Kansas

City, Ks (1920) *30b

Mound Ridge, Ks. Fr. Can. .54F, Menn. *51h-i,

41.25, *49a, *51c-e, *52d-e, .45A, .74I

Mound Valley, Ks., Swd. 42.13

Mount Carmel Coal Co. *07c, *55b

Mount Carmel College *65c

Mount Olivet, Ks. .49B

Muddy Creek, Shawnee Co., Ger. .84C

Mulberry, Ks.,(mining) *07j, *10s, *12p, *13f

Mulberry Creek, Clay Co., Ger. .14A

Mulberry Twp, Clay Co., Fr Can. *02a

Mulvane, Ks., Ger. .83G

-1701-
1701

Munden, Ks., Cz. 43.00,03,21, *16c,d,f,j, *17f

Munjoy, Ks., Volgans *03-*05, especially *03

a,b, *041, *06c, .33B

Murdock, Ks. Menn ~~###~~ .45A

Music, -- See Singing

N

Narka, Ks. Cz. 18.0, 43.03, *16e,f,j, *17f

Nashville-Zenda, Ks., Ger. .45D

National Croatian Society 43.13

National Cz. Cemeteries 43.23, located at:

Caldwell .37D1, Cub~~#~~17f, Delia .84A3,

Jennings .20C, Little Blue .94E, Narka *17f,

Palacky *69, Timken .79E

Natoma, Ks., Ger. .67C, 40.8, .80A,F

Natrona, Ks., Ger. .72A See also Preston

Navarre, Ks., Penn-Ger. .21

Near West Belt 3.1,2,5, 5.6, 8.4,8, 9.0,

40.20,25, stocks: Cz 43.02, Fr.44.4, Fr.

Can. 44.7, Ger. 40.4,8, 41.11, Mex. 45.3,

Scand. 42.12, Volgans 40.4

Nebraska 3.1, 8.9, Cz. 43.10,22, Menn. 41.25,

26, *49c, Nebraskans present in Kansas at:

Alexander .79A, Angelus .85D, Athol-Gaylord

.87C, Aurora-Clyde *02, Bluff City .37C, Bow

Creek (Graham Co.) .33A, Burntwood (Rawlins

Co.) .73B, Byron .75A, Cheyenne Co. .12,

Delphos .68A, Enne .73H1,3, Garfield

Twp. (Norton Co.) .65A, Hanover *26d,e,v,

Herndon ~~##~~ *28b,j, Hope .21G5, Jennings .20C,

Leoville .20E, Linn-Palmer *61b, Logan .70D2,

Ludell .73D1,

Nebraska --Nebraskans in Ks. (cont.)

Meade .57B, Ogallah .91C, ~~Osborne~~

Osborne .67B1, Page-Monument .52B, Prairie

View *63a,b,e, State Line (Marshall Co.)

.56B, Wilson *69a,b

Localities within mentioned: Auburn *26e,

Barnston .56B5, Beatrice .56B5, 41.25,

Crete *28b, *69a, .68A, Eden *26e, Fairbury

6.3, Fillmore Co. .52B, Franklin .20C,

Grand Island *25c, Hastings *22 note,

Henderson .57B, Holland *63b, Humboldt .20C,

Jackson .37C, .57B, Kearney Co. ~~####~~

*32c, Lincoln 41.24, *53b, *22n, McCook

*28c,j, Minden *32c, Odee .73D1, Omaha 8.4,

24.0, 43.26, 45.90, Pickerell .56B1, Platte

River 6.3, Pleasant Hill *69a, Republican

City 8.9, Saline Co. *69a, ScottsBluff

*24b, Sterling .29D, Tecumseh .21G5, Thayer

Co., .75A, Wilber .68A, Wymore .56B4,5

Negroes *33a,f-h, *34b, *86c, *95

Nekoma, Ks. Ger. .79B

Nelson Coal Camp *07h,

Nemaha Co. ^{Ks.} fg .62, 23.4, 30.1, Stocks:

Fr. 44.51-52, Ger. 40.7, Penn-Ger. 40.25,

Swiss 44.03

Nemaha, North, Ger. .62A,B

Nemaha River 3.1

Neodesha land office 7.3

Neosho Co., Ks. gms .63, Stocks: Fr. 42.52,

Mex. 45.41-43, Swd. 42.35

Ness City ^{for} Ger. .64D,E

Ness Co. g .64, 4.6, *53h

Netawaka, Ks., Ger. .40A, 5.4

Netherlanders -- See Dutch

Netherlands, localities within mentioned:

Drenthe *63f, Friesland *63b, Gelderland

*63b, .87E3, Groningen *63b, .87E3, The

Hague *63f, Nieuweuzen *63f, Overijssel .87

E3

Neuchatel, Ks., Swiss Fr. *54, 6.3, 16.0, 29.0,

44.50, 54

New Almelo, Ks., Ger. .65C, 41.90, .73C

New Andover, Ks., Swd. .54B, 8.73, 42.13

New Basel, Ks., Swiss Ger. .21I, 6.0, 40.24, 7 ,

41.18, .21A, D, J

"New" Immigrants *33a, e. See also Greeks,

Italians, Poles, Slovenians, Croatians, etc.

New Cambria, Ks., Ger. .81C

New Gottland, McPherson Co., Swd *44a, *47g

New Hampshire, locality mentioned: Manchester

.78A4

New Jersey *63e, .77F4, .97E4, locality

mentioned: Paterson .87E4

New Mexico *76d, *77b, *81c, *94, locality

mentioned: Las Vegas *76d

New Orleans *54a, *65i, .23A2, .49B, .77A1,

.92A2

New York State , Stocks: Fr. .37AB, Ger .43A,

.56A3, Swiss *54a, f, Welsh *19c, i, .66F1,

.77F1, localities within mentioned: Buffalo

*54a, .68D, New York City *48d, *69b, c, d,

Utica *19i, *54a, ¹⁻.66F3, .77F1

Newburn, Cheyenne Co. .12

Newbury, Ks. Ger. .92A1,6,7, 40.02

Newspapers 33.6, Cz. 43.26, *69b,h, Fr.

44.54, *41a, *54e, Ger. 33.9, 41.50,51,

*03f, *38e,f, *421,m, .38C, Swd. 42.44, *46h

Newton, Ks. 8.72, 19.4, 36.1, .54F, Ger. .38D,

33.9, 41.50,51,6,25, *52e, Mex. *91, 45.41-43,

45.50, *96

Nickerson, Ks., Ger. .74B",B, .76D

Nonchalanta, Ks., Ger. ~~###~~ .64E

North and Northern -- For geographical or settlement names in Kansas beginning North and Northern, see the next word of name, that is: Ellsworth, Hoxie, Ingalls, Lucas, Mennonite, Nemaha, Pawnee, Scott

North American Baptist Church 41.22. See also

Baptist, German

North Dakota .32A2

Norton, Ks., Ger. .65A

Norton Co. gn .65

Nortonville, Ks., Ger. .41B, 6.3

Norway, localities within mentioned:

Trondhjem .42B.
Sogndal *21b, Stavanger *21c, See also

Norwegians

Norway, Ks., Scand. 42.7,90,91, *64j

Norwegian Lutherans (most in later years in

Evangelical Lutheran Church) 42.90,

congregations and Missions: Almena, South

.65 end, Eureka .36A, Everest-Robinson *21

a-e, Mankato .42D, Moray .22C, Norway *64j,

Randall .42F

Norwegians 42.90-92, 4.3, 40.00, 42.11, 12, 7,
46.90 , present at: Denmark *18a,c, Eureka
.36A, Everest-Willis *21, Frontenac .09c,
Kanona .20B, Kansas City *30b, Mankato .42D,
Moray .22C, Oberlin .20A, Reubens .42B,
Randall .42F, Scandia *64b,c,e,j,k, Whiting
.40B

Norwich, Ks., Ger. .45B

0

Oak Mills, Ks., Ger. .03I

Oakley, Ks., Ger .52C

Oberlin, Ks. .20A, 7.3, 8.9, *28j, *29d

Odee, Ks., Ger. .57C, 15.1 note

Odense, Ks., Scand .01A1, 4, 9

Odin, Ks., Moravian Ger. .05B, 41.01, 90,

.05A, .45C, .76A

Offerle, Ks. Ger. .24C, 8.72, 41.20, Vol-
gans *03b

Offerle, South, Ger. .29C, .24C

Ogallah, Ks. 8.4, Ger. .91C, Swd. .91D, 42.13

Ogden, Ks. 7.3, Ger. .77G

Ohio, State of, Fr. *54b,c,e,f, .37AB, Ger.

*70f, .09C, .16A2, 5, .19E, .21D, .23A1, 2, 5,

.24E, .26C, .29B, .37A', .41B2, .42A, .49A,

.50B, .53H1, .59BC,E, .62B4, .65C,D, .66A,

.71D4, .47EG, .77A3, .78F, .80D, .84C, .85D,

.88B, .97A, Welsh *19b,c,i, .66F2, .77F3

Localities within mentioned: Auglaize Co.

.53H1, Black Swamp *26n, Cincinnati *26b,

*31d, .08B, .29B, .97A, Cleveland *54b,

Glenmore .37AB, Gomer *19a, Hamilton Co.

