INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME III

The principal aim of Volume III of FLUK is to present the phenomena outside of Kansas that have influenced the life of for-ling groups within the state. Almost as important is the exposition of developments elsewhere that have their parallel in Kansas.

The material on Europe set forth for each nationality is intended to advance the first aim; whenever dealing with other states of this nation this study has both aims in view. Even the details of geographic distribution are intended, not only to provide information not easily accessible elsewhere, but to reveal the probable sources of Kansas population. We can learn from what state immigrants come, but often they left no more exact record of their provenance, and their grandchildren are frequently without knowledge that is more precise. The character of the settlements that they left for Kansas was a factor partially determining their behavior in Kansas. For instance, a German from the heart of the district in Illinois southeast of St. Louis was likely to be much more German than one who had resided along the Illinois River.

To Germans is devoted almost half of this volume because their numbers in Kansas were approximately twice as great as that of any other linguistic stock in Kansas and among them the full course of the Engl-izing process can be observed.

The state receiving the most attention for practically every stock is Illinois because more for-lings came to Kansas from Illinois than from
FOREIGN LANGUAGE UNITS OF KANSAS

VOLUME III

European and American Background

by

J. Neale Carman

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Prefatory Note. Italicized arabic numerals refer to pages in Vol. I. Inasmuch as
the background in Europe and in America for non-English linguistic stocks
represented in Kansas is the concern of this volume, general considera-
tions affecting all or several stocks are presented first, then each
stock in the order of frequency in Kansas as established in Volume II.
The treatment of history and conditions outside the United States
precedes the material on condition within this country. In the United
States a stock is studied in those states contributing appreciable
numbers of the stock to Kansas and in certain states where the parallels
to the development in Kansas seem of particular interest. The treatment
of each stock is provided with its own bibliography. The bibliography
in the following section treats only works referred in 49.01-49.99.
The separate bibliographies for the various for-ling stocks are located
as follows: Germans #50.0, Dutch #59.0, Fleming #59.6, Scandinavians
#60.0, Slavs #70.1, Italians #81.0, French in Europe #84.2, French
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Beginning about 1840 in both Europe and the United States the background for foreign settlement in Kansas becomes significant. Land was not opened to settlers in Kansas until 1854, but the territory's first citizens born in Europe had frequently arrived in America several or many years before. For immigration from Europe the period of interest practically ends in 1914. The drying up of the European sources of labor caused by the First World War and by the passage of stringent American immigration laws led to an influx from Mexico particularly important for Kansas in the first two decades of the twentieth century. From the rest of the United States important for-lings contributions to Kansas except for Mexicans ceased about the same time, but influences from other states went on for another quarter century or more, and parallel to what happened in them are sometimes of much later interest.

The terms Old and New Immigration became established in the first decades of the twentieth century, and in this work are used because of their convenience. The "Old" immigrants arrived mostly before 1890, the "New" later. The "Old" were mostly from western Europe, the "New" from southern and eastern Europe. Consequently, for convenience the term "Old" applies among for-lings to Scandinavians, Germans, Dutch, Flemish, and marginally French. Czechs are also more or less on the margin. The "New" includes other Slavic peoples and the Jews living among them, Italians, Greeks, Lebanese. Magyars and Finns are of no interest to this study. The "Old" immigration slackened just as the last of the desirable land in Kansas was being occupied. The "New" flourished during the greatest demand for manpower by the coalfields of southeastern Kansas and the packing houses of Kansas City.
The causes of emigration from Europe were several. The primary one was economic, but political and religious motives deserve some consideration. Certain features of nineteenth century European economic, political and religious history therefore all merit some review.

Overpopulation in Europe, defined as too many people to be supported in a given region by activities under the economic techniques in practice, is recognized as the primary cause of migration to America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Technical advances might be as potent as technical retardation in determining movement, but the primary cause was increase in population without compensating advancement in production. In other words, emigrants usually left Europe in search of a more abundant material life. The linguistic effects of this motivation have seldom been considered important, but it should be evident that hope of betterment tended to dispose minds to accept change—linguistic change as well as other. In view of the resistance of many—even most—immigrants to shifting their language, such an argument may seem erroneous, but the swiftness of shift can still in part be attributed to the weakening of resistance through the habit of accepting profitable economic newness as superior to inapplicable economic tradition.

Agricultural depression existed in Europe during part of the 1870's and 1880's, less recognizably earlier. Bad crop years played their role in bringing it on, but poor crops had not earlier had such marked effects. Low prices were a potent cause in this period; the prices were the result of transportation advances through vast improvements in ferrous technology and the use of steam power on sea and land, enabling grain from newly opened virgin lands, mostly from America, but increasingly too from Russia,
to be poured into the European markets at greatly reduced freight rates. (H 342). Grain from across the Atlantic forced people to sail westward over the Atlantic.

49.06 The ports in Europe by which people came to the United States included all of importance on the western coast from Riga to Le Havre with much transshipment through England and exit from Liverpool included. Many Italians, at least in the earlier days, sailed from Le Havre. Later the Mediterranean ports placed them and Greeks and South Slavs onto ships bound directly for New York. Steerage travel was abominable, but the duration of the voyage was so much shorter with steam than with sails that readiness to emigrate was greater after the steamship lines were established. Better ocean transport was indeed an important factor in causing increased emigration. Ready transport also meant that return to Europe was easier, the "New" immigrants used the resource more frequently than the "Old". The result was a less marked break with Europe, and a somewhat more marked tendency to continue the use of the language of the "old country" as long as visits there were attractive.

49.07 Industrial development in Europe was the primary factor terminating the "old" immigration. The industrialized countries were no longer overpopulated, might even be importing laborers as in the case of Poles in western Germany. The year 1890 represents a moment when western Europe could sufficiently occupy its labor force. The American hard times of the 1890's made discontented rural Europeans turn readily to new opportunities in industry at home. The linguistic effect of this rather sudden cut-off was marked. Earlier, the conservatives could always find reinforcements among new arrivals. Without such help, they grew old bitterly.
Political considerations had their effect in promoting emigration from Europe, rather by determining the character of the emigrants than by affecting the numbers. The failure of the revolutions of 1848 expelled revolutionaries. The rise of European nationalism led to the spread of the requirement of obligatory military service. Resistance to such measures often took the form of flight. Hanoverians and other "muss-Preussen" regarded avoidance of conscription as a highly respectable reason for leaving Germany. The subject peoples in Austria and Hungary were similarly actuated. The Russian determination to require military service of well-rooted colonies from the west drove the Germans to the United States. The brutalities to which they would be subject in the Czar's army brought exit from the Volga, rather than nationalistic or religious considerations. Bismarck's Kulturkampf resulted in the exit of some Germans and Poles from the German empire. Anti-semitism had its role. The well-to-do, however, seldom went into permanent exile for such reasons. The linguistic effect of such motivations was likely to be potent, perhaps conservative by causing mass emigrations that remained units on reaching the United States, thus providing centers of resistance to linguistic absorption.

Except as outlined above few emigrants left Europe to replace bad political conditions by others which, for newcomers, were little better.

But the political past of the new arrivals had a perceptible linguistic result in the United States even when it had not driven them across the ocean. Emigrants from European minority groups arrived in America looking upon their language both as a symbol around which to rally politically and as a mark allowing objectionable segregation from government; of these two contradictory influences the latter, which made for Engl-izing, was the
stronger because of the general political acceptability of immigrants as soon as the linguistic barrier was pushed aside. Emigrants fleeing from tyrants who spoke their own language were yet readier to slough off the linguistic tie to the abandoned political order.

49.09 The First World War shut off the "New" emigration effectively with the same linguistic results as closure of the "Old" through western Europe's industrial development. To be sure the American immigration laws were needed to make permanent the stoppage.

49.10 Religion was a contributing influence in determining certain depatures from Europe. The most celebrated case is the exodus of Mennonites from South Russia upon the threat of the installation of military service. The Volga Germans departed for economic and political reasons only, but the religious motive caused the emigration of a larger proportion of the well-to-do among the Mennonites. Even when religion played only a minor role in providing the push for emigration, it deserves attention because emigrants carried to the United States the religious affiliations and the religious movements of Europe.

49.11 Roman Catholic emigrants departed from various European countries. In Europe the variety of language among Catholics was less important than the variations in ardor, ranging from something like hostility to the Church among nominal Catholics in Bohemia to the passive faithfulness of neighboring Poles and the ardent zeal of Russian Germans. In areas where Catholicism reigned without competition as in Italy and Poland religious unity was transported to America but with certain easy going tendencies. In areas where Catholic and Protestant communities were close neighbors without more than casual contacts as in the Volga and Black Sea regions and in parts of Germany, strictness and asperity had more prestige. In a
few areas such as could be found in western Hungary and Bukovina where
Protestants and Catholics lived in the same community, attitudes toward
neighbors of different religious background were already developed similar
to those prevalent in American communities. In studying the effect of
Catholicism upon linguistic development in America the varying character-
istics of that religion in the various European countries cannot be wholly
neglected.

49.12 **Lutheranism was dominant in Scandinavia and much of Germany.** The churches
were national, however, and continuing the original pattern they were not
inclined to become one organization on arriving in America nor to adhere
to what they found already established in America.

49.13 **Other Protestant denominations in Europe were also on a mono-linguistic
basis.** Calvinism resulted in Reformed organizations in Germany, Switzer-
land and the Netherlands that had little relation to each other organiza-
tionally and still less to Presbyterianism. But Mennonites, who all (at
least all in regions from which emigrants came to America) worshipped in
High German considered themselves of the same body whether they were from
Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Austria or Russia.

49.14 **Pietism.** In the period following the Napoleonic wars, Scandinavia, Holland,
Switzerland and Protestant Germany were subject to two religious influen-
ces, governmental pressure to increase the authority of established chur-
ches and a sort of pietistic revolution. The zeal of the pietists sometimes
led them to separation from dominant churches; sometimes, while they stayed
within the established church, they felt great dissatisfaction with its
complacent and worldly attitudes. The established organizations sometimes
retaliated by invoking political and social sanctions amounting very nearly
to persecution. During the thirties and particularly the forties of the
nineteenth century pietistic dissatisfaction was at the root of the pioneering emigration to America. It also had somewhat to do with Protestant Russian German emigration, for Lutheranism, as an established religion in many German villages, looked with disapproval at the meetings of the "brethren," pushing the latter toward emigration. Much of the immigration into Kansas before 1890 was by elements with pietistic backgrounds, either, like the Dutch, sent us by other pioneering settlements, or springing up with unsponsored early nuclei which later recruited additional members among the constant stream of pietists coming out of Europe. Though religion was for most newcomers not so important an impelling motive for emigration as economics, besides being the first kindling spark, it was a cohesive element, and if only by keeping language groups together made for linguistic conservatism.