Ohio-- places within (cont.)

.59BC, Hanging Rock .41B2, Huron Co. .09C,

Lancaster *04a, Licking Co. *19c,i, Louis -

ville *54c, Marietta .84C, Monroe Co. .16A5,

Morrow Co. *19i, Napoleon *26n, Newark

*19c,i, .77F3, Orrville .37A', Sardis .16A5,

Toledo .77A3, Trenton .49A, Welsh Hills *19c

Ohio Synod Lutherans (Ger. -- later part of

American Lutharan Church) 41.14-15, congre-

gations and Missions: Bird City .12B, Fair-

view .07C, Goodland .86B, Kaw Twp., Wabaun-

see Co. .92A6, Lenexa .43C, Palmer *60d,

Tescott .68D,

Oketo, Ks., Cz. .56C, 43.03

Oklahoma, State of, 3.1, Stocks: Cz. .37D1,

.68A, Ger. 41.20, *60c, Menn. 41.25, 26, 27,

*51a, .34A, .37A', .90B, .95B, localities

within mentioned: Beaver Co. .34A, Cherokee

Strip *60a, .07AD1, Corn 41.26, Custer .02

IV (Vol. I), Enid, North 41.26, Henrietta

*14b,c, Fairview 41.26, Goltry .95B, Man-

chester .37A', Oklahoma City *97f, *99b,

Okmulgee *08e, Prague .68A, Renfrow .37D1

Olathe, West, Ger. .43A, C

"Old" immigration -- See particularly

• Germans, Swedes

Old Mennonites (officially Mennonite Church)

41.28, congregations and missions:

Concentrated Menn. District *49c, *50a, *51a,b

(Crystal Springs .37A", Harper .37A', Hartford

.53H, McPherson, Southwest .54C, Osborne .

.67B3, Ransom .64A, Yoder .74EG

Old Order Amish -- See Amish

Old St. Jo (Hodgeman Co.) .39E, Cz. 43.0#3,

Ger. 8.72

Oldenburg(ers) 41.01, *26j,l,n,p, .53H2,

.56A3, .62C3, .68B, .94M2

Omitz, Ks. .05D, Cz. 43.03,10,22, .79E,

Moravian Germans 41.01

Olpe, Ks., Ger. .53H, 40.6, 41.01, .02B2,

.04A

Olpe, West, Fr. .53G, 44.50,52, *02h

Olsburg, Ks. Swd. *48a,1

Onaga, Ks. *54c,e, .71A2

Ontario, Canada .79I

Oregon Trail 6.3, *25b, .56E

Orthodox Catholic, Greek 46.51, *37a,

Russian 43.8, *35d, Serb 43.60, *35d

Osage City, Ks., Mining District *55-*58,

19.5, 37.1-9, stocks: Fr. 44.50,52,53,54,

.55I, Italians 33.3, 44.10,20, Mex. 45.42,

Swd. 40.16, 42.13,22,35,7, .53D, Welsh

46.10-11, .66F5

Osage Co., Ks. gsx .66, 3.8, 6.2, 8.4,5,

37.0, stocks: Dutch .87E2, Fr. 44.52,

Ger. *70d, Italians 44.10, Mex. 45.42, Sac

and Fox Indians *55a, .66F, Swd. 42.35

Osage Indians and their lands 5.4, .01B1,2,

.04B, .63C

Osage Mission, Ks. (St. Paul) 5.4, *121, Ger.

.63C, 5.4, 23.2

Osborne Co. g .67, 30.1 Cz. *69e, .87F,

Penn-Ger. 40.25, 41.20

Ost, Ks., Ger. *01, especially *01a,c

Otis, Ks. Volgans .79D, 8.72, 41.14, .55C

Otoe Indian lands 5.6, .56B1,C, .94C

Ottawa, Ks., Ger. .29A, 41.02, Mex. *92,

45.41-43, Swd. .29A, 42.13,20

Ottawa Co. Ks., cdgn .68

Overland Trail 6.3

Owl Creek, Woodson Co., Ger. .96C

P

Packing houses 39.0, in settlement accounts

see especially: Kansas City *33, *86bd,

also Topeka *68d, Wichita *97a

Padonia, Ks., Welsh .07A, 15.1, 46.10-11

Page, Ks.-Monument Polyglot .52B, 8.4, Fr. Can.

44.7, Swd. 15.01, 42.13, .90B

Painterhood Swd. 15.1

Palacky, Ks., Cz., *69, especially *69e, 16.0,

43.03

Palatinate (Pfalz) *49b, *65i, .22B, .54E

Palco, Ks. Dutch 42.00. For Fr. Can. see Damar

Paola, Ks. 8.9. For Ger. see also Block

Palestine. See Syria

Palmer, Ks., Danes .94K, For Fr. Can, see Pal-

mer-Greenleaf, for Ger. see Linn-Palmer,

especially*59a, *60a,e,f, *62g, 41.14,15,32

Palmer-Greenleaf, Ks., Fr. Can. .94N, 15.01,

44.7, *02d. See also Greenleaf

Palmyra, Ks. 6.2

Park, Ks., Volgans and Blackseamen .32A, 16.0,

40.9, 41.01, *03b

Parkerville, Ks., Swd. 42.35. ##See also Mar-

ion Hill

Parochial schools See Schools.

Parsons, Ks. 8.2, 16.0, 36.1, Ger. .63D,

Mex. *93, 45.3, 41-43, 50

Parsons Creek, Washington Co., Ger.

.94G, Danes .94K, Fr. 44.52, .94N,

Greek 46.41

Parties See Social Events

Partridge, Ks., Amish .74EG, 41.28

Pawnee Co., Ks. mg .69, Mex. 45.41⁴³, *22d,

Swd. 42.22

Pawnee, North Border, Ger. .69A

Pawnee Rock, Ks., Menn. .05F, 8.12, 16.0 ,

41.25, .69A, D

Paxico, Ks., Ger. .92A1, 6-7. See also

Newbury

Peabody, Ks., 41.26, .55B, .79C

Penn-Germans 40.25, 41.18, 27, 28, *49a, c,

*51a, Present at: Abilene .21, Ben-

nington .68F, Bonaccord .21H, Brown Co. ~~304~~

.07, Bushong .53A, Derby .83G, Dorrance .80H,

Douglas Co. *70e, g,

Gove Co. .32, Granada .62D, Gridley-

Lamont .16A3, Harper Co. .37A', A", Hartford

.53F, Huntsville .74B, Lucas, North .80B,

McPherson, Southwest .54C, New Cambria

.81C, Norwich .45B, Osborne Co. .67B,

Ransom .64A, Rosette .50C, Russell Co.

*69e, Sabetha .62F, Sawyer .72B, St. John

.88C, Stolzenbach .56D, Stull .23A3, Valley

Falls .41A, Yoder-Partridge .74EG, Zook .69F

~~Penn-Germans - Abilene mentioned in Ger. 7503.~~

-1710-
1710

✓ Pennsylvania, stocks mentioned: Cz. .56C,

.68A, Dutch .87E4, Fr. .23G, Ger. from Germany*70c, .05B2, .21, .21H, .23A3, .29C, .30A, .39A, .71D4, .76B, .87B, .97D, Poles .75C, Swd. .66F, Swiss *54b,f, Welsh *19c, .66F2, mining stocks *11b,

Places within mentioned: Bethlehem .

.67B1, Butler .29C, Cumberland Co. .21, Dauphin Co. .21, Franklin Co. .21, French Town .23G, Gettysburg .21, Lancaster Co. .21, Lebanon Co. .21, Mercer Co. *11a, Pittsburgh (Fr.) *54b, (Ger.) 23.9, (Mex.) *77e, *96h, Poles *43c, .75C, (Welsh) *19c,

(Pittston .39A, Wilkesbarre *19c

Pesth, Ks., Hung. Ger. (Herndon) *28c

Peterton, Ks., Welsh *55a, *57a,b

Pfalz See Palatinate

Pfeifer *03-*05, especially *03a, *04c. *06c

Phillips Co. ^{Ks.}gh .70, 30.1, Cz. .87F, Dutch 42.00

Mex. 45.42, Norw. 42.90

Phillipsburg, Ks. 28.8, .70D2

Pietists 28.1, .64C3

Pilsen, Ks., Cz. .55D, 4.2, 8.72-73, 16.0, 23.1,

43.03,22

Pittsburg, early name of Tipton .59D

Pittsburg, Ks. mining area *07-*14, especially

*07c,i, *08a-e, *11f, *12k,r, *13f, Ger.

40.02,23, 41.14,50, (rural) .19E, Italians

33.6, 44.23, Lebanese 46.8

Plainville, Ks., Ger. .78E, Cz. 43.03, Fr. Can.

.78A3

Pleasant Grove, Ks. Ger. *701

Plum Creek, Phillips Co., Ger. .70C

"Poles" Jews 43.42, Menn. from lower

Vistula .38E, from Volhynia (see also Swiss in Volhynia) 41.25,27, 43.40 note.