49.15g Indoctrination for Emigration. Propaganda encouraging emigration was naturally spread by successful emigrants and by those who could profit from these population movements, namely, recipient American communities, steamship and rail companies, and employers seeking cheap labor. The successful emigrants wrote "America letters" to their friends in Europe. These were of two types: (1) ordinary family letters, usually with a tendency to boast, but sensitive to bad crop years and general hard times, and (2) propaganda by men like the Kansans, Swehla of Wilson (#47.69) and Flusche of Westphalia, (#48.02) who were endeavoring to form colonies around them. Journalists of the "hyphenated" press and organizers of colonization companies enlisting newcomers performed a very similar mission. (3) Town and city governments seem to have done little advertising abroad, but in the 1870's and 1880's many states wanted immigrants to take up their land, and their governments, Kansas included, (P34-45) printed propaganda or sent
agents to attract newcomers from Europe as well as from the East. The federal government, too, spread the word in printed form and orally through consular agents. (4) Railways with land grants were yet more zealous. The efforts abroad of the Kansas Pacific and the Santa Fe in Kansas are set forth elsewhere. (#8.4ff). These were only three of several land grant lines west of the Mississippi similarly engaged. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad also had Georges de Pardonnet in France (P 34). Land agents tended to contact co-religionaries in Europe as a group and settle them together in America. (5) Steamship agents roamed all over Europe even to Samara on the eastern-most bend of the Volga. They were frequently untrustworthy, but they provided the information necessary to put passengers on their ships. (6) Labor contractors very early abused their opportunities, and were subject to restrictive legislation. They played a part in providing contingents of industrial workers for Kansas, but at a period (after 1890) when their activities had to be disguised and are hard to trace.

49.20 For-lings in the United States outside Kansas. General. The first for-lings who came to Kansas almost without exception had spent some time elsewhere in the United States before entering the newly-created territory. Many later settlers in most for-ling communities had also lived previously in other states before coming to Kansas. The facts vary enough from one for-ling stock to another so that most of the American out-state history of groups in Kansas will appear more appropriately in the sections devoted to each stock, but certain generalities are appropriate here.

49.21 Ports of Entry to the United States. All through the history of the United States the great majority of immigrants entered this country through North Atlantic ports, usually New York. Before the Civil War, however, and to a lesser extent in the years immediately following it, some immigrants, among
them a number who ultimately came to Kansas, arrived first at New Orleans. Between 1857 and 1860, 49,000 immigrants entered at New Orleans, 452,000 at New York. Most of the entrants from the south found their way to St. Louis and the towns near-by; some went up the Ohio River as far as Cincinnati. In these places they mingled with those who had come by the way of the eastern seaboard, and their later history is unaffected by their port of entry. A few immigrants came by the New Orleans route directly to Kansas; part of the Neuchatel Swiss in Nemaha and Pottawatomie Counties may be cited as examples.

49.22 American Sources of the Foreign Population of Kansas. The states furnishing to Kansas almost all the for-lings who did not come directly from Europe were those bordering the Great Lakes, also Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Iowa. Those coming from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, southern Illinois, and Missouri were almost all Germans. Some of these belonged to the eighteenth century stock of immigrants commonly dubbed Pennsylvania Dutch, and in this work called Penn Germans; a number of others were later accretions to this Pennsylvania stock. Many, including practically all those from Missouri and southern Illinois, were from settlements of immigrants direct from Europe. The American frontier had moved rapidly forward in the years before Kansas was opened for settlement. Along the great waterways settlement was a decade, sometimes much more, ahead of movements populating regions less easily accessible for commerce. The ferment was strong along the Mississippi River in the 1840's when there were pockets in Ohio and Indiana just being fully opened. Consequently in the 1850's and 1860's there were many areas in Illinois, eastern Iowa, southeastern Wisconsin, and the river valleys of Missouri ready to export land-hungry inhabitants; later the need was still greater.
any other state. Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska are the objects of most of the rest of the material in this volume except in considering French Canadians, for whom New England cannot be left out of account, and Mexicans who came from the Southwest and are therefore studied in the Southwest.

The exposition of the processes of linguistic displacement in all these areas in the United States makes clear the fact that Kansas is merely an example of what was happening everywhere. The behavior of the strong colony of Czechs near Crete and Wilber, Nebraska, resembles that of the Czech settlement near Cuba, Kansas, or that near Wilson; similarly the conduct of the small group of Swedes at Bucklin, Missouri, is analogous to Swedish development at Vilas, Kansas, or for that matter to German behavior in many settlements of low importance, that near Homewood, Kansas, for instance. To be sure, the Kansas developments may be somewhat less complicated than those taking place in, say, Illinois or Wisconsin because foreign settlements began farther west somewhat later and the intrusion of new elements in the twentieth century was somewhat less.

The geographic distribution of for-ling settlements presents in other states a pattern similar to that occurring in Kansas. As in Kansas the largest rural settlements seldom affect more than three counties. In Illinois the German settlement southeast of St. Louis occupies all or parts of four counties; the Swedish settlement referable to Galesburg dominates two counties, just as in Kansas the Concentrated Mennonite District takes up much of four counties and the Swedes of Lindsborg much of two. Small rural settlements upon which the pressure of the general population is great are scattered over practically all the upper Mississippi and Ohio valleys as well as over Kansas. What appears most remarkable, despite many local differences, is the uniformity of the process of Engl-izing.
Though northern Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa furnished many Germans to Kansas, they also provided most of the other for-lings of the Old Immigration; Illinois and Iowa the greater part of the Scandinavians; Iowa and Wisconsin the Czechs; Illinois the French Canadians; Iowa most of the Dutch. The New Immigrants who worked in the packing houses and the coal mines often stopped nowhere before Kansas, but there was a restless exchange of man-power, particularly for the mines, between the Kansas centers employing them and those in the states above mentioned, particularly Illinois.

49.23 Pre-Kansas Urban Life of For-lings. If the for-ling immigrants to Kansas came from urban centers to rural settlements in Kansas, the out-state cities very frequently had been a very temporary way-station (for example, Chicago, most importantly, St. Louis, Cincinnati, La Porte, Galesburg, and New York usually for only very brief stays). Sometimes settlement associations were formed in these cities which sent out organized colonies to found new cities; this was the case in Chicago for the Germans who came to Eudora in Douglas County in 1857 (#48.23), for the Swedes, also in Chicago, who settled at Lindsborg in McPherson County in 1868 (#47.44), the same year in Galesburg, for the Swedes who founded Scandia in Republic County (#47.64), and for the Germans in Cincinnati who came out to Windhorst in Ford County in 1878 (#48.29).

Mostly, however, the for-lings who came to cities and then became Kansas farmers settled in communities already begun in Kansas.

When residence in the cities was brief, the linguistic history of the immigrant was practically unaffected, but if he had to work long years in a city before accumulating the very modest capital necessary to satisfy his land hunger, he often had a smattering of English before arriving in Kansas.

If for-lings came from out-state urban centers and settled in towns in Kansas, their knowledge of English was frequently great on arrival,
particularly among early Germans. These men had frequently gone from place
to place in the Wanderjahr tradition absorbing much from all the cultural
life that they encountered.

49.24 Urban conditions among out-state for-lings repeatedly receive comment in
this volume, though large urban settlements are few in Kansas. An essential
reason for this treatment is that, while, for population units of comparable
size, urban linguistic developments were likely to be more rapid than in the
country, the factors promoting Engl-izing were essentially the same in town
and country. The contrasts between the Engl-ized and the linguistically
conservative were often greater in the cities, but there was the same struggle
between the generations, the same battles over the language question in
churches, the same pressures from one hundred per-cent Americans. Since
the city has more often than the country preoccupied commentators, more
printed expositions of the various phenomena can be found for urban than
for rural units. It is proper to take advantage of this comparative rich­
ness of evidence.

49.25 Rural American Environments of For-lings Coming to Kansas. If a for-ling
immigrant to Kansas came from a rural area in some other state, his sojourn
there was usually long enough to affect his linguistic history. The in­
fluences to which he had been subject did not differ greatly from those
to which he was subject in Kansas, and they varied little from one region
to another. In a general way, though, for-lings who lived along the Ohio
River, the Mississippi River near the Ohio confluence, and the lower Missouri
River were in a conservative linguistic environment; those along the upper
Mississippi River were in an atmosphere favoring change, and those who lived
along the Great Lakes were in a conservative area rurally, though in a dis­
trict of swift urban evolution.
Rate of Engl-izing in the Nineteenth Century. Chronologically, Engl-izing in the United States proceeded very slowly before the Civil War, and quite rapidly afterward. The children of immigrants who arrived before 1850 appear to have spoken as good f-lang as their forebears. The second generation of later years, however, almost always debased their parents' mother tongue. The influences that brought this situation about were in some small part caused by the Civil War. Then, as in the two world wars, young men left for-ling communities in considerable numbers to join the army and were obliged to associate with all sorts of Eng-lings. A much more important mid-nineteenth century linguistic influence in all probability was the more rapid circulation of the population caused largely by the building of railroads. The wave of nativism in the Fifties was also in part responsible, though it was a two-edged sword.

Nativism. When Kansas was opened for settlement in 1854, the Know-Nothing Party, shouting "America for Americans," was nationally very active. This nativism, which made life miserable for foreigners in the East, worked for early transfer to Kansas of those in search of "a more peaceful life" where, however, Know-Nothings also arrived. By driving for-lings in upon themselves the movement acted as a strong conservative linguistic force. Before the time of the movement "certain leaders even claimed that the Germans should aspire to nothing more than to be 'radical humus', "merging with English-Americans at once." Under its pressure the same men advocated that the Germans "should unite energetically," dreaming of a new star in the flag to represent a "German-American State." "They are thinking of Kansas." If the Know-Nothings won, "the inevitable effect of success would be that the Germans...would unite the more closely and would hold their own language and customs the more sacred"(R 141-143).
If the Know-Nothings promoted clannishness among foreigners, nativism on the other hand, like every segregational force, tended also to make individuals endeavor to escape from the group subject to discrimination. Inasmuch as most of those attacked could not readily be distinguished from the rest of the population except by their language, for-lings often ceased to be such.

49.28 **Fiscal conditions in the United States** affected not only arrivals from Europe, but also population movements within the country toward Kansas. The panics and accompanying depressions of 1857, 1873, and 1892 meant a dip in immigration. After the two earlier panics the lure of free land brought earlier resumption of for-ling installation in Kansas by people from within the United States than by those from Western Europe; the emigrations from Russia were, however, not affected by fiscal conditions. After 1874, therefore, the over-all proportion of settlers direct from Europe was not affected.

49.29 **The building of railroads to the east of Kansas** had its effect on for-ling development there. Immigrants arriving from Europe by this means were transported without delay to western states. Kansas thus received many thousands without previous experience with English.

49.30 **Industrial development** in the United States before the First World War affected Kansas less than many states, but coal mining and meat packing were activities that brought the "new" immigrants to Kansas, and certain trends in industry deserve our attention.

49.31 **The relations between capital and labor** affected the development of language usage among foreign born workmen. Leech and Carroll state the matter thus in *Armour and his Times* (LC 230): "In part these migrations were natural overflows from a crowded continent to a newer land. But much of the immigration was deliberately promoted by great industrialists including the
packers. The purpose was not only to obtain cheaper labor, but to prevent unionization by displacing experienced and perhaps disillusioned employees with greenhorns unable to speak the language of the earlier comers, who might have been contaminated by contacts with union organizers. The labor agencies which brought these raw materials to Packingtown knew what the packers wanted and searched eastern and southern Europe for the goods desired. It was the policy of the "labor relations men"...to keep the races and nationalities apart after working hours, and to foment suspicion, rivalry, and even enmity among such groups. The packers did it. Everybody did it."

John R. Commons in "Labor Conditions in Meat Packing and the Recent Strike", *Journal of Economics*, XIX (1905), 1-32, selects a villain different from Leech and Carroll's; he says: "The races were kept apart by language, distrust, and the influence of the priests" (p. 31). Carrol D. Wright, as seen below, blames "shrewd leaders."

The capitalistic policy in recruiting immigrant labor was well understood by labor groups competing with the newcomers. In Kansas City, Kansas, in 1897 a Santa Fe fireman asserted in speaking with a representative of the Labor Commission of the state: "In case an employer refuses to arbitrate with his employees, a crisis follows, and he seeks foreign labor to deprive the American laborers of their rights." Wichita trackmen, stating the matter more concretely, in the same year said: "American laborers demand from $1.25 to $1.50 per day while Italians and Bavarians and other foreign laborers will work for from 90 cents to $1." The "American" laborers speaking thus were often themselves sons of immigrants or were even immigrants of long residence here; the last one quoted was likely a north German. Their hostility to foreign laborers did not lead to the segregation and exclusion of the newcomers, however, but to efforts toward converting them into "Americans."
They were taken into the unions and their education there led swiftly toward Engl-izing.

Carrol D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, wrote President Theodore Roosevelt as follows: "The immigrant, when he sees that the union wants to raise his wages, decrease his hours of labor, etc., begins to see the necessity of learning the English language, of understanding the institutions he hears talked about in the union meetings" (Wr 2). Wright says further—he speaks of packing house workers, but similar statements apply to miners and other branches of labor: "In their business meeting the motions made, resolutions read, and speeches delivered are usually interpreted in five languages, though in some locals only three. All business, however, is transacted primarily in English, although any member may speak to any motion in the language he best understands, his words being rendered into English for the minutes of the meetings and into all the languages necessary for the information of the members. It is here that the practical utility of learning English is brought home forcibly to the immigrant. In all other of his associations not only does his own language suffice, but, for reasons that can be well understood, shrewd leaders minimize the importance of learning any other...

It is true that this Americanizing is being done by the Irish and the Germans, but it is Americanizing nevertheless, and is being done as rapidly as the material to work on will permit, and very well indeed...When the speech of the Lithuanian is translated in the meeting of the trade union the Irish and the Germans see in it the workings of a fairly good mind" (Wr 4).

Wright's interpretation of conditions is idealistic. Rather certainly the debaters among the for-lings were not numerous. In 1909 the investigators for the Immigration Commission reported thus to the Senate concerning
Italian workmen in the Kansas Oklahoma mining district: "A few of the more highly Americanized members of the race generally control the remainder," and they spoke no better of the Slavs. (Senate Documents, LXXX, 67). The Americans unionized the for-lings in order to control their behavior as regards their acceptance of pay and working conditions; further Americanization through unions came, not from the will of those powerful in the unions, but from the interplay of blind forces. The influence of the unions was felt only spasmodically. It was not important until almost 1900, and after an unsuccessful strike, such as that of the packing house workers in 1904, it languished. Still the struggle between capital and labor led toward the use of English. Employers kept stirring the pot and pouring new elements into it, despite themselves; the old workers, making allies of the new, trained them to behave like themselves.

Coal mining in the United States absorbed many immigrants, and Kansas received a significant part of those extracting soft coal (Production in 1907, 393 million). Statistics on the production and labor force in certain states that have had relations with Kansas are quoted below. Other states producing more than a million and a half tons in 1907 are: (the number in parenthesis shows the millions of tons produced in 1907--Alabama (14), Arkansas (3), Indiana (14), Kentucky (11), Ohio (32), Tennessee (7), Texas (2), Virginia (5) and West Virginia (48).)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soft Coal Production and Labor Force in the U.S.*</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
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</table>
The best source for consideration of the coal fields of interest to Kansas is the report of the 1909 Investigators of the Emigration Commission to the U.S. Senate. Their data for Kansas were collected in part in 1909, 1910, or 1911 another year. They divided the information they studied into four sections: (1) Pennsylvania, (2) the Middle West, (3) the Southwest, and (4) the South. The South, for which data were gathered mainly from Alabama, although Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia were included, is of such minor interest to us that few data will be cited for it.

* The production is recorded in the nearest million of tons, the labor force in the nearest thousand of employees unless an entry is smaller than the unit (million, thousand).

** For 1889.

Although Kansas Production ranks low among producing states, its immigrant miners were typical in their distribution among imitating stock and in their linguistic development.

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>53**</td>
<td>24**</td>
<td>2**</td>
<td>3**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>212</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>219</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source S34:5)
The Middle West included Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. Few data were gathered from Ohio, most of them from Illinois, the state of the greatest interest to Kansas. The Southwest included Arkansas, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas; almost no data came from Arkansas and Texas (9, 17), and fortunately Kansas and Oklahoma are for many purposes given separate consideration. The percentage of the total number of employees interviewed by the investigators was for Pennsylvania 30.1%, for the Middle West 14%, for the Southwest, 33.8%, for the South, 15.5% (9, 18). In other words Kansas and Oklahoma received the most nearly complete study. Besides collecting statistics for the four districts according to a set pattern the Investigators studied a number of communities. There were more of these for Illinois, Kansas and Oklahoma than for any place else, none for Ohio or any of the districts in the South but Alabama, only two for Pennsylvania. These two were in southwest Pennsylvania and had been opened late; therefore, since they give us no information applicable to those miners brought to Kansas in 1879 and 1880 from Mercer Co. much farther north in western Pennsylvania, only a few statistics from Pennsylvania are here given as contrasted with more extended information for Illinois, Oklahoma and Kansas. Selected statistics for the total number of those interviewed are also presented. Less often statistics concerning the households of which intensive studies were made are presented because the number of persons interviewed in certain stocks was not large enough to make the report on them significant. However, since the "households" furnish the only data on women, they are sometimes of use.
Percentage of Each Stock in U.S. Each Specified Number of Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no. reporting</th>
<th>-5</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Croats</td>
<td>2,416</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>2,677</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Italians</td>
<td>6,622</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Italians</td>
<td>4,239</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>7,316</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>11,272</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenians</td>
<td>1,899</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total foreign language</td>
<td>54,300</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage by Stocks of All Coal Miners Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle West</th>
<th>Penna.</th>
<th>South-West</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>All U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Croats</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Italians</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Italians</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenians</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The "old" emigration is represented above by the French, Germans, and Swedes. There were still as many Germans as there were Croatians and Slovenians, but two-thirds of them had been in the United States more than 15 years, as compared with a proportion of one-fourth for all stocks. There was, however, a not inconsiderable element recently arrived. Among the French except for a great falling off during the hard times of the nineties, the arrivals had been steady. Over two-thirds of the North Slavs and much over three-fourths of the Italians and South Slavs had arrived after 1898. Engl-izing among them could not be far advanced. The figures on districts show the high proportion of North Italians in the Southwest. Most of the Slovenians of the Southwest were in Kansas and the Investigators there confused them with Croats so that their importance for Kansas is not evident in this table. North Slavs were much more important in Pennsylvania than elsewhere.

49.33 **Ability to speak English** among the soft coal miners as reflected in the report of the 1909 Investigators was for all the United States and for the stocks of interest to Kansas as follows:
The preceding table, by showing that Italians and Slovenians were more frequently able to speak English after being in this country from five to nine years, furnishes some evidence that Englishizing was proceeding more rapidly in Kansas than elsewhere, since these were the stocks most numerous there.
The Table on Households compared with the Table on Employees records for every stock but north Italian, a lower rate of ability to speak English for men. It seems that a proper conclusion to draw from this phenomenon is that life in a family promoted Engl-izing less than a bachelor existence. It might also be concluded that the households were weighted with young boys, but every other evidence is that Engl-izing went on faster in children older than six years than in any other group.

In every stock the study of households shows men Engl-izing faster than women, which is no phenomenon to surprise us; it is in harmony with much other evidence and explicable by the women's comparative isolation from the general activities of society.

The slight difference between men and women among Poles in the table is probably to be explained by a high proportion of recently arrived men in the Polish households sampled. Among employees (male) the ability to speak English among Poles who had been in the United States 5-9 years was only slightly below that of Slovaks. Comment on the difference between North and South Italians in this respect occurs in Section 82.62.

Illinois coal miners are of particular interest to this study because of close relations to those in Kansas. John R. Commons's analysis of linguistic conditions in Illinois in 1904 is revealing. But of 37,000 foreign-born miners in the state then some 3,000 were Italians and 24,000 Slovaks. They were particularly common at that time in the northern coal fields, because "Americans" who had the preference in choice of jobs chose to work in the south where the coal veins were thicker and coal could be more easily extracted. The union had shortly before gained an agreement that set a minimum wage which made it unprofitable for mine operators to hire boys. School attendance
had greatly increased. Commons describes the linguistic situation within the Illinois unions as follows: "The policy of the mine workers' union is to distribute the offices among the different nationalities in order to have interpreters at their meetings and agents to keep the several nationalities in line. Undoubtedly, the greatest difficulty encountered in the mining region at the present time under the system of agreements with the operators is the presence in such large numbers of non-English speaking miners and mine workers. The enforcement of the interstate and state agreements is a matter of difficulty, sometimes on account of dishonesty of the interpreter and often on account of his inefficiency, and this is especially serious in the northern fields where the unions are controlled by the Slavs and Italians. There have been several local strikes and violations of agreement on account of this barrier of language, and there is no one object that appeals more to the operators of the state than that of instruction in English (their enthusiasm was a result of union system that required intelligence from the workers).

The parochial schools, which are attended by a majority of the Slav children, are of an unusually high order, and not only is the English language taught in all of them, but English may be said to be the language of the parochial schools. (C229. For discussion on the language situation among miners in Kansas, see #37.6 and 37.9.)