Present at: Burns .08B, Canton *51a,c,d, Halstead .38C2, Larned .69D, Marion, North .55A, Montezuma .34C, Pawnee Rock .05F, Scott North .52D, Tampa .55A, Wallace .52A

Polish 43.40-5, 23.00, 40.00, 46.90,

present at: Caldwell .37D1, Crawford-Cherokee *07a, *09e, *10b, *11e-g,m,n,p, *12b, p,s, Dubuque .05A, Gorham .80F, *03m, .75C, Hope .21G5, Kansas City *30a-c,e, *32c, *33f-l, *34a-e, *36c,d,m,n, Leavenworth *43, Lowe Twp. (Washington Co.) .94A, Olpe .53H2, Tiago .75C. See also "Poles" and Volhynians

Polish National Alliance 43.45, Frontenac *09e, Leavenworth *43e

Politics in Kansas 9.1-6, Cz. *69i, Swd 42.42, Volgan *03g,h

Pomerania(ns) 41.11, present at: Alta Vista .92A3, Bremen-Horseshoe .56A3, Bushton .76A, Duluth .71A, Ellsworth, North .27C, Hanover *26j, Lincolnville .55E, Owl Creek .96C, Shady Bend .50G, Upper Lyon Creek .21G1, Worden *70j

Pontiac-Rosalie, Ks., Ger. .08D

Pony Express Station State Park *25

Poppen Hill, Smith Co., Ger. .87D

Population Statistics (entries include only

certain statistics presented in tabular form)

by Settlements: Aurora-Clyde (1875) *02c,

Chicopee (1905) *08g, Emporia *19c-d, Eu-

dora (1860-1895) .23C1, Frontenac (1917) *

*09c, Garden City (1900-1940) *22b, Gridley-

Lamont (1885, 1895, 1925) .16A3, Hanover

(1885) *26j, Lindsborg (1885-1940) *46d, Osage Coal Fields (1885-1905) *55c,f, (1870-1925) *58b, St. Marys (1870) .71D4,
 by stocks : Cz. (1895) 43.02, Flemings Willowdale (1885-1915) .45C2;
 Mother Tongue statistics for State

(1895) 42.04, Fr. (1865-1885) 44.51-52, Ger.

(1895) 40.01,3, Italians (1900,1910) 44.10,

Mex. (1910-1950) 44.40,41,42,43 (also

untabulated initial statements *71-*99 and

*22a, Russian Ger. (1895) 40.4, Scand. (1895)

42.11,12, Swiss (1870-1930) 40.03

all stocks Mother Tongue (1910-1930)

46.90

See also Survivors and Year of Immigration

Populism 9.5

Portuguese 44.10 note, *30b

Posen .37D1, .50B,4G, .53H2, .74B"

Posten 33.6, 42.44, *46g

Pottawatomie Co., Ks. gx .71, 30.1, Fr. 44.51-52,

Ger 40.7, Mex. 45.42, Swd.42.23

Pottawatomie Indians and lands 5.2, 3.7, 46.7,

and European stocks: Cz. .84A, Fr. Can.

44.80, Ger. *67a, .92A1, St. Marys polyglot

.71D

Potter, Ks., Ger. ~~###~~ .49A. See also Easton-

Potter

Powhattan, Ks. 5.5, Ger. .07E

Prairie City, Ks., Fr. .23G, 44.50, 51, 52 -1713-

Prairie View, Ks., Dutch *63, 42.00, .89E1

Pratt, Ks., Mex. *94, 45.41-43, #####

Pratt Co., Ks. .72, 45.41-43

Pre-emption 7.1

Presbyterians 29.0, by stocks present at:

^{43.2}
Cz.: Cuba *16c, Delia .84A2, Irving.56M,

Ger.##### 41.24: Bonaccord .21H,

Freeport .37B, Mulberry Creek .14A, Riley

.77E4

Welsh: Arvonla .66F5, Bala .77F4, Burr-

ton .38F, Emporia *19f,n,

Preston, Ks.-Natrona Ger. .72A

Pretty Prairie, Ks., Menn. .74I, 40.22, 8,

41.25, .74F

Pre-West Belt 3.5, 4.0-3, 8.4, 9.0, 34.0,

Stocks present in: Cz. 43.02, Flemish 42.00,

Fr. from Europe 44.50
05, Fr. Can. 44.7, Ger. 40.20, 25, 7, 41.11,

Scand. 42.12, 20

#####

Primary Catholic Russian Ger. (Volgans) *03-

*05, .99, .04A, and other settlements:

Codell .78F, Herndon *28d,j, LaCrosse .79A,

Sharon .04A. See also Ellis Co., Russian

Ger., and Volgans

Promoters and Promotion of Immigration and of

Settlements. Promoters:

Commercial Individuals: Ger.: Flusche

(Westphalia) .02B2, (Olpe) .53H2, Hollenberg

(Hanover) *25a-d,h, Offerle (Offerle).24C,

Kettler (Linn-Greenleaf) .94I1, Janzen

(Lorraine) .27G, Krug (Milberger) *53b-d,

Welsh: Jenkins (Bala) .77F1, Jones, Rees

Promoters and Promotion (cont.)

(Arvonian) .66F,

Local enthusiasts: Cz. : Swehla *69a-e

(Wilson), Stach (Delia) .84A, Danish:

Bernhardt *18a-c, Ger.: Bitler (Olpe)

.53H1,2, Ast, ~~####~~ Hollis (Ost) *01a, Baden

(Independence) .60A

Railroad representatives: Jansen (Burling-

ton) 8.9, Roedelheimer (Kansas Pacific) 8.4

*03d,e, .79B
b,e, Schmidt (Santa Fe) 8.71 et passim, es-
pecially *49b,c, .29B,

Religious leaders: Cath. (Ger.): Fink 23.7,

Franciscans ^{Loevenich} .08B, ^{*01g} Prot.: ^A Bapt.: (Ger.) 27G,

Lutheran (Swd.): Olsson *44c, Ohslund *64e,

Menn. (Ger.) especially *50e, *51c,d,f,

Settlers Associations: Cz. (Wilson) *69b,d,

Ger. (Eudora) .23C2, (Humboldt) .01a, (Wind-

horst) .29B, Swd. ^{42.20} (Lindsborg) *44b, *47a,

(Scandia) *64a,b, Welsh (Bala) .77F1

Promotion: by railroads (Burlington) 8.9

(Kansas Pacific) 8.4,b-e, *03d,e, *53b-d,

.27G, .77F1, .87E2, (Santa Fe) 8.70-73,

.05F,I, *49b,c

by promotion companies : Swd. Colonization

Company 42.20, for Stockholm .93B

by the State 8.4b, .80H

~~Prussia and Prussians (quite incomplete) 41.25,~~

~~*65c, .08I, .23C8, .56 A3, .58B1,7, .71D4,~~

~~.74B", .88D, .91A, .94G1,11, .96B, .97A. See~~

~~also Rhinelanders.~~

Prohibition 9.2-4, .02B2

Prosveta 43.63

Protection, Ks., Penn-Ger. Menn. 41.28

Protestants 25.0, in Crawford-Cherokee mining

*12j,k, Dutch 42.00, Fr. 44.54, .15E, Ger.
or shifting

*40.6-9, (denomination unspecified) *27b-c,

e-h, .24E, 21Gx2, .68B,

Mex. (denomination specified where ascer-
tained): Chanute (Bapt) *73b, Dodge City
*76c, Emporia *77c, Garden City *24f, Good-
land *80, Hutchinson (Meth., Bapt.) *83b,
Kansas City *86g (Bapt.), Lyons (Meth.) *89b
Bl, Topeka (Bapt.) *96d,e, Wichita *97b,c,f
(Meth., Bapt., others), Wellington *98b

See also the names of the various denomina-
tions.

Prussia and Prussians (quite incomplete) 41.25,

*65c, .03I, .23C8, .56A3, .58B1,7, .71D4,
B
.74ⁿ, .88D, .91A, .94G1,I1, .96B, .97A. See

also Rhinelanders

Public land 7.1-7.5

Public schools 31.0-31.4. See also Schools

Publications 33.4,5,7. See also Newspapers
and the names of religious bodies and of
societies

Q

Quivira, Ks. .43B

R

Radley, Ks., (mining) *07h,j, *10c, *12p,

*13f, *15a

Railroads 8.0-9, and coal mining 37.4~~4~~ (see also Crawford-Cherokee and Osage), labor 36.1, ~~44~~.10, *56b (see also the sections on Mex. *71-*99), settlements at termini 19.4. See also the names of the various RR lines.

Rainfall in Kansas 3.3

Ramona, Ks. Ger. .55B, 4024, 41.14 See also Tampa

Randall, Ks. Ger. .42E, Norwegians and Danes .42F, 15.1, 4214, 7, 90

Randolph, Ks, Swd. (and Ger.) 42.35, *48a-c, h, i, l, .77A2, D1

Ransom, Ks., Ger. .64A, 15.1

Rawlins Co., Ks. edgs .73, 30.1, .20A, 23.1, 42.22, 35

Reading, Ks. 44.54

Records of Churches 33.0, congregational records cited for: Alida .21A, Banner Twp. (Dickinson Co.) .21J, Brantford .94F7, Byron .75A, Clearfield .23F, Denmark *18f, Hanover *27i, Hepler .25B, Hermansberg .56A10, Herndon *29d, Junction City .31B, Kensington .87A, Newton .38D2, Ogallah .91~~1~~D, Spring Valley .54E, Stockholm .93B, Turkey Creek~~##~~ (Woodson Co.) .96A, Wabaunsee, South .92B

Reformed Church, Dutch~~#####~~ 42.01, Dispatch .87~~##~~E5, Prairie View *63a, c

German 41.18, congregations and missions:

Alida .21A, Bern .62B1, Cheney .83E, Enter-

Reformed Church German Congregations (cont.)

prise .21D, Fairview .07C, Holton .40C, Iola
.01, Milberger *53h, Nemaha, North .62A, New
Basel .21I, Sabetha .62F, Wathena .22A2.

See also Evangelical and reformed Church (of
which these Ger. congregations became a part)
Regions of Kansas 3.5-4.8. See also East, Pre-
West, Near West, Far West

Reich Germans 40.23,24 See also Germans
Religion and Religious Bodies ~~#####~~ 20.00,
21.00. See also the names of the various
religious bodies and , under Schools, sub-
heading Parochial

Reno Co., Ks. gms .74, 4.7, 8.73, 30.1
stocks: Fr. 44.52, Menn. 4.2, 41.28, *49a,
*51i,c,k, Mex. 45.41-43

Republic Co., Ks., cgps .75, 30.1, 42.35

Republican River 3.1, 44.7

Reubens, Ks., Norwegians .42B, 5.6, 42.14

Rhine, Ks., Ger. .86B

Rhinelanders *01a, *26b,j, .05B2, .30B, .43A,
.56A4,D,G, .58B3, .59D, .77A6, .80B .94N.

See also Prussians

Rice, Ks., Belgians .15F, 29.0, 44.50, *02g

Rice Co., Ks. gm .76, 4.6, 45.41-43, *89

Richmond, Ks., Ger. *65e

Riley, Ks., Ger. .77E, 29.0, 40.02, 41.24

Riley Co. gmsw .77, 30.1, stocks: Ger. 40.7,
Mex. 45.41-43, Polish 43.41, Swd. 42.11,23,
35, Welsh 46.10-11

Ringo, Ks. mining *07h, *10c, *12p

River Brethren 40.25, 41.29, in Brown Co. .07

in Dickinson Co. .21, .21C,G5

Rivers in Kansas 3.2 See also the names of
rivers

Robinson, Ks., Norw. 42.90, *21a,b

Rock Island RR 8.8, 8.71, 45.2, *76d, towns
and areas affected: Alta Vista .92A3, Bala
.77F2, Bern .62B2, Herington *81b, .21G^x1,
Horton *82, .07I, Hutchinson *83a, Paxico
.92A7, Pratt *94, Republic Co. *16c, Salina
*95, Stuttgart .70B, Topeka *96b

Rockville Twp., Rice Co., Ger. .76C

Rollin, Ks., Ger. .63B

Roman Catholic. See Catholics

Romance languages 2.2, *33h. See also French,
Italian, Spanish

Rooks Co., Ks. cfg .78, stocks: Cz. .87F,

Dutch 42.00, Fr. Can. 4.5, 44.4,7,80

~~*****~~
Rosedale, Ks. ~~•~~ Flemings .97E1, Welsh 46.10-11,
*30e

Rosette, Ks., Penn-Ger. .50C

Rossville, Ks. Cz. 43.03, .84A2

Rotate Twp., ~~*****~~ Rawlins Co., .73K

Rotterdam, Ks. (later Dispatch), Dutch .87E

Round Springs, Ks., Ger. .59E

Rozel, Ks., Ger. .69AC

Ruleton, Ks., Swd. .86A, 42.13

Rumanians 44.0 note, *30b

Rush Center, Ks., Ger. 41.14, .79B

Rush Co., Ks. cg .79, 4.6, 8.72, 30.1, Volgans
40.8, *03-*05, and other settlements:

Rush County -- and other settlements (cont.)

Bazine .64C1, Gridley .16A5, Milberger *53

a,h, Ness City .64D, Wallace Co. .93C

Russell, Ks. Ger. (including Mid-Russell) .80D,

41.17,50,6, *53a,g,h,j,k,l, and other settle-

ments: Bazine .64C, Oakley .52C, Trego

Center .91EL

Russell Co., Ks. og .80, 4.6, 8.4, 40.8

Russia, localities within mentioned:

Alexanderwohl *49c, Alt Denhof .79F, Anna-

feld *50b, Berdiansk 8.9, .38D4, Bergdorf

*66a, Bergseite *03c, *53b, *68b, Bessa-

rabia*53d, *66a, Brunnenthal .79D, Bug

River *66a, Crimea *49c, *50g, Dniester

River *66a, Dobrinka .55G, Dreispitz *50i,

.55B,C, Eckheim *53a, .55C, .64C2, .79C

Franzfeld .22A, Franzosen .55C,

Friedenburg .79D, Galka .55C, Gath^{tu}ng *003b,

Graddenz on the Vistula .05F, Graf *03b,

Grigropol *37e, Herzog *03b,e, .32H,

Hindman *68b, Husenbach .55G, .64C2, Ja-

godnoje *53a, .79D, Josefstal .22A, Kamenka,

.33B
*03c, *68b, Karaman *03c,d, Katarinenstadt

*03c, Kiev *49, Klein Liebenthal .22A, Klein

Mohr .79C, Koehler *68b, Kratzke *53a,b,c, .91EL

Kutter .79C, Liebenthal *03c,d, Louis *03b,

.33B

Marienberg *66a, Marienthal *03b, Marien-

tal .22A, .32A, Merkel .64C2, Michalin.05E,

Mohr .79C, Molotschna River *49c, Neu Chor -

titz .55A, Neudorf *66a, Neu Norka .55C,

Neu Obermonjour *03c,d, Norka .21G^x1, .55C,

.79C, Obermonjour *03b, Odessa *37e, Os-

trog .05F, Pfeifer *03b, *68b, Plotzk *53d,

Pobotschnaja *53b,c,h, .79D, Polova *37g,

Rohrbach *66a, Rothamel *03c,

Sarata *66a, Saratov *53d, .55G,

Schoenchen *03b,d, Schoendorf *53a, Simfera-

pol *50b, Strassburg .55G, Sutton *66a,

Tscherbakowa .55B,C, Vistula *49c, *50h,

Volga *50b, Volhynia *49b, .05E, Walter

.64C2, Wiesenseite *03c, *53b, Wittman *03b

Russian Germans (Here are entered only refer-

ences covering all Germans who immigrated

to the United States from Russia) 3.4,4.2,

4,6,9, 40.00,20,22,4,5,7,8,9, 41.8, *30b,c,

*3ld. See also for more extensive references

the headings designating sub-groups of

Russian Germans: Blackseamen, Mennonites,

Volgans, less importantly, "Poles", Volhynians

Russians 43.00,8, 46.96, at Frontenac *09c,

at Kansas City *30b,c, *33g-l, *35d,e, *36

d,e,l,m

Ruthenians See Ukrainians

S

S and S Meat Packing Company *33b,g,

Sabetha, Ks. Ger. (Swiss, Penn-Ger.)

.62F, 41.28, .16A6, .62B5

Sacs and Foxes and their lands 5.1, 46.7, *55a,

.07, .66F1

Saffordville, Ks., Mex. 45.41,

Saint -- See St

Salem Twp., Greenwood Co., Norwegians 42.11 -1721-
Salemsburg, Ks., Swd. *44a, *47d, *64e

Salina, Ks. 7.3, 8.9, *69a, 26.0, Fr.

44.50,52, Ger. .81B, 41.4, *03b, Mex *75,

45.41-43,50, Swd. .81D, 9.4, 42.13,44, *44a

Saline Co., Ks. fgms ^{.81}~~5~~30.1, *69a, Fr. 44.52,

Mex. 45.41-43, Swd. 4.2

Salt mining 38.0, Mex. *83a, *85, *89a

Santa Fe RR 8.5-73, 5.3, Mex. 45.2, *73a, *76a,

d, *77b,e, *83a, *84, *86l, *87, *88a, *91a,b,

*96a-c,k, *97a,b, *98b, *99, affecting other

settlements: Andale-Colwich *01a,b, Arvonia

.66Fl,4, Aurora *02d, Burdick .61D, Burlingame

.77Fl, Carbondale .66A, Crawford-Cherokee

*07c, Denmark *18e, Dodge City .29end, Elk-

Immanuel .09A, Ellinwood .05I, Halstead .38C,

Kackley *64e, Lorraine .27G, Marion .55H,

Main Mennonite *49b, Newton .38D1,2, Offer-

le .24C, Olpe .53H, Osage City *55a,e, Otis

.79D, Pawnee Rock .05F, Pretty Prairie .74I ,

Strong City .09B, Topeka *55d, *68a,c, Wich-

ita .83D, Willowdale .45C, Wilson-Palacky

*69b, Windhorst .29B1

Savonburg, Ks. 16.0, Swd. .01A, 5.4, 42.13,16,6

Sawyer, Ks., Penn-Ger. .72B

Saxman, Ks., Ger. .76D

Saxons and Saxony *26j, ^{*53b}~~^~~^{*65a}, .29C, .55A3,E,
^{.77A4}

.74A, .83E, .88B, .97A

Scammon, Ks., mining *07-*14, especially

*07b,i, *11f, *12l,m,s, *13f

Scandia, Ks., Swd. *64, 5.6, 42.13, 14, 20, 22, 6, 7

and other settlements: Brantford .94F1, Enne

.73H3, Mariadahl *48c

Scandinavian Agricultural Society *64a, c

Scandinavians 4.1, 5.6, 9.6, Present (more

than one stock) at: ^{Almena, South} Altavista .65^{end}, At-

wood .73G, Bennington .68^F, Bethel .97C,

Chardon .73J, Concordia *02f, Everest,

South .03A, Jewell Co., Central .42D, Kan-

sas City *33h, Mingo .88B, Randall .42F,

Spellman Creek (Lincoln Co.) *18a, ^{See also Danes, Norw., Swd.}

Schengen, same as Schoenchen *03a

Schleswig(ers) *26j, .76A, .79C, .96C.