Ten Illinois mining communities were described by the 1909 Investigators (368:592-608); six of these are of interest as related or analogous to Kansas communities. They are found in three areas: Northern Illinois (No. 2), Northeast of St. Louis (Nos. 3, 4, 5), Southern Illinois (Nos. 6, 7). No. 2 -- in Bureau County "100 miles west and slightly south of
In 1886 the population was 1,013 including 8 Poles and 4 Italians. Both groups had very recently arrived. The mining company began to import more forlings and in 1889 the Englings struck, lost, and practically disappeared from the mines. In 1908 the distribution of stocks was:

- Belgian 200
- Lithuanians 2,500
- Poles 1,200
- North Italians 3,000
- South Italians 100

No. 3 -- "Three small towns one or two miles from each other," Gillespie and neighboring camps in Macoupin County some 4½ miles northeast of St. Louis. The mines were opened about 1902; Gillespie was an early German settlement. There were some by 1855, and a Lutheran church was founded in 1870. Germans have continued to be an important element. The 1909 Investigators distributed the foreign language population of the three camps as follows:

- German 300
- North Italians 600 (including about 100 Tyrolese)
- Poles 50
- Lithuanians 400
- Slovaks 300
- Ruthenians 500
- (Ukrainians)

Gillespie was the German and Engling residence center and remained so. The other camps were represented in 1961 by Benld some three miles southeast of Gillespie. There the Ukrainians had their Orthodox church and numbered about 300. The other Slavs and Italians formed the Roman Catholic parish, 35% Slovak, 15% Italian, 15% Croatian, 5% Lithuanian, a few Polish. 98% of them used English together. These stocks came in at the time of the opening of the mines; the earliest were from
Pennsylvania, particularly Slovaks, and from elsewhere in Illinois. The Slovaks and Croatians each had a lodge. The mines at Benld were opened about 1915. Development went on for some time, but began to fail in the 1930's. The local of the Progressive Mine Workers at the beginning of the Second World War had 2,100 members. Production fell off so that in 1961 the one mine open in the area -- it was at Gillespie -- required the workers to return some of their wages for investment.

No. 4 -- Staunton, some ten miles south of No. 3 also in Macoupin County. Population in 1900-2,786, in 1908-6,000, in early 1930's-7,000, in 1961-4,000. Staunton was another and still earlier German settlement; it had a Lutheran church in 1847. In 1909 its foreign language population was one third German, one third Slavic, and one third Italian. Employees in seven mines were thus distributed:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatians</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenians</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Italians</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyrolese</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Italians</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Late mining history has been similar to that of the No. 3 area. In 1961 a single mine was operating, a few miles to the South, with the coal faces 3 or 4 miles distant from the shaft entrance. At that time inter-marriage between the stocks was a commonplace. The Slovak Lutherans were the only group served regularly by a pastor in a language other than English. About ten old people of all stocks required a visiting priest for confession among the Catholics.

No. 5 -- Mount Olive "6 miles from No. 4" to the north, a little nearer Staunton.

This town was originally part of the German settlement, and Germans
remained important (two Lutheran churches). Mining began earlier there than in the towns nearby. The "new" immigrants appeared about 1879, became important a decade later. The important stocks were the Croatians and Slovaks (each with its church by 1915, but only one mission in 1900). Italians played only a minor role. The employee distribution in 1909 was:

- Germans 275
- Poles 35
- North Italians 30
- Croats & Serbs 220
- Slovaks & Bohemians 220
- Lithuaninas & Magyars 35

This middle district was the scene of dramatic labor disputes. The field was unionized by the Progressive Mine Workers. Negroes were anathema.

In the southern district (on Italians, see#82.72g) yet more notorious labor disputes occurred. By the time of those of 1933, the mines were beginning to give out. Mines in the northern part of the Southern District had been opened early in Franklin County so that the 1930 census shows both a much higher proportion and absolute number of foreign white stock there than in Williamson County where the mining towns are most celebrated. The older centers—which reached true importance only in 1902:

No. 6 — Marion, in Williamson County "120 miles southeast of St. Louis."

The sole center for South Italians of whom 340 were employed and 700 were resident in 1908; 45 Polish employees.

No. 7 — Herrin."10 miles northwest of No. 6." Population, 1900-1,559; 1909-8,000. First shaft in 1897; North Italians began arriving soon. Employees in 1908 include 580 North Italians, 25 South Italians, 160 Lithuanians. The South Italians and Negroes lived in a separate camp.
The Oklahoma communities described by the 1909 investigators (569:18-21) included:

No. 1 — McAlester, county seat of Pittsburg County, mines opened in 1873. 900 Italian employees in 1909 out of 2,100.

No. 2 — Krebs — four miles from McAlester — mines opened in 1874 and 1875. Population 2,200 of whom 1,500 were foreign-born and 1,100 Italian — a large proportion were floating.

No. 5 — Henryetta at some distance north and some west of McAlester in Okmulgee County, mines opened in 1895; many from Kansas went there. Population was 1,800 including 500 foreign-born, of whom 100 were Italians.

No. 6 — Lehigh in Coal County, southwest of McAlester. Mines opened in 1881. The first French arrived then. Population was 2,500, including 750 foreign-born, of whom 350 were Italians and 200 French.

No. 7 — Coalgate near Lehigh — mines opened in 1890. The most important French camp; 1,000 French, 600 Italians out of 1,500 foreign-born in a population of 3,500. Miners came here from Lehigh.

The most important meat packing cities were in the period of interest to this study Chicago, the largest, Kansas City, Kansas next, and Omaha third.

The Senate Investigators of 1909 interviewed for these three cities the following numbers of male fb. for-lings employed in packing plants.

All stocks with less than 30 employees in Chicago are not listed.
The above table makes it evident that while the "new" immigration furnished the mass of packing labor (the Germans were skilled or administrative), the various stocks flocked in different proportions to the packing centers. In Kansas City Czechs were nearly negligible, more important in Chicago, and most important in Omaha. On the other hand Croatians dwarfed other groups
in Kansas City.

For Chicago alone in 1928 Taylor's list of employees of Swift's
and Armour's show one change significant there, the large number of Mexicans.

A similar phenomenon had taken place in Kansas City.

| Bohemians 86+ | Probably Moravians 69 | 155 |
| Bohemians     | Probably Moravians    |     |
| Germans       | Germans              | 382 |
| Greeks        | Greeks               | 9   |
| Italians      | Italians             | 99  |
| Lithuanians   | Lithuanians          | 1033|
| Magyar        | Magyar               | 43  |
| Mexicans      | Mexicans             | 746 |
| Poles         | Poles                | 1570|
| Russians      | Russians             | 383 |
| Slovaks       | Slovaks              | 115 |
| Slovenians    | Slovenians           | (see Austrians below) |
| Swedes        | Swedes               | 58  |
| "Austrians"   | and South Slavs      | 289 |

Percentages of Foreign-born Packing House Employees Speaking English in Chicago, Kansas City, and South Omaha in 1908. (Reported by 1909 Senate investigators)
Bohemians and 
Moravians  59.6  not given  70.2
Croats  44.6  59.8  51.1
Germans  86.3  92.0  94.3
Greeks  54.0  45.4  not given
Lithuanians  45.8  45.7  67.9
Poles  40.3  39.4  55.8
Russians  40.9  29.7  62.2
Serbs  not given  50.7  26.7
Slovaks  42.1  62.8  not given
Slovenes  91.0  71.1  not given

Comparing the percentages for Chicago and Kansas City of Croatians and Slovenians, we may conclude that early Croatian establishment in Kansas City led to greater proficiency in English in 1908 than in Chicago, opposite conclusions for Slovenians.

Religions, societies, the press and other means of linguistic social manifestations varied enough among for-lings from stock to stock so that, except for the Catholic church which affected many at once, the consideration may largely be postponed for treatment with the appropriate language. No exception for the press, a minor one for societies of note. On schools see #49.90.

Americans Lodges in the hey day of their prosperity sometimes had chapters that sheltered only members of a for-ling stock, almost always German. The hospitality of the American lodges in general towards "old" immigrants was an Eng-lizing factor. It was checked by the hostility of most for-ling churches to lodges.
The Lutherans formed the only Protestant religious group represented in several for-ling stocks and at the same time unrelated to a church well developed among people of Colonial American stock. To be sure there was a Lutheran church from colonial times, but its persistence was among those of German ancestry, and it is in this work treated with other German Lutheran denominations. The various Scandinavian Lutheran churches of the United States grew up among the immigrants of the 19th century. At the very beginning there was some tendency for Lutherans speaking different languages to work together, but only since some language has been largely abandoned have the Lutheran descendants of the various nationalities in considerable measure succeeded in drawing together into denominations not determined by the location of ancestral homes. The change is so recent that each Lutheran church may be considered where speakers of German, Swedish, Norwegian or Danish are studied.

For-ling religious bodies related to the Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists have tended to be absorbed into the "English" bodies corresponding. If they were early acknowledged branches of the "English" Baptists or Methodists, this absorption took place during and shortly after the First World War. Otherwise it occurred much later or has not yet happened. In any case German Baptists did not much affect Danish Baptists; and for other combinations the fact is similar so that again it is proper to treat the denomination with the language stock to which its members belonged.

The Catholic church in the United States, though it had been founded with the colony of Maryland in 1633 and though it grew somewhat in Pennsylvania, was limited in the colonial period to those colonies, and was unable to achieve episcopal organization until 1790 after George Washington
became president. The diocese of 1790 was all the United States. The see was at Baltimore, the bishop, John Carroll. He became Archbishop in 1808, with his province stretching to the Mississippi; dioceses were established in Richmond, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Kentucky. The eastern dioceses were mainly Irish, but partly German, and there was dissension between the nationalities from the start. The diocese of Bardstown consisted of Kentucky and Tennessee, but at first its bishop administered also the territory north of the Ohio. Here there were French at scattered points, but they dwindled in comparative importance, and again the Catholics became almost all Germans and Irish.

With the Louisiana purchase of 1803 the United States acquired more territory where Catholicism was already installed, though not so firmly as might be thought, for there were only ten priests in the diocese of New Orleans "some far advanced in years, some utterly unfit to exercise the ministry" (Sh III, 356). Some were French and some Spanish, which did not improve matters. At St. Louis in the diocese of New Orleans, there was a separate area of population. Here Bishop du Bourg, whose diocese included both upper and lower Louisiana, took up his residence in 1818. Founded in 1764, the city had had a Catholic priest in 1770, and became the see of a separate diocese in 1826. The first bishop, Joseph Rosati, was an Italian who had been in the United States since 1815. He alleged, as one reason for preferring, when upper and lower Louisiana were separated, to be Bishop of St. Louis rather than New Orleans, that his knowledge of English was much better than his knowledge of French (Sh III, 391). Still there were a number of French parishes in his diocese and there were Germans. The Germans became very numerous, but Rosati's successors have consistently been Irish.
One of the most notable events for its effect on Kansas of Bishop du Bourg's residence in Missouri was that in 1823 he brought the Jesuit novitiate from Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, to the north of St. Louis at Florissant, Missouri. These young Jesuits under the leadership of Charles van Quickenborne were to become missionaries to the Indians of the west. They were mostly Belgians but were joined by others, notably for Kansas a Frenchman, Miège, (see below) and an Italian, Ponziglione (see below). But after one or two other French Bishops, the dioceses that were created to the north of the Ohio, whence Kansas received much population, were to be in the hands of either German or much more frequently Irish bishops. Bishop, later Archbishop, Henni of Milwaukee was the most distinguished of the Germans. He was in Wisconsin from 1844 to 1881 and had earlier been in the late 1830's and early 1840's the mainstay of the Irish bishop at Cincinnati.