See also Slesvigiers

Schoenchen *03-*05, especially *03a, c, *04

c, j, k, *06d

Schoenfeld, Barton Co., *53h,

Schoental, Rush Co. .79D

Schools 30.0-31.9, 12.2, 41.30-32, 42.40,

located (usually but not always for-ling

schools): Alma .92A2, Block .58B6, Bushton

.76A, Delia .84A4, Denmark *18d, e, Dis-

patch .87E5, Ellis Co. *04h et seq.

Eudora .23C4, 13, Frontenac *09f-i, Garden

City area *22h, k, m, *24e, f, Garfield Twp.

(Norton Co.) .65A,

Hanover *27d, Herington .21G2, Hermans-

berg .56A9, 11, 12, Herndon *29c, d, Junction #

City .31B, Kackley *64g, Kansas City *31b,

*32c, *34d, *35a-e, *37C, Lawrence *38d,

Leavenworth *42c-e, Leonardville .77E6,

Lindsborg *45a, Linn-Palmer *61c, *62d, h, i,

Lyndon .66D, Lyon Creek, Upper .21G2, ~~####~~

~~####~~ Meade .57B,

(Mennonite, Concentrated, *51f,i, Menn. North, Marion Co.
55A, Newton .38D1

Odin .05B3, Olpe .53H3, Otis .79D, Park

.32A4, Pittsburg .19E, Pretty Prairie .74I,

Savonburg .01B9, Scandia *64m, Scipio *65g,

Smolan *47e, Spring Valley .54E, Stotler

*56e, Stuttgart .70B, Sylvan Grove .50D,

Topeka *68e, Trego Center .91E3, Westfall

.50H, Westphalia .02B4, Wichita .83D, Witt-

rup .39C, Worden *70o

Schulte, Ks.-Baynesville Ger .83F

Scipio-Greeley Ger *65, 31.6, 40.02, 6, 41.31 ,

42.05, and other settlements: Humboldt .01A,

Leoville .20E, Owl Creek (Woodson Co.) .96C,

Tecumseh .84D, Westphalia .02B4

Scotch, in Crawford. ~~On~~ brokee *07a, *09, *11h,i

Scott Co., Ks. .28 (.82), 40.25, 45.42,

*22d

Scott, North, Volgans .52D

Scranton, Ks. 6.2, *55d, Swd. .66B, 42.13

Scully lands .55A,B

Seapo, see Wayne

Sedgwick Co., Ks. gms .83, 30.1, stocks:

Fr. 44.52, Ger. 40.7, Greeks 46.42, Lebanese

~~#####~~ 46.8, Mex. 45.41-43, Poles 43.41

Segregation, of Italian miners *11i,j, *58o,

Mex. -- see Discrimination, Volgans.21G^x3

Seguin, Ks., Ger. .85C

Seneca-St. Benedict, Ks., Ger. .62C, 3.7, 6.3,

40.02, 7, 41.01, 7, .94N

46.90 -1724-
Serbs 43.60, A, in Kansas City *30a-c, *33 gk,

*34b, *35d, *36f,g,m. See also South Slavs
Settlement characteristics 11.1-19.4, 9.0, 11.0,
.23.7

Settlement associations and promoters --

See Promoters and Promotion

Seventh Day Adventists # 29.0, congregations

and missions: Bazine.64C4, Bison .79F,
Burntwood (R^arlins Co.) .73A1, Durham *50i,
.55C, Enterprise .21D, Herington .21G^x3,
Shaffer .79F, 41.24

Severin, Ks., Volgans *04d

Seward, Ks., Ger. .88A

Seward Co., Ks. .98

Shady Bend, Ks., Ger. .50G, .15D1

Shadybrook, Ks., Ger. .21G, 41.14

Shaffer, Ks., Volgans .79F, 8.72, 29.0, 41.24

Shannon Twp., Atchison Co., Ger. .03C

Sharon Springs, Ks., Swd. .93A, 15.1, 42.13

Shawnee, Ks., Ger. .43C For Flemish see

Kinney Heights

Shawnee ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Co., Ks. #

cf gms .84, stocks: Fr. 44.51-52, Mex.

45.41, 43, Poles 43.41, Swd 42.35, Welsh 46.11

Shawnee Indians 5.1, .43C

Shawnee Twp., Wyandotte Co., Ger. .97D

Shell Rock, Ks., Swiss Ger. .16A1

Sheridan, Ks. 8.4

Sheridan coal camp *07h

Sheridan Co. g .85, 43.41

Sherman Co. gms .86, 30.1, stocks: Dutch

42.00, Mex. 45.41-43, Swd. 42.35

Shermanville, Ks. Swd. and Ger. .86C

Shockey, Ks., Ger. .28F

Sibley Twp., Cloud Co. Swd. .15B, 42.13

Silesians, Cz. 43.10, .79E, Ger. *26j, *30c,
.03G6, .53H2

Silkville, Ks., Fr. .30 end

Silvestrine Fathers 44.21, *12m,n,o

Slavs 43.00, in Kansas City *30a, *33h,k, *36j,
Bethel .97C. See also South Slavs and the
various nationalities

Slesvigiers, contention with northern Danes 42.7,
.56H, in Kansas City *32a. See also Schles-
wigiers

Slovaks 46.90, in Crawford-Cherokee *11b,n,
*12b, Kansas City 43.00, *30a,b,c, *33f,h,k,
*34a,c,e,f,g, *36e,f,n, Leavenworth *43e

Slovene National Benefit Society 43.63, *09a , *11e,g

Slovenians 43.00,60, 46.90, in Crawford-Cherokee
*07-*14, especially *07a,i, *09b,e, *10a-c,
*11b,e-g,m,n, *13d, in Kansas City *30a,c,e,
*33g-l, *34a,c, *35b,c, *36g-i,l,m. See also
South Slavs

Smelters, Pittsburg *07c, Iola *07c, .01,
hiring Spaniards 45.00

Smith Center, Ks., Ger. .87B
Smith Co. ^{Ks.} .cgh .87, 30.1

Smoky Hill Valley .21, called by Swd.

Smoky Valley 4.2, 42.23, *44a, *47f

Smolan *44a, *47e

Social events ^{43.24} Dances *01b, *41a, *91b, *98b,
.37D1, .55D2, .84A4, Parties 42.82, *581,
.56H, .68E, Picnics *54f, *58h, .40B, .53B, weddings *03f

Social events (cont.) See also Elsteddfod,

festivals, fiestas, names of churches and
of societies

Societă Libia Italiană, Società Vittorio *22

Societies 32.0, by stocks: Cz. 43.25, Danish

42.82, Fr. 44.54, Ger. 41.4, Polish 43.44-45,

South Slav 43.63, Swd. 42.41, Welsh 46.2; by settlements:

Caldwell .37D1, Cuba *16j,k, Frontenac *09e,

Hanover *26f, Lawrence *38e, *39b, Leavenworth

*42d,e, *43b, Lindsborg *44f, Newton

*91b, Osage City *581 Wichita *97d, Wilson

*69f. See also Lodges and the names of so-

cieties occurring in the references above,

for instance Turnverein which occurs in 41.4

entered above

South - For names of settlements beginning

with South, Southeast, or Southern or South-

west see the next word following these words

South Dakota, locality mentioned Yankton .74I

South Slavs 43.60-7. See also Croatsians, Serbs,

Slovenians

Spain, localities mentioned: Podros *76b, #

Salamanca *76b

St. Benedict - See Seneca

St. Benedict's Colony , Dutch 42.00, Ger.

.07H

St. Bridget, Ks., Ger. .62C1

St. David's Day 46.2, *20b

St. Francis, Ks., Blackseamen *66, 8.9, 40.22,

9, 41.14, 16, 32

St. George, Ks., Ger. .50H, .71B

St. Jo, Ks., Fr. Can. *02, especially ~~00~~ *02

a,h,i,j 23.3

St. John, Ks., Ger. .88C

St. Joseph and Denver City RR *25b,c,h, *26g

St. Joseph of the Valley, Leavenworth Co., Fr.

.49B, 6.3, 44.50, 51, 52

St. Joseph's College *03c, *04a,j

St. Leo, Ks., Ger. .45C. See also Willowdale

St. Louis and San Francisco RR -- See Frisco

RR

St. Mark, Ks., Ger. *0#1 passim, especially a,i,

23.00

St. Marys, Ks. Polyglot .71D, 5.2, 6.3, 19.5,

23.0, 2, 3, stocks Flemish 15.01, 42.05, Fr.