The Irish Catholics had firm hold of New York from the beginning and of New England after 1825. With the upsurge of the French Canadian population in New England, the dominance of the Irish there led to much bitterness among the French clergy. The arrival much later of the "new immigration" brought Catholic peoples speaking many different languages to the United States. The new immigrants were in no position to dispute the Irish hegemony, and at the hierarchial level they are still not significantly represented. Though every linguistic stock had been able, more or less effectively, to provide priests for its own parishes, the proportion of vocations has remained highest among the Irish, high also among the Germans, particularly the Russian Germans. Therefore parishes with mixed stocks are most likely to be served by Irishmen, and next most frequently by Germans.
Since the Second World War certain bishops have tried providing parishes that have unmixed stocks with pastors from another stock, but such appointments have been proceeding cautiously. Historically even when the language question has ceased to exist, the pastor has usually come of the same stock as the people -- mixed parishes aside. The result has been that the pastor usually represents the same ideas as his people as opposed to those of the higher echelons. When priest and people have quarreled necessitating episcopal interference, the difference in origins between people and bishop, if such a difference exists, may make his task more difficult, his decisions less palatable, and sometimes perhaps less just. Still episcopal authority has been generally respected -- even with considerable awe, and when the bishop has acted discreetly, he has controlled all cases.

Monastic orders when they entered the United States from abroad were largely represented at their arrival by a body of some particular linguistic stock, and that stock has tended to prevail in the order since that time, or if not, to furnish most of the monks in specific monastic houses. The nationalistic character of the American monastic orders was much more marked in the 19th century than in the mid-twentieth. In Kansas the Jesuits did not represent any particular linguistic stock, but all the other orders to arrive early were German at the time of their arrival and long afterward, the Benedictines, the Carmelites, the Franciscans, the Capuchins. None others had entered Kansas before 1915 except the Passionist Fathers who took over from the Jesuits at St. Paul in 1894, (they were Irish), and the Fathers of the Sacred Heart who came from Louvain, Belgium in 1912 to serve the Flemings at Kenney Heights. Somewhat later were the Augustinian Recollects who came from Spain to serve
The net Catholic immigration amounted to nine and one-third million according to Barry. Six million of the Catholic immigrants arrived after 1870, four and three-fourths million after 1890. The new immigration then furnished far more immigrants than had the Irish and Germans, though natural increase among these western peoples prevented them from ever being overwhelmed numerically. Their dominance however, is to be explained by their having taken good root before the arrival of the others as well as by political shrewdness, aided for the Irish from the beginning and for the Germans, by the time the rest came, by expertness in the English language. According to Barry the relativity of numbers among Germans and Irish as shown by immigrant arrivals, was up through 1880 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2,197</td>
<td>35,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>38,876</td>
<td>144,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>110,831</td>
<td>530,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>241,887</td>
<td>602,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td>371,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>175,000</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>781,791</td>
<td>1,863,791</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Irish were not slow in seizing the advantage which they were given by the English language that many generations earlier had become native to them, and they called vigorously for the use of English. The Germans complained of neglect from very early and found a sympathetic ear in Europe. The Austrian Leopoldinen Stiftung (founded 1829) and the Bavarian Ludwig Missionsverein (1838) began to support missions in the United States; the Bavarian society at least included Kansas. Their money
was attracted most readily toward purely German work. Over a century later the archivist of the Leopold Missionsverein is cited by Barry as confirming two statements: "Loss of language meant loss of faith and traditions . . . . The German did not claim that German was the language of his faith, but it was the best means of keeping the faith" (Ba 9). In 1836 Philadelphians were appealing to the society in Vienna to help them secure a German bishop. In 1842 Canon Salzbacher reported to Vienna that American bishops were going to devote any funds sent them to support of what to them seemed most vital, the way to hold German Catholics in America would be to send them German speaking priests. In 1845 a report to Bavaria said the American bishops "abandon the religious exercises for the Germans" (Ba 14), and in 1846 the Bavarian ambassador to the Vatican protested there "the lack of interest shown by the Irish bishops in America for the condition and needs of the five million German Catholics" (Ba 16). The Germans thus supported, seeing in language a means of unity for defense, maintained that without continuing Catholic worship in their own language the Germans would be, even were being, won over by Lutherans or abandoning Deutschtum altogether to associate with Americans and their deplorable morals and lack of faith. There was further support from Europe for this point of view.

In the early 1860's a layman in Germany, Peter Paul Cahensly, became interested in the plight of German emigrants and through his efforts, the St. Raphaelsverein was created by the Catholics in Germany in 1871, to serve the Catholic immigrant and preserve him to Catholicism. Cahensly and this society continued to be a force of moment among German emigrants to America. Also the St. Raphaelsverein achieved branches in Belgium and Italy and elsewhere. In the early twentieth century it devoted its energies
35

primarily to the Slavs. Since the Second World War it has served the great mass of displaced persons. In its early days, however, Germans were its prime concern, especially the upholding of their religion by isolating them from subversive forces and by perpetuating the use of the language that was the most evident sign of their superiority to their environment.

Language Maintenance vs. "Americanization", 1880-1900. The German Catholics in the United States, aside from any organized influence from abroad, worked vigorously to preserve their language. In the 1880's the clash became fierce between the forces for Americanization as a means of achieving Catholic unity and those upholding the retention of pristine cultural conditions as the only way to insure Catholic purity. The Americanizers "argued that the church was one, that unity of language made the ministry of the church easier and made it easier to secure priests. It promoted homogeneity in the clergy and harmony in matters of policy. Finally, the use of the English tongue was flattering to the amour propre of the American people and prepared the way for the spread of religion among them" (D 369). In this period the French Canadians in New England were even more set upon maintaining their language and customs than the Germans. Rome favored a French priest for Fall River in 1885, but in 1881 "it directed that the national parish should be regarded as a temporary experiment" (W185). But the conflict at high levels centered upon the problems of the Germans. As the death of Archbishop Henmi of Milwaukee approached, the question of the choice of a successor became important. In 1878 an American priest not of German ancestry was disturbed: "These German priests seem to forget the Unity and Catholicity of the Church to perpetuate the curse of Babel in Language" (Ba 46). Another of like origins in the same year wrote, "The appointment of a German Coadjutor"
would confirm, perpetuate, and intensify the Germanising process usque ad infinitum. . . . This would be a calamity for the English speaking" (Ba 48).

In 1881 Heiss, the German bishop of La Crosse, was transferred to Milwaukee as coadjutor. In St. Louis Archbishop Kennick had early ruled that German, Bohemian, and Polish parishes were succursals, that is branches, of the territorial parishes, and without parochial jurisdiction. The ruling had been unheeded until 1884 when it was resurrected and caused a furor, but a petition from the German clergy of St. Louis was stifled in committee at the national council of the Catholics of that year (Ba 58). The succursal ruling never was applied. The council of 1884 considered the immigration question; matter unfavorable to the Italians of New York City was debated in committee, and the French Canadians in New England were in a fighting mood over the arguments advanced in favor of the use of English. The whole situation was glossed over in a report adopted by the council, but though there was a statement that candidates for the priesthood should learn the language of the country, feelings ran high. The French thought that an attack upon them had been repulsed. Indeed Archbishop Williams of Boston maintained that German, French, Italian, and Portuguese parishes all lived at peace with their neighbors. His concern was not great because "children of parents belonging to foreign language parishes, as well as the parents themselves, would in time desire to become attached to English-speaking parishes since the children gradually lost their maternal language" (Ba 62). Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore, who was just becoming a Cardinal, expressed a similar opinion, though the Irish knew him as an ally, one of their own. This view, which has been largely verified by later history though sometimes more tardily than its exponents thought, was the view necessary in dioceses and archdioceses where the languages were numerous and new immigrants were constantly making the situation more complicated.
In general the Irish bishops in these areas spoke placatingly to preserve present authority and advanced Englishing as fast as they could. The behavior of the pastors who were in competition with each other was not always so polite. The Irishmen took full advantage of the possibility of leaguing their cause with Americanism. "Americanism" became a rallying point. The Catholic Congress of 1889 at Baltimore debated the propriety of German National societies and ruled, "National Societies as such have no place in the Church of this country; after the manner of this congress, they should be Catholic and American" (W 185). Franco-Americans as well as Germans protested. The principal champion of Americanism was Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul who felt secure enough in the support behind him to speak with force and usually with frankness.

The "national" parish became a flourishing institution without ever having been legislated into being. German parishes everywhere and French parishes rather early in New England were created without the consciousness that the arrival of immigrants speaking other languages would necessitate a generic term to cover parishes with non-English congregations planted in cities where there were various linguistic stocks. Archbishop Kennick's declaration regarding succursals was an effort to settle the administrative problem caused when the membership of a parish could not be established by territorial boundaries. The problem was not solved, but continued to exist, and became rather more vexing as immigrant populations Englished. Before Englishing and before a foreign quarter in a city was penetrated by other stocks moving into low-cost housing abandoned by the original stock that was more nearly approaching opulence, the difference between 'territorial' and 'national' might be very slight. The national parish was a fully recognized phenomenon by the 1880's. It had
administrative convenience as well as provided administrative problems. The mobility of population that followed the Second World War was the greatest enemy to it. By then the age of the parishioners was apt to be advanced; their ability to provide future prospects and present and future income limited. In the decade just before the First World War the national parishes were flourishing, not always economically, for the people were often poor, but as a garden for the cultivation of f-lang. According to the 1916 Report of the Bureau of the Census on Religious bodies for the United States the number in thousands of parishioners in National parishes of various stocks of interest to this study was as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stock</th>
<th>F-lang only</th>
<th>F-lang and Eng.</th>
<th>F-lang only</th>
<th>F-lang and Eng.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>1181</td>
<td>1165</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>1095</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavic (probably Slovenian &amp; some Slovak)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Syrian (Lebanese)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relation between the size of the numbers in the two columns is a fair index of the degree of Engl-izing except for the Italians, who were often as content to hear sermons in English as in standard Italian, both equally difficult to follow.

The stronghold of the German Catholics was in the provinces of St. Louis, Cincinnati and Milwaukee; even when the bishops were not German, the Germans held many diocesan posts and were pastors of many parishes that had achieved economic strength, as contrasted with the still poverty-stricken parishes of immigrants who had more recently arrived. The German
priests in these provinces in 1886 sent Peter M. Abbelen to present their case in Rome. He stated that "all direct and violent efforts to deprive the Germans of their language and customs, to 'Americanize' them in a quiet way, are nothing but fatal means of leading them away from the church" (Ba 63). Ireland, then still a bishop, with a colleague hastened to Rome to work against Abbelen. The decision handed down was more or less approval of the status quo. National parishes were justified, but not binding the young to them. When immigration ceased, then bishops should rule as to what was best. The decision is of less interest than some of the facts and allegations brought forward in evidence. Archbishop Corrigan of New York, speaking for the archbishops as a group, remarked on the difficulty of supporting national parishes among the poor. "In Philadelphia the Church of St. Mary di Pazzi was given to the Italians, but its rector protested when English-speaking Catholics avoided it since he could not find support without them. Presumably these English-speakers were of Italian stock. At St. Joseph's church in Washington ... the people left whenever German was preached but stayed when the sermons were in English. And these people ... were second generation Germans" (Ba 68). Nicholas Gonner, a Luxemburger (see §52.51) and an editor, showed what many Germans thought of their environment. English resembled the barking of dogs, he said: "to every attempt of the children to speak English the parents should respond with the rod. In the family, the parish school and religious exercises German must prevail" (Ba 81). For the rest he spoke in harmony with Anton Walburg's description of the character of the Anglo-Saxon "a boaster, arrogant, pharisaical." etc. When the German "seeks to throw aside his nationality and to become quite English, you know, the first word he learns is generally a curse, and the rowdy element
is his preference to the sterling qualities of the Puritan" (Ba 84).

But he concludes foreigners "will Americanize in spite of themselves."

In 1890 Cahensly met with representatives of the St. Raphaelswerein
in Lucerne and drew up a memorial which, before it was presented at Rome,
was signed by fifty-one representatives of the society, 10 Germans,
8 Italian, 9 Austrian, 7 Belgian, 1 Swiss, 1 French and 15 French-Canadians.

To advance Catholicism the memorial advocated for immigrants national
parishes, priests bound to give instruction in the language of immigrants
in areas where they were too few for a parish, schools instructing in the
language, and bishops to represent them. A lurid version of these repre­
sentations at once went to America; the whole thing was attached to
Cahensly, and Cahenslyism provided the material for another storm, fiercer
and more enduring than that unleashed by Abbelein, and therefore less
fruitful of reasoned observation. The Bennett law happened to have just
been passed in Wisconsin requiring 16 weeks a year of instruction in
English in elementary schools. Catholics headed by their bishops leagued
with Lutherans and elected legislators, who repealed the law. On this
occasion Archbishop Ireland from adjoining Minnesota spoke in favor of the
law. Among other things he said, "among the Catholics, the children are
retained in these schools until they have been grounded well in the use
of the German language . . . . After that, all over America the German
children are allowed to go to school where they please and no further
danger seems to be entertained for their faith" (Ba 185). Ireland was
even willing to give up parish schools to public management with religious
instruction outside. Probably he had in mind an arrangement such as has
existed at several plants in Kansas (Scipio and Victoria for instance)
where Catholic personnel (that is, nuns) became the teachers in the public
schools, an advantageous bargain economically, certainly one that has advanced the use of English because the schools, thus taught, were obliged to conform to state laws. In any case Ireland reaped wrath especially when Rome declared such steps could be tolerated, but the anger and the hubbub over Cahenslyism gradually subsided, partly because maintenance of schools was a difficult problem during the hard times of the 1890's.

In the first decade of the twentieth century the demand for German in Catholic worship and instruction grew weaker and German bishops spoke mildly. Bishop Horstmann of Cleveland lamented "I must truly wonder at our German parents, who themselves speak German, for not preserving the German language as precious in their families. They rather speak English to their children ... Hold firmly to your mother tongue, speak German in your families, insist that your children speak only German with you" (Ba 251). His face was evidently turned backward, while Archbishop Moller of Cincinnati, addressing the Central Verein (founded in 1855 and cooperative with the St. Raphaelverein), declared in 1906 that "it would be best if the different nationalities which made up the people of the United States became one nation with one language as soon as possible" (Ba 252). He stirred up a reaction, but it was of short duration. In religious observances the German Catholics were not ill prepared linguistically for the shock of 1918. However German national parishes did not disappear then, and in 1960 some were still in existence, but use of German in them except for confessions by the old was a thing of the past.

The situation in the churches of the new immigration was of course different, in some dioceses these people received a sort of recognition that had not been accorded to early immigrants. An auxiliary bishop was appointed for the Slavs at Cleveland in 1907. In Chicago another was named
for the Poles. The Ruthenians were also cared for. The St. Raphaelverein working with this new influx recognized a need for immigrants that in its early days had appeared totally objectionable, though it was not until 1930 that the new policy was definitely formulated in print: "After the emigrant has found work, it is his greatest responsibility to learn the English language at once. Again and again he will realize how great a disadvantage he is at if he cannot speak the language of the land" (Ba 274). But the Catholic church recognized that with newly arrived immigrants this goal was not immediately attainable. Barry lists eighteen foreign linguistic stocks as important in the immigration of the period 1900-1910 (Ba 328). National parishes were provided for them all. Rurally a national parish was not to be distinguished from a territorial parish so that their prevalence can be shown only by data from the cities.

Chicago, Cleveland and Kansas City, Kansas serve as examples for a break down by city and by language.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of parish</th>
<th>Chicago 1900 1915</th>
<th>Cleveland 1900 1915</th>
<th>Kansas City, Kansas 1900 1915</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>63 54 13 23</td>
<td>4 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>6 6 3 6</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>1 2 0 1</td>
<td>0 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>0 1 0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flemish</td>
<td>0 1 0 0</td>
<td>0 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3 4 1 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>22 17 8 8</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3 6 2 3</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>1 6 1 1</td>
<td>0 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magyar</td>
<td>0 0 1 2</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>14 28 5 10</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumanian</td>
<td>0 0 0 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthenian</td>
<td>0 1 2 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>0 4 2 6</td>
<td>0 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenian</td>
<td>0 1 1 3</td>
<td>0 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td>1 1 0 1</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the years 1900 and 1915 the preaching in the national parishes may be assumed to have been exclusive in their languages. Many of the churches retained their national appellations into the 1950's and 1960's without the label having any linguistic significance except as regards confessions by the old. In the relatively few churches linguistically deserving the title of "national," the introduction of English into the mass in November, 1965, had a disturbing effect.
In a preliminary version of Joshua Fishman's *Language Loyalty in the United States* John E. Hofman analyzed the data for years 1910 to 1960 concerning parishes labeled by the *Official Catholic Directory* as national parishes. The answers to questionnaires addressed in 1961 to the pastors of the still existent Roman Catholic national parishes, to Polish National and Orthodox pastors and to certain "others" (presumably a selection of Protestant churches) gave Hofman material for an analysis of language usage in the parishes under the care of the pastors addressed; this analysis was included in the published version (pp. 127-139). The table that follows is derived from Hofman's, but repeats none of his completely.

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**FN** Hofman changes "national to "ethnic", but this study uses "national" because the term is in harmony with church usage and at least as accurate as "ethnic" in the strict sense of that word. The word "labeled" is used in the present analysis because parishes essentially national are not so labeled in rural surroundings, in some small cities, and in certain dioceses that have rejected such labels without however making all their parishes truly "territorial".

### Data for Linguistic Stocks on Parishes Labeled National in 1960 by Roman Catholics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of Parishes</th>
<th>Number of Answered Questionnaires</th>
<th>% of responding parishes of all confessions Using half or more f-lang in sermons*</th>
<th>Using English only in org. with one party not of nationality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenian</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian (Lebanese)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The percentages noted in this column appear on F135 as the "Maintenance Score" of Table 6.8. In that table the "number of responding parishes" presents figures higher than column 2 here; non Roman Catholic respondents are included.

The information published by Fishman regarding language usage in these Roman Catholic churches is in the case of German not sufficiently limited to Catholics to be regarded as an accurate response for German Catholic Churches; the percentages were probably, for the Catholics alone, still lower. The Italian data are slightly affected by 7 non-Catholic answers. The Polish data are based on returns that include those from 39 Polish National churches. In view of the character of these churches language usage in them probably does not greatly affect percentage returns.

To the above we may add statements from Hofman's conclusions:

"The ethnic parish has in 1960 reached a floor of relative stability after a steep decline in the 30's and 40's. The decline was fanned by patriotic sentiments, Americanization in the small community, internal
migration coupled with lessening immigration, and the assimilatory policies of church authorities.” The above statement, made at the end of Chapter VIII of the preliminary version, speaks of the past; the conclusions of the second chapter of the same version (IX) deals with the situation of 1961: “If there is a force that militates against permanent bilingualism in ethnic parishes, ... perhaps it is a kind of ‘Old World weariness’, a conscious or sub-conscious impression that it is simply not worth bothering to maintain ‘old’ and ‘impractical’ linguistic distinctions.”

The situation in areas such as southwestern Louisiana, the southwestern states and northern Maine where there were populations before the arrival of speakers of English requires special policies, but in them too the intrusion of English into Catholic worship has been great, often because of the needs of the young, but also because of efforts by the hierarchy as in north central New Mexico where the employment of non-Spanish clergy has sometimes been deemed necessary to obtain conformity to practices with which language has little connection.

Mexican national parishes have been established in the states in which the Mexicans were immigrants from Old Mexico. They were bi-lingual into the 1960’s. In Kansas they have definitely tended to discard Spanish.

English in the mass entered Catholic practice in the United States in November 1964. The possibility of the use of other languages existed, but national parishes commonly seized the opportunity to broaden the use of English in their services.

Hofman’s chapters contain many additional valuable statistics and observations. The basic data are never negligible. The statement applies to both the preliminary and published versions.
The public's attitude toward the use of f-lang throughout the United States was in large part determined by their friendliness or hostility to contemporaneous immigration from Europe. The overt enmity of the Know Nothings of the 1850's had parallels that were usually somewhat passive in the half century that followed the Civil War. If there was an enduring commercial advantage in dealing with people in a f-lang, Americans would countenance or promote its use by their employees with customers, but the general attitude was that ignorance of English was an absurdity, and English in the brogue of some for-ling stock was an occasion of merriment. "Americans" in this case included not only those of colonial stock but also the descendants of more recent arrivals from Europe who had become proficient in English. If you were ignorant of English, you were stupid or else regarded as belonging to another zoological species.

The First World War turned this contemptuous view of the monolingual for-ling into a rabid hostility not only toward monolinguals but also toward bilinguals who still used f-lang where American ears could hear it. German and Germans were the object of most of this hostility, but it extended to other languages and other stocks. The conditions described for Kansas in #9.6 were general throughout the United States.

After 1918 f-lang for six or eight years did not regain favor at all. The hostility to German was no worse -- it could hardly be --, but English was in some sense deified, and any effort to conserve any other language among for-lings was treasonable. Despite these attitudes of English monolinguals -- and many bilinguals too -- there grew up a pitying attitude for the old who had not had the privilege of enlightenment in their youth. Even among the "new" immigrants where their children expected
to hear their elders using f-lang on the streets, such conduct in any one
who was young was regarded as surprising. Only, as among the Mexicans,
where a defensive attitude toward discrimination might be formed, was
there any tendency to persist with f-lang and then not with reverence for
the old, but as a mark symbolizing what the speakers wanted to champion
against discriminators. In the 1950's and 1960's these attitudes had not
disappeared but very frequently the general public developed something
like respect for the achievement of bilingualism and the bilinguals them­
selves could exercise their accomplishment with a sense of superiority.