44.50, 52, Fr. Can. 44.7-80, Ger. 40.24, 7,

41.01, Swd. 42.13

St. Patrick's near Atchison, Ger. .03E

St. Paul -- see Osage Mission

St. Peter, Ks., Volgans .33B, 40.22, 8

Sts. Peter and Paul Ger. , Barton Co. .05H,

Edwards Co. .24A

St. Theresa, Ks. Ger. .28I, 15.01

State Line, Marshall Co., Ger. .56B, 5.6, 15.1, 40.7, 41.14, 16

Steinreich, Marion Co., Menn. *50c

Sterling, Ks. Ger. .74B

Stockholm, Ks. Swd. .93B, 8.4, 16.0, 42.13

Stolzenbach, Ks., Ger. .56D

Stotler, Ks., Swd. *56

Stafford, Ks. Ger. .88D

Stafford Co., Ks. g .88

Stanton Co. Ks. .98, *22d

Star, Graham Co. .33A

Star Twp., Coffey Co., Fr. ~~00~~ .16D, 15.01, 44.52

Strassburg, Marion Co., Volgans .55G, B

Strawberry Hill, Kansas City, *30e,f, *33g,

*86b,c

Strawberry, Ks., Danes .94K, 42.15, Ger.

*59-*62, especially *59a, *60c,d, *62c,j,k

Strikes 37.7, 43.61, *07g, *11c, *33e, .21G^{x2}

Strong City, Ks., Ger. .09B

Studer Settlement, Rawlins Co., Ger. .73C, A

Stull, Ks., Ger. .23A, 6.3, 40.02, *70k

Stuttgart, Ks., Ger. .70B, 16.0, 40.8, 41.14,

and other settlements Ludell .73D1, Grant

Twp., Norton Co. .65B, Prairie View *63e

Suabians, at Nortonville-Mooney Creek .41B2,

(See also the names of south German provinces

Sudetenlanders See Bohemian Germans

Sugar Beets *22-*24, especially *22a et seq.,

*80, .28A, F

Sumner Co. ^{Ks.} ~~cg~~ .37 (.809), Fr. 44.50, 52,

Mex. 45.41-43

Summit Twp., Cloud Co., Fr. .15D, 44.50, 52,

*02g

Surviving Immigrants in 1925 -- Their year of immigration, statistics concerning by settlements (where there are two entries per settlement, time groupings and land inclusions are different~~###~~. Cases are German, unless marked otherwise.): Alma 40.02, Andale-Colwich 40.02, Atchison .03G2, Athol-Gaylord 40.02, .87C, Atwood .73G, Axtell (Swd.) 42.16, .56I1, Barton Co., North (Vol) 40.22 Bison (Vol.) 40.22, Block .58B, Bremen-Horse-

Burdick (Swd.) .61D,
 (shoe .56A2, Bushton 40.02, Caldwell-Bluff City

(Cz.) 43.11, Chepstow .94M, Clay Co. East

Border .14C, Chanute (Swd.) .63A, Clear-

field 40.02, Cloud Co. (Fr. Can.) 44.80,

Coffeyville .60D, Collyer .91B,

Crawford-Cherokee (polyglot) 43.42, ~~####~~

~~#####~~ *11g, Cuba (Cz.) *17g,

(Fr. Can.) (Cz.)
 Damar .68B4, Delia 43.11, .84A2, Delphos

(Cz.) .68A, Denmark (Dane) *18b, Doniphan

Co. .22, Duluth .71A, Durham (Vol.) .55C,

Easton .49A, Effingham .03E, Ellinwood

.05I, Herzog Twp, Ellis Co.) (Vol.) 40.22,

Ellsworth, North 40.02, Ellsworth Co. (Cz.) 43.11,

Emporia (Welsh) *19b, Esbon (Cz.) 43.11, .42C,

(Eudora 40.02, Eureka (Norw.) 42.16, Everest-

Willis (Norw.) *21c, Fairview .07C, Fancy

Creek, Riley Co., 40.02, Flush .71B, Garden

City (Volg.) 40.22, (Mex.) *24a, Garfield

(Swd.) .69E, Goessel (Menn.) *52g, Greenleaf

.94J, Gridley-Lamont .16A4, Hanover 40.02,

*261, Haven .74H, Hepler .19B, High Point

.64F, Hudson .88B, Independence .60A2, Ir-

ving (Cz.) 43.11, .56M, Jamestown (Dane) 42.16,

Kanopolis (Mex.) *85a, Kansas City (polyglot) *30c,

Kansas City *30c, *37d, *86a, Kensington 40.02,

Kinney Heights (Fl.) (Swd.) *39b, (Mex.) *88
 .97E4, Lawrence 40.02, Leav-

enworth and Kansas City combined (Pole)

43.42, Leonardville (Swd.) .77D2, Leonard-

ville-Riley 40.02, .77E3, Lindsborg (Swd.)

*47j, Lorraine 40.02, Mariadahl (Swd.) *48f,

Surviving immigrants, 1925 (cont.)

Marienthal (Volg.) 40.22, Marysville .56E,
 May Day .77A4, Mennonite, Concentrated
 (Liberty Twp.) 40.22 (see also Goessel and
 Mound Ridge), Milberger (Volg.) *53e, Mon-
 tezuma (Menn.) 40.22, Moray (Scand.) 42.16,
 .22C, Mound Ridge (Menn.) *52g, Netawaka .
 .40A, Newton (Mex.) *91a, Olmitz .05D,
 Olpe .53H4, Osage City^(polyglot) *56c, *57b, *58e,g,
 Otis (Volg.) .79D, Pittsburg^{Rural} 40.02, .19E,
 Prairie View (Dutch) *63e, Pratt (Mex.) *94,
 PrettyPrairie (Menn.) 40.22, Rooks Co. (Fr.
 Can.) 44.80,

Savonburg (Swd.) .01B4, Scandia (1915) (Swd.)
 *64c, Scipio-Greeley 40.02, Seneca-St. Bene-
 dict 40.02, .62C, St. Francis (Blackseamen)
 40.22, St. Marys^(polyglot) .71D4, St. Peter (Volg.)
 40.22, Stull 40.02, Stuttgart .70B, Swedes-
 burg (Swd.) .14B, Tampa-Ramona (Volg.) .55B,
 Tescott (Dane) .68E, Timken^(Cz.) 43.11, Topeka
 (Volg.) *67b, (Mex.) *96a (Swd.) *68b, Trego
 Center (Volg.) 40.22, Vilas (Swd.) 42.16,
 .95A, Wamego .71C, Wellington (Mex.) *98a,
 Westphalia 40.02, Whiting (Dane) 42.16, Wichi-
 ta .83D3, (Mex.) *97a, Willowdale-St.Leo 40.02,
 Wilson (Cz.) *69j, Worden 40.02, Zurich (Cz.)
 .78C. For 1930 census (not by settlements)
 see Year of Immigration

Sweden, localities within mentioned:

Bleking *47f, .61A, Born.#66B3, Christians-
stadlän .95A, Dalarne*47b,c,.63A, .56Il, ●
Geflesborglän.56Il, Goteborg *48a, Gottland
.15B, .21E, .61A, .69E, Hafdem .15B, Häjlings-
fors .95A, Halland *48j, .56Il, Högby
Jarbo .21E, Kalmarland .77D5, Karlstad .63A,
Karlskoga *44c, Kristianstad *44#8d, Kvyng
Lind .97B, Linköping *48e, Nerike *48e, .63A,
Norrland .56Il, Ockelbo .56Il, Orebro *48e,
Ostergotland *4 8e, ### .56Il, Seglora .66B,
Skåne *48d, .61A, Småland *39a, *47a,e, *48e,
*64h, .56Il, Värmland *44c, .56Il, .63A,
Vestergotland *48e, *64h, .56Il, .66B,
Vinge *48j.
Wexo .74D, See also Swedes.

Swedes 42.20-7, 3.4, #8,9, 4.1,2, ## 5.4, #6.0,2,
8.3,4, 15.1-19.0, 30.1, 40.00, 46.91, Re-
ligion 27.0, 28.0,1, 42.30-37 (see also Augus-
tana, Baptists, Mission Covenant), present
in: Alta Vista .92C, Axtell .56I, Brantford
.94E, Burdick .61C, Chanute .63A, Cottage
Hill .56L, Delphos .68B", Denmark *18a,c,
Emporia .53D, Enterprise .21E, Frontenac *09d,
Garfield .69E, Garfield, West .24B, Hessdale
.92D, Hutchinson .74D, Jerome .32B, Junction
City .31Bl, Kansas City *30a-c,e, *31e-g,
*33a,e,f,k,

Lawrence *39, Leonardville .77D, Linds-
borg *44-*47 (and surroundings, including
McPherson), Logan .70D, Lund .20D, Manhattan
.77H, Mariadahl *48, Marion Hill .61A, New

Swedes -- present in (cont.)