49.80 Intermarriage, that is marriage between members of two for-ling
stocks as well as marriage of a for-ling to an American of older stock
was in the United States almost certain to result in Engl-izing of the
home with consequent abandonment of f-lang by the children of the marriage.
The readiness with which members of a given linguistic stock took a
mate in other linguistic stocks is therefore a factor important in
determining Engl-izing, and the tendency to choose one's mate from one's
own stock is important in determining the preservation of foreign language.
Julius Drachsler studied intermarriage in New York City for the years
1908-1912. His findings are not all pertinent to the present purpose
because he did not determine the ancestral stock of new spouses with both
parents born in the United States. He also deals only with urban condi­
tions. Rural conditions are different, and most stocks in Kansas have
been predominantly rural during the Engl-izing period. Lack of urban
interrmarriage proves isolation inside a city, and the effect in urban
stocks may be considered as equivalent to territorial isolation in the
rural areas, which also results in little intermarriage. His statement
of the number of intermarriages, between "men and women of the 1st, 2nd,
and 3rd generation" (p. 43), per 100 marriages has, nevertheless, considerable significance in comparing the tendency of stocks to marry into other stocks. For groups of interest to Kansas,* his data are here presented in the form of the percentages of marriages between two members of the same stock in all the marriages involving persons of the named stock.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stock</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy (south)</td>
<td>91.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria (Polish)</td>
<td>86.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia (Polish)</td>
<td>79.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria (Bohemian)</td>
<td>74.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy (combined groups)</td>
<td>93.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy (north)</td>
<td>83.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary (German)</td>
<td>75.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria (German)</td>
<td>79.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (combined groups)</td>
<td>66.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (north)</td>
<td>60.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>50.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>52.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>50.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (south)</td>
<td>44.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>40.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>37.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland (German)</td>
<td>33.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada (French)</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland (French)</td>
<td>17.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extraordinarily high rate of intermarriage for German and French stocks is explained by the tendency of a member of one of these stocks to marry some one from another country speaking the same language. For instance, among the foreign-born, 6 French Swiss men married French Swiss women, but 10 French Swiss men married 10 French women from France and 20 French Swiss women married men from France. These thirty-six households would therefore

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*In case of "combined groups" no data are considered as to whether the Italians or Germans were from the north or the south; in many cases such data did not exist.
have nothing more potent than dialectal differences to favor Engl-izing of the household. All 36 households would be headed by two speakers of French and only 72 households were considered. The rate of intermarriage with non-French speakers was 50%.

Of the linguistic stocks listed above the Poles and the Italians show the lowest rate of intermarriage, then Bohemians, Scandinavians and, presenting great range, various types of Germans. Stocks with a small number of representatives tended to have high rates of intermarriage, particularly if culturally close stocks could provide spouses. The 228 Turks largely married each other (rate 86.85%) because no closely related people provided mates. But the 312 Danes and the 452 Norwegians show a noticeably different rate from the 1,329 Swedes, and the less numerous Danes intermarried more than the Norwegians. The influence of great numbers in this aspect of Engl-izing was conservative of f-lang. The stocks with a low rate of intermarriage were also the stocks with a second generation more than usually proficient bi-lingually. Drachsler's data on related stocks deserve further consideration; it is set down here for purpose of comparison rather than in the sections dealing with those stocks.

Of the 6,804 Poles 91% married Poles. This percentage is higher than Drachsler's entry for Poles because of Russian and Austrian Poles intermarrying. Those who registered as North Italians showed 83%, and South Italians 94% and the combined Italian group 93% as Drachsler said.

If we study the marriages of immigrants alone and their marriages with foreign-born and their progeny of the same stock, the percentage of homogeneous marriages for Poles remains unaltered, but the rate for Italians rises to 97%. Italians were more monolithic than Poles. This
phenomenon came about largely because Poles, particularly Galician Poles, intermarried readily with Slovaks; 225 Polish men took brides from the other side of the Russo-Austrian frontier, 131 married Slovak maidens. The Slovak-Polish linguistic shock would be no greater than that between dialects from different parts of Italy.

The immigrant generation among Poles and Italians may thus be considered to have behaved in very nearly the same fashion, with the Poles slightly less clannish, probably because they were less numerous. This disparity becomes much more marked in the second generation; 56% of the Poles married within Polish stock of the immigrant or succeeding generation, 68% of the Italians. The behavior of the sexes is of interest because of the conservative influence women may have on account of their closer connection with small children. The following table gives percentages of homogeneous marriages for men and women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no.</td>
<td>no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marrying in stock</td>
<td>marrying in stock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>12,210</td>
<td>11,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian 2d Generation</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>3,104</td>
<td>3,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish 2d Generation</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those of the first generation specifically identified as South Italians showed percentages of homogeneous marriage of 90% for men and 97% for women. North Italians, so identified, 85% for men and 80% for women. An additional 16% of North Italian women married South Italians bringing the rate of North Italian women marrying Italians to 96%; 98.5% of South Italian
In the next generation out of 637 Italian bridegrooms only 38 identified their parentage as North Italian and 11 as South Italian; none of these North Italians and only four of the South Italians married into their regional stock or Italians at all. The women were either readier to acknowledge or better acquainted with the regional origins of their parents. 119 women identified as North Italian took 118 Italian spouses, 116 from the North; 388 women identified as South Italian took 385 Italians, 380 from the South. The very high percentages seen here are nearly identical for the two areas. The intermarrying couples usually failed to reveal regional origins.

A remarkable fact revealed by the data presented above in tabular form is that Italian men, but not Italian women, of the second generation were much given to miscegenation; in other words many Italian-American girls were marrying immigrants from Italy whereas Italian men were not. In these years before the First World War, the hold of Italian parents upon their daughters was nearly absolute, while the sons were frequently escaping into the general population. The linguistic result in the family of this dichotomy, like the general cultural consequence, made for chaos, which favored Englishizing; but at the same time the conservative influence of women was perpetuated.

Just the contrary currents were present in Polish households. The Polish immigrants frequently lost control of their daughters but 3/4 of their sons tended to prefer girls from their own stock. The linguistic result to be expected is that Poles should remain bi-lingual less generally and for less time than Italians, but there are counter-acting forces, religious and patriotic.
Intermarriage Testimony on Interstock Hostility. Hostilities between related stocks are often reported, between North and South Italians, between Swedes and other Scandinavians, between North Germans and South Germans, between Czechs and Slovaks. These hostilities are real, but they do not prevent the closely related stocks from giving preference to each other above other stocks in establishing marriages. Whether the phenomenon in the United States has been Engl-izing or conservative of foreign language depends on circumstances. A spouse from a nearly related linguistic group usually adapted to the language of his mate if he joined a community using the mate's speech, and thus the marriage exerted a conservative influence. If on the other hand, the community was made up of Eng-lings or a mixture of for-lings, including a mixture of persons speaking the dialects of the spouses, the marriage exerted Engl-izing force. But whichever the case the prevalence of marriage with closely related stocks is of signifi-
cance.

Among Italians if we consider the cases identified by Drachsler as North or South we find among immigrants:

5.5% of North Italian men married South Italian women
16.0% " " women " " men
4.0% " South " men " North " women
1.6% " " women " " men

These percentages would doubtless be greater if Drachsler had been able to identify the very numerous cases where region of origin was not indicated. The other foreign language stock from which a spouse was most frequently selected was German.

1.3% of all Italian immigrant men married German women
.6% " " " women " " men
The preference of Italians taking mates outside of their own region was obviously for other Italians (by an index figure we may set at 3).

Drachsler does not provide a category of Poles from Germany. Probably a few of his Germans marrying Poles were Poles marrying Poles, but Germans may again serve as a term of comparison.

1.4% of Austrian Polish men married Russian Polish women
7.1% " " " women " " " men
4.2% " " " men " Slovak women
0.9% " " " women " " " men
1.4% " " " men " German women
3.7% of Austrian Polish women married German men
18.5% " Russian " men " Austrian Polish women
4.0% " " " women " " " men
3.2% " " " men " Slovak women
0.6% " " " women " " " men
1.9% " " " men " German women
2.4% " " " women " " " men

Though no commentators speak of hostility between Galician and Congress Kingdom Poles their taste for each other, in marriage is not materially greater than that of North and South Italians for each other. Using Germans as a base the index of preference is 3.3.

Without entering into percentiles for Czecho-Slovakians, the Drachsler data reveal that Czech men married women from Germany but not from Austria as readily as they did Slovak women, and Czech women married Germans much more readily than they did Slovaks.

In the matter of North Germans and South Germans Drachsler had yet more difficulty than with Italians in distinguishing North from South.
The Austrian data will suffice to reveal taste in marriage. Out of 531 Austrian German men only 214 had German brides, 3 specified as from the North and 2 from the South; the Austrian German women, who numbered 482, were not so exclusive; 283 of them married Germans; 66 of whom were specified as South Germans; none were labeled as from the North. The linguistic effects among the first generation Austrian Germans should be similar to corresponding phenomena in 2d generation Italians.

The marital situation among Scandinavians is as follows without distinction of sexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In view of the much greater number of available German immigrants (nearly 9,000 as compared with the 2,000 Swedes, the one thousand Norwegians, and half a thousand Danes) the preference of Scandinavians for other Scandinavian stocks over Germans is evident. (The index is 1.6.)

All evidence from Drachsler's intermarriage data goes to show that hostility between closely related linguistic stocks is not so important a factor in determining Engl-izing in America as the tendency of those same stocks to intermarry.

Amalgamation of a for-ling stock with other stocks on the American scene leads toward Engl-izing whether the amalgamation is partial or complete. The school has been the most potent instrument for partial amalgamation, to a greater degree still for Engl-izing. Learning the language of instruction is essential for the class room, and when, as has very frequently been the case, the student body has components of more than
one linguistic stock, English included, the need for a lingua franca on the
playground imposes English there too. Engl-izing by schooling as it affected
Kansas has been treated in Vol. II, #30-31.9. The conclusions there
drawn apply to the United States as a whole. To be sure, there have been
in cities and sometimes in rural areas more school districts than in Kansas where
practically all pupils might be of the same linguistic stock, also a greater
proportion of parochial schools, but influences affecting the teaching
force even in such schools have finally if not immediately promoted Engl-
izing.