Andover .54B, Oberlin .20A, Ogallah .91D,
Osage City *55e-i, *56, Ottawa .30A1, Page-
Monument .52B, Reubens .42B, Ruleton .86A,
Savonburg .01B, Scandia *64, Sharon Springs
.93A, Sibley (Cloud Co.) .15B, St. Marys .
.71D2, Stockholm .93B, Swedesburg (Clay Co.)
.14B, Topeka *67b,c, Upland .21B, Vilas .95A,
Wallace, Southeast .93D, Walnut Twp.(Pawnee
Co.) .69B, Wayne (-Seapo-Talmadge) .75E,
Wolcott .97B

^W
Sedesburg, Clay Co. Swd. .14B, 17.0, 42.13,
.94F2

Swedish Baptists and Methodists --See Baptists
and Methodists

Swift Meat Packing Co. *33b,c,e,g,l, *86j,n

Swiss (German unless marked French) 3.4, 6.3 ,

40.00,03, 41.18,25,28, present in: Alida

21A, Argonia .37B, Aurora-Clyde *02c, Ba-

zaar .09C, Beloit .59BC, Bennington .68C',

Bern .62B, Bethany .50B, Bethel College .38D3,

Blakeman .73C, Bonaccord .21H, Burns .08B,

Bushton .76A, Camp Creek .03F, Coal Creek

(Ottawa Co.) .68D, Downs .67A, Enterprise

.21D, Fairview .07C, Fancy Creek .77A1,2,

Gorham .80F, Gridley-Lamont .16A, Hal-

stead .38C, Hanover *26j, Harper .37A',

High Point .64F, Levant .90A, Mulberry Creek

((Clay Co.) .14A, Nemaha, North .62A, Neu-

chatel (Fr.) ^{New Almelo .65C} *54, New Basel 40.7, .21I,

Odee .57C, Osborne, Mid-County .67B,

Swiss -- present in (cont.)

Powhattan .07E, Ransom .64A, Riley .77E4,
 Shermansville .86C, Silver Cliff (Washington
 Co.) .94B, St. Marys .71D1, Stull .23A5,
 Valley Falls .41A, Wathena .22A2, ^{Whitewater} .08A, ^{Wichita}
 .83D (See also Swiss Volhynians and Switzerland)

Swiss Volhynians -- Mennonites, present at

Arlington .74F, Mound Ridge *51d,e,i,
 Murdock .45A, Pretty Prairie .74I, Rock-
 vile Twp. (Rice Co.) .76C

Switzerland, localities within mentioned:

Basel .62B4, Bern .08A, .59B4C, Grisons .09C,
 Lignières *54c, Neuchatel *54a, Schweizen-
 bach .67B1, Vaud *54a, Wint~~ter~~erthur .77A1,
 Canton Zurich .77A1

Syhan Grove, Ks., Ger. .50D, 41.12, .80B

Sylvia, Ks. Ger. .74A

Syria 46.8, .83D2

Syrian Greek Orthodox Church .83D3

Syrians See Lebanese

T

Tabor College 41.26, *50e

Talmo See Wayne

Tampa-Ramona, Ks. Volgans .55B, 29.0, 41.26,
 .55A,D

Tecumseh, Ks., Ger. .84D

Temple Society .81E

Templin, Ks., Ger. .92A3

Tennessee .76A,. 77A

Tescott, Ks., Danes .68E, 41.14, 42.15,7,81

Texas, stocks: Blackseamen .22A1, .32A1, Cz.

Texas stocks (cont,)

.73F, .84A2, Ger. 41.28, .02B2, .03I, .22A2,
 Mex. *22j, *24b, *76d, *77b, *80, *81e, *84,
 *86n, *94, *96h,i, *97f (see also El Paso
 below)

localities within mentioned: Abilene

*24e, Dalhart *81e, Dallas *22j, *97f,
 Eagle Pass *81, El Paso 45.1,2, *22j,g,
 *71c, *75, *78, *86b, *96h, *99b, Electra
 .02B2, Fort Worth *22g,j, Galveston .03I,
 Lubbock *24e, Muenster .02B2, San Antonio
 *22g,j, *96i

Thomas Co., Ks. gs ~~###~~ .90

Tiago, Ks., Poles .75C

Timber claims 7.2c,

Timken, Ks., Cz. .79E, 8.73, 16.0, 43.03,10,
 11,25

Tipton, Ks., Ger .59D, 40.8, 41.14,90, .59BC,
 .87D

Tonganoxie, Ks., Ger. .49D

Topeka, Ks. 3.8, 5.2, 7.3, 8.5,71,8, 9.2,
 19.0,4,6, 36.1, 41.01, stocks: Fr. 44.50,
 52,53, Ger. inc. Volgans *67, 26.0, 40.24,6,
 41.50,8, *03a, .57A, .71D6, Greeks 46.41,
 Lebanese 46.8, Mex. *96, 45.1,2,41-43, 45.50,
 60,92, *22m, *75, Swd. *68, 42.13,16,20,35,
 *48f, Welsh 46.41

Traer, As., Ger. 41.24, *28a,f, *29d

Trails 6.1,2

Trego Center, Ks., Volgans .91E, 4.6, 16.0
 40.22, *53e, .91D

Trego Co., Ks. cgs .91, .26A1

735
Tribenz See Olmitz
Tribune, Ks., Swd. 3.2, 8.8, .93B

Turkey .83D2

Turkey Creek, Woodson Co., Ger. .96AB

Turnpike, The Kansas *30f

Turnverein 41.4, present in:

Atchison 41.4, .03G1,5, Bern .62B, Eudora

.23C5,6, Hanover *26g, Lawrence *38e,

Leavenworth *22c,1, Marysville .56E, Par-

sons .63D, Valley Falls .41A, Wichita .83D

Tuttle Creek Dam *48h

U

Uhl, Ks., Ger. .87B

Ukrainians 43.8, at Kansas City *30b, *34c,

*35f

Ulysses, Ks., Menn. 15.01, 41.26

Unierters 41.19. See also Evangelical Synod
and Evangelical and Reformed Church

Union Pacific *26t, *88a, *95a, *96b, .23A7,

.32A2, .84A2. See also Kansas Pacific

Unions for miners 37.6

United Danish Church *32c et seq.

United Danish Society 42.82, *32b

United Evangelical Church (Danish) 42.80

United Lutheran Church (later the major part
of the Lutheran Church in America) 26.0,
congregations of the Kansas Synod using Ger.
41.02, congregations mentioned: Abilene .21,
Atchison .03G4, Beloit .59BC, Eureka .36A,
Glasco .15I, Hollenberg .94B, Lancaster .03B,
Lawrence *38c, New Cambria .81C, Ottawa .30A,

Salina .81B, Topeka *67b, Valley Falls .41A,
Marshall Co.

WaKeeney .91E2, Walnut Twp. .56H, Washington .94B, Waterville .56J

See also German Nebraska Synod

United Mine Workers *111

Upland, Ks., Swd. .21B, 42.13

Upper beaver Creek, Smith Co. Ger. .87B

Upper Lyon Creek, Dickinson Co. Ger. .21G, 41.7,
.21J

Urban Settlements 19.1-6, 41.7. See also the
names of cities

Utica, Ks., Ger. .64B

Utopian communists, Fr. 44.50 note. See also
Communists, idealistic

V

Valdor, Ks., Ger. .33A

Valley Falls, Ks., Ger. .41A, 6.3

Vassar, Ks., Ger. .66D

Verdigris, Ks. .53G

Verdigris River .16A2

Vermont .66F2

Vesper, Ks., Ger. .50E, 15.1, *18c

Vicariate Apostolic 23.3

Victor, Ks., Ger. .59E, .67B4

Victoria, Kans., Volgans *03-*05, especially
*03a,b,d,e, *04k,l, *06d,h,i, * and other
settlements: Angelus .85D, Park .32A1, 2,
St. Peter .33B. See also Herzog.

Vilas, Ks., Swd. .95A, 42.13, 16, .63A

Villages and for-tings 12.5-103.1, *03j

Vincent, Ellis Co., Volgans *04d

Violenta, Ks., Ger. .85A

Virginia .87E4

Voda, Ks., Cz. .91B, 43.02

Voice of Youth (Slovenian) 33.7, 43.63

Volgans 40.22-~~24~~, 3.4, 4.6, 8.4d, 8.7l, 19.0

23.1, 40.7-9, 41.16, 18, 22, 24, 8, present at:

Angelus .85D, Bazine .64C, Bison .79C, Bush-

ton .76A, Codell .78F, Collyer .91A, Council

Grove .61C, Deerfield .28F, Densmore .65D,

Dorrance .80EI, H, Durham .55C, Ebenfeld *50b,

Ellis .26A2, Garden City *22, *23, Gorham .80F,

Gridley .16A3-5, Herington .21G^x, High Point

.64F, LaCrosse .79A, Lane, Southeast, .64G ,

Lehigh *50i, Lucas, North .80B, Lydia

.28B, Marienthal .28A, Marion.55H, Milberger *53,

*69e, Muddy Creek, (Shawnee Co.) .84C,

Ness City .64D, Oakley .52C, Offerle

.24D, Old St. Jo .39E, Otis ~~###~~ .79D, Park

.32A, Pawnee Rock .05F, Plains .57A, Pri-

mary Catholic (Ellis and Rush Co.) *03-*05,

Ransom .64A, Russell Mid-County .80D, Salina

.81B, Shaffer .79F, St. Marys .71D5, St. #

Peter .33B, Strassburg .55G, Tampa-Ramona

.55B, Topeka *68, 40.6, Trego Center .91E,

Wallace .52A, Wallace Co. .93C, Wamego .71C.