persons born in Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Bohemia for the
United States and for certain states contributing population to Kansas.
The table below presents "mother-tongue" data for 1920 and 1910 for the
United States and a smaller number of states so as further to allow
comparison of stocks and states. No data for Spanish have been included
as being misleading.
Mother Tongue of Foreign-born Whites
1920 & 1910
For F-langos having some significance in Kansas
(as recorded in 1930 Census, Vol. II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>2,267,128</td>
<td>2,759,032</td>
<td>257,443</td>
<td>311,680</td>
<td>78,959</td>
<td>103,631</td>
<td>55,925</td>
<td>67,603</td>
<td>72,864</td>
<td>102,234</td>
<td>39,526</td>
<td>51,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>136,540</td>
<td>126,045</td>
<td>14,664</td>
<td>14,767</td>
<td>12,542</td>
<td>11,436</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flemish</td>
<td>45,096</td>
<td>25,780</td>
<td>9,411</td>
<td>6,684</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>643,203</td>
<td>683,218</td>
<td>105,968</td>
<td>116,127</td>
<td>22,483</td>
<td>26,793</td>
<td>18,854</td>
<td>23,287</td>
<td>4,738</td>
<td>5,706</td>
<td>10,310</td>
<td>13,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>362,199</td>
<td>402,587</td>
<td>27,628</td>
<td>32,811</td>
<td>17,321</td>
<td>21,912</td>
<td>2,140</td>
<td>2,723</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>1,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>187,162</td>
<td>183,844</td>
<td>17,078</td>
<td>17,850</td>
<td>18,217</td>
<td>18,707</td>
<td>12,453</td>
<td>11,018</td>
<td>1,635</td>
<td>1,738</td>
<td>2,261</td>
<td>2,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1,624,998</td>
<td>1,365,110</td>
<td>95,292</td>
<td>73,085</td>
<td>5,005</td>
<td>5,917</td>
<td>3,534</td>
<td>3,812</td>
<td>14,753</td>
<td>13,224</td>
<td>3,484</td>
<td>3,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>466,956</td>
<td>528,842</td>
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<td>17,853</td>
<td>2,529</td>
<td>2,966</td>
<td>1,259</td>
<td>1,532</td>
<td>4,184</td>
<td>4,452</td>
<td>3,169</td>
<td>4,719</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>174,658</td>
<td>118,379</td>
<td>16,313</td>
<td>10,487</td>
<td>2,894</td>
<td>3,619</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>3,586</td>
<td>2,960</td>
<td>3,129</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>1,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>1,077,392</td>
<td>943,781</td>
<td>165,594</td>
<td>148,899</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>2,156</td>
<td>4,743</td>
<td>5,166</td>
<td>6,602</td>
<td>8,144</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>2,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>234,564</td>
<td>228,738</td>
<td>57,036</td>
<td>56,418</td>
<td>9,940</td>
<td>11,080</td>
<td>17,325</td>
<td>19,004</td>
<td>4,823</td>
<td>5,497</td>
<td>3,548</td>
<td>4,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>274,948</td>
<td>166,474</td>
<td>21,481</td>
<td>13,722</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>392,049</td>
<td>57,926</td>
<td>21,439</td>
<td>2,585</td>
<td>2,857</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>5,202</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>2,335</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenian</td>
<td>80,437</td>
<td>123,631</td>
<td>8,925</td>
<td>10,718</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>1,416</td>
<td>998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>85,175</td>
<td>78,380</td>
<td>11,273</td>
<td>9,464</td>
<td>1,152</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>1,692</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>1,578</td>
<td>1,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>57,557</td>
<td>32,868</td>
<td>1,860</td>
<td>1,106</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 1940 Census Report on Mother Tongues is of interest primarily because of its presentation of speakers of native parentage. No speakers were counted beyond the grandchildren of immigrants. If the percentage of these individuals among total speakers of a mother tongue was low, it meant either that there were few grandchildren or that the grandchildren did not acknowledge an ancestral mother tongue as theirs. If the percentage was high, persistence in the use of the mother tongue was indicated. Those stocks in which the percentage for the whole United States rose above eight were Norwegian (12.3%), Dutch (22.9%), French (36.7%), German (18.7%), Czech (15.7%), Spanish (38.6%), (N 208). None of the "new" immigration is represented in this test; their grandchildren were numerous by 1940 but were often of an age when their parents reported for them, and they were unlikely to report that they continued using f-lang in the family. Testimony adduced elsewhere makes it probable that the grandchildren of all stocks except the French Canadian and Mexican were about equally faithful to the language of their grandparents.

The linguistic stocks treated in this volume are the same as those dealt with in Volume II. Only one paragraph each has been devoted to Magyars, Japanese, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians; no effort has been made to study Finns. These stocks are neglected because they are not significantly represented in the population of Kansas. All the stocks residing in Europe outside of the Balkans and speaking a major Indo-European language are considered and in addition the Lebanese, who speak Arabic. Germans are treated at greater length than others because more Germans came to Kansas, and in general the amount of matter on the other stocks has a relationship to the number of each stock to be found in Kansas. The order of treatment is determined both by similar considerations and by constituency of language families.
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GERMANS
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Ger-lings, that is, speakers of German, should linguistically be divided into speakers of Low German dialects and speakers of High German dialects, but since they all used Standard German for some purposes, were in many settlements in Kansas mixed together, and were more likely in their linguistic development here to be conditioned by the regions of their nativity than by their dialects, they are in this work first subdivided for study according to the country of their origin. Further subdivision according to their religion is also sometimes more significant than division by dialect. The scheme omits true Austrians, rare in Kansas.

The Ger-lings thus fall into groups. Groups I and II below may be called West Ger-lings; Groups III and IV East Ger-lings. The groups are:

I. Germans from Germany. The term Reich Germans is sometimes used in this work to identify them. Germany is here considered to be approximately the area occupied by the Third Reich after the First World War, though it is sometimes necessary to quote statistics for the German Empire of 1870 to 1918. The term Reich Germans may also be used for the period before 1870 when there was no German "Reich." The citizens of the German states are distinguished from each other when advisable and possible. The word "Prussian" has little significance other than political. Within Prussia subordinate states or provinces often need designation, most often Hanover and Westphalia, but also rather frequently East Frisia, the Rhineland, Hessia, Pomerania and West Prussia, others less often. Penn-Germans, treated in Sections 5200 and following, are in the main descendants of Reich Germans but West Fringe German blood is also found among them.

II. West Fringe Germans.

A. Swiss Germans (not including the Swiss Mennonites who, except for one small settlement, did not come directly from Switzerland to Kansas; Swiss
Mennonites are usually the descendants of Swiss who made settlements first in Galicia then in Eastern Poland, now Russia. They are called Swiss rather than Polish Mennonites to distinguish them from another Mennonite group in Poland.

B. Alsatians

C. Luxemburgers.

These three groups on the west border of Germany have characteristics different from those from the south and east borders, largely because they have occupied their present lands for at least two millennia. Very frequently they must be treated as part of general Ger-ling groups, but in a number of settlements they have required special mention.

III. East Fringe Germans. The Germans on the south and east borders of the Reich were more recent settlers.

A. Bohemian Germans came to Kansas but formed no separate settlements. Moravian Germans did. Polish Germans had separate settlements only among the Mennonites.

B. Bukovinan Germans (usually called Austrians) settled in the Austrian crown lands east of the Carpathians; they have their importance in Kansas.

C. Galician Germans formed separate colonies in Kansas only in the case of Mennonites originally from Switzerland. They too, lived on Austrian crown lands.

D. Hungarian Germans from the part of Hungary nearest Vienna have one important settlement in Kansas.

E. More Jews were from this area than from the Reich.

IV. Russian Germans. That is, Germans from settlements in Russia to the east of Russian Poland. These fall into sharply divided secondary
groups.

A. Volgans — the Germans living deep in Russia at the most eastern bend of the Volga River. Catholics and Protestants must be distinguished among them.

B. Mennonites, whose principal colonies were in the country near the Black Sea, just above the Crimean Peninsula, now part of the Ukraine, in the 19th century part of South Russia.

C. Black Seamen — from colonies farther west than the Mennonites, from just west of Odessa and from Bessarabia which the Rumanians claim, but the Russians hold. It was Rumanian between the two wars. For Kansas the Odessa settlements are the more important, though Black Seamen in Kansas are small in number as compared with either Mennonites or Volgans.

United States census data on Ger-lings has been presented in Volume I, pp. 26-28, on persons born in Germany resident in thirteen states which have furnished population to or absorbed population from Kansas. Similar data for Kansas appears in Vol. I, p. 10. There follow here statistics for the United States as a whole:

United States Residents Born in Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3583,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,276,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,690,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,966,742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,784,894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,663,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,311,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,686,108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,608,814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Data for United States residents born in Switzerland, Luxemburg, etc. are presented in later sections.)

There were a certain number of persons other than Ger-lings who immigrated from Germany, notably Poles, and many Ger-lings born outside of Germany.)
Therefore pertinent data as published in the census of 1930 are presented in following sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons of German Mother Tongue Resident in the United States</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>484,310</td>
<td>379,919</td>
<td>418,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>222,430</td>
<td>173,868</td>
<td>161,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>198,815</td>
<td>159,325</td>
<td>140,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>60,427</td>
<td>43,080</td>
<td>32,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>311,680</td>
<td>257,443</td>
<td>250,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>122,497</td>
<td>110,758</td>
<td>111,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>224,497</td>
<td>188,083</td>
<td>162,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>111,226</td>
<td>94,287</td>
<td>74,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>103,634</td>
<td>78,959</td>
<td>59,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>102,234</td>
<td>72,864</td>
<td>56,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>67,603</td>
<td>55,925</td>
<td>44,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>51,560</td>
<td>39,526</td>
<td>29,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>14,656</td>
<td>11,611</td>
<td>9,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>48,032</td>
<td>38,239</td>
<td>31,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2,759,032</td>
<td>2,267,128</td>
<td>2,188,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1,611,182</td>
<td>1,587,052</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>201,603</td>
<td>191,715</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>116,535</td>
<td>103,371</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>97,087</td>
<td>87,073</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>76,845</td>
<td>48,198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>38,179</td>
<td>31,844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>16,446</td>
<td>30,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>8,167</td>
<td>28,640</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>7,787</td>
<td>23,403</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>21,907</td>
<td>14,376</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>11,136</td>
<td>9,818</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxemburg</td>
<td>10,944</td>
<td>7,927</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>19,020</td>
<td>23,689</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,267,128</td>
<td>2,188,006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Year of Immigration of Persons Born in Germany

Resident in the United States in 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>1900 or earlier</th>
<th>1901-10</th>
<th>1911-14</th>
<th>1915-19</th>
<th>1920-24</th>
<th>1925-30 (Apr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>3,708</td>
<td>12,627,787</td>
<td>14,488</td>
<td>4,959</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>9,350</td>
<td>11,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>3,467</td>
<td>60,443</td>
<td>10,714</td>
<td>3,884</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>6,803</td>
<td>9,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>7,524</td>
<td>112,516</td>
<td>22,042</td>
<td>8,555</td>
<td>1,228</td>
<td>16,437</td>
<td>22,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisc.</td>
<td>5,749</td>
<td>90,561</td>
<td>10,920</td>
<td>3,926</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>6,709</td>
<td>9,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>1,333</td>
<td>40,936</td>
<td>5,247</td>
<td>1,953</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>2,480</td>
<td>1,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>1,789</td>
<td>29,034</td>
<td>4,584</td>
<td>1,282</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>2,502</td>
<td>2,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neb.</td>
<td>1,048</td>
<td>21,654</td>
<td>3,145</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1,510</td>
<td>1,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kans.</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td>1,611</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>45,003</td>
<td>1,636,556</td>
<td>139,571</td>
<td>54,457</td>
<td>10,400</td>
<td>108,934</td>
<td>180,000 (rounded)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observe that only Missouri of the states west of the Mississippi had a larger