See also Russian Germans

Volhynians, German See "Poles" and Swiss

Volhynians

Volland, Ks., Ger. .92A3-5. See also Alta #

Vista

W

Wabaunsee Co. gs .92, 4.2, 9.3, 30.1, 44.52

Wabaunsee, Great, Ger. .92A, 6.0, 40.7, 41.12

Wabaunsee, South, Ger. .80C

Wakarusa Valley 41.29

WaKeeney, Ks. 7.3, 41.14, .91E

Wakefield, Ks., English 8.4, Dutch 42.00

Waldo, Ks., Ger. .80A

Wales, localities within mentioned:

Brecknockshire *19b, Carmarthenshire *19a,b,i, .07A, .66F5, .77F1,3,

Carnarvonshire *19b, Conway .66F1, Denbigh-

shire .66F3, Flintshire *19e, Glamorganshire

*19b,h, Merthyr Tydfil .77F1, Mold *19e,

Montgomeryshire *19b, Resolven *19b

Walker, Ks., Ger. .26C, *03m, *04a,b, and An-

gelus .85D, Collyer .91A

Wallace, Ks., Volgans .52A

Wallace Co. Ks. ^{RS} .93, 30.1, 42.35

Wallace, Southeast, Swd. .93D, 42.13

Walloons .55I See also Belgians

Walnut Twp., Marshall Co., Danes .56H, 42.15,

42.81, .65end, .94j,K

Walsburg, Ks. Swd. *48b,g, .77B4,D2

Walton, Ks., Menn. *511

Wamego, Ks. Ger. 5.2, 41.4, .71C, .92A5,6

Wannersburg, Ks., Swd. .01B5,9

Washington, Ks. Ger. 41.15

Washington Co. ^{Ks.} 'c,dfgs .94, 30.1, stocks:

Cz. 43.03, Fr. Can. 44.52,80, *02d, Ger.

40.7, 41.15, Swd. 42.35

Washington Twp., Brown Co. 42.11, Crawford

Co. *07h

Wathena, Ks., Fr .22AB, 44.50 note,51,52,

.22A2, Ger. .22 .22A2

Wayne, Ks. (Seapo-Talmo) Swd. .75E, 28.0, 42.13,36

Wea, Ks. Ger. .58A, .02B4

Weddings *68h

Weir, Ks., mining *07v,i, *11f, *12m, *13f

Welda See Colony

Wellington, Ks., Mex. *98, 45.41-43

Welsh 46.0-3, 3.8, 4.2, 8.4b, 15.1, 16.0,

present at: Arvonnia .66F, Bala .77F, Burr-
ton .38F, Crawford-Cherokee *07a, *09d, *11a,
Emporia *19, Lagrange (Marshall Co.) .56 and
Osage City *55a,f, *57, Padonia .07A, Rose-
dale 46.10-11, *30e

Weskan, Ks., Swd. .93B

West. For Belts see Far, Near, and Pre-; for
settlements with names beginning with West
see next word after West in the name.

West Mineral, Ks. mining 43.63, *07i,j, *11f,
*12i,j, *13f

Westfall See Lincoln-Westfall

Westmoreland 6.3

Westphalia, Ks., Ger. .02B, 8.9, 40.02,6, 41.01,
.02C, .20E

Westphalia(ns) *01a,b, *26j,q, *31d, *43c, .05B2,
.30B, .41B2, .53F,h2, .58B8, .65G, .92A4, .96B

Wheaton, Ks., Ger. .71A2

White City See Marion Hill Swd.

Whitewater See Elbing-Whitewater Menn.

Whitewoman, East, Ger. .28C, 15.01

Whiting, Ks. 5.5, Danes .40B, 42.15,16, Nor-
wegians *21d

Wichita, Ks. 7.3, 8.6,72, 19.6, stocks:

Fr. 44.52, Ger. .83D, 40.02, 41.4,50, *01a,
(Menn.) 41.25,26, *52e, Greeks 46.42, Leba-

Wichita (cont.)

nese .83D', 15.1, 46.8, Mex. *97, 45.1,2,3,

50,92, *96h

Wichita Co., Ks. g .28, 30.1, 45.41, *22d

Wichita, West, Swd. .83C, 42.13

Willburn, Ks., Ger. .29E

Williamstown, Ks., *88b

Willow Springs, Ks. 6.2, *70a,1

Willowdale, Ks.,-St. Leo Ger .45C, 40.02,7,

41.8

Wilmot, Ks. Swd. 42.15

Wilson, Ks. 8.4,13, 9.3, 43.10 Cz.*69, 4.6,

16.0, 33.6, 43.03,22,25,26, *85a, .80C,

Ger. .27B, 41.14

Wilson Co., Ks. gs .95, 42.90

Windhorst, Ks., Ger. .29B, 8.71,72, 16.0, 40.8,

.29 end

Wisconsin 41.22, stocks: Cz. 43.10, *16c,

*69b,d, .94AE, Dutch *63a,b,f, Fr. .49F,

Ger. *38,*70d, .02B7, .15H, .21F,G,I, J, .

.27C,G2, .32A2, .50A,G, .53D, .56E, .59BC,

.68F, .70D2, .71A, .76A, .83G, .85D, .94A, 11,N,

Swd. .71D3, Swiss *54b, places within mentioned:

Brandon .65B, Cedar Grove *63b, Dodgeville

.68F", Fond du Lac .49F, .76A, Fort Atkinson

.50G, Green Bay *54b, Jefferson Co. .21F,G,

Milwaukee *69d, .21G^x2, Oostburg *63b, Platt-

ville .9411, Racine *16c, *19c, .94E

Wittrup, Ks. ,Ger. .39C, .29end

Wolcott, Ks., Swd. .97B, 42.13

Wolf River, Brown Co., Ger. .07H

Woodbine, Ks., Ger. 41.23, .21f, G1, .74A

Woodson Co., Ks., g .96

Worden, Ks., Ger. *70, 6.2, 40.02, 41.18,

.23A7,8, .99

World War, First, 9.6, 41.51, effects in specific settlements: ^{Americus .53C,} Andale-Colwich *01b, Ar-
gonia .37B, Arrington .03H, Assaria *47g,
Atchison .03G6, Banner Twp. (Dickinson Co.)
.21J, Enterprise .21D, Goodland .86B, Grant
Twp (Norton Co.) .65B, Gridley-Lamont .16A8,
Hanover *26s,t, *27h, Haven .74H, Herington
.21G2,3, Herkimer .56A4, Hudson .88B, Kansas
City *32e, Kensington .87A,

Leavenworth *421,m, Lindsborg *46b,
Linn-Palmer *61a-c, Ludell .73D2, Mennonite
Concentrated District *52d, Monmouth Twp.
(Shawnee Co.) .84E, Nemaha, North .62A,
Nortonville .41B2, Park .32A4, Randall .42E,
Salina .81B, Seward .88A, Stull .23A7,8, *
Tipton .59D, Topeka *68c, Wabaunsee, South
.92B, Westphalia .02B5, Worden *70h,i

World War, Second, effects in specific settle-
ments: Albert .05E, Bethany .50B, Byron .
.75A, Garnett .02 end, Gridley-Lamont .16A8,
Kinney Heights .97E6, Lincoln-Westfall .50H,
Odin .05B3, Trego Center .91E3

Wright, Ks., Ger. .29 end, .45C

Wurtemberg(ers) *26b,j, *70b,d,o, .23A2,B,
.45C, .49A,D, .50H, .56D,E, .60A, .61C, .68F,
.71A3,B,D4, .77A2-4,6,E6,G, .80D,E,I, .81E,
.92A6, .97D

Wyandotte, Ks. 8.4, *30d, *3ld

Wyandotte Co., Ks. mx .97, stocks: Fr.

44.51-52, Greek 46.42, Mex. 45.41-43, Polish

43.41, Swd. 42.35, *3le, Welsh 46.11

Wyandotte Indians *3la, .77A1

Y

Yale, Ks., mining 43.63, *07h, *10c

Year of Immigration of immigrants surviving
in Kansas in 1930 40.00, for 1910 Crawford

44.11, *1lg, for 1915 Scandia *64c, for

1925 see under Surviving

Yiddish 46.7,90, in Kansas City *37

Yoder, Ks., Amish .74EG, 15.01, 41.28, .02 end

Youngstown, Ks., Ger. 8.72, .55H

Yugo-Slavs 40.00, *30a. See also South

Slavs, Croatians, Serbs, Slovenians

Z

Zarah, Fort 6.0

ZCBJ (Czech lodge) 43.25, present in: Cald-
well .37D1, Cuba *16j, Delia .84A4, Delphos
.68A, Jennings .20C, Lucas .80C, Wilson *69f,
Zurich .78C

Zenda, Ks., Ger. .45C1,D

Zones of Kansas 3.5, 4.9

Zook, Ks., Ger. .69F

Zurich, Ks. Cz. .78C, 43.03, Fr. Can. .78A#D,

44.7

Zutphen,(OttawaCo.),Dutch 42.00, .87E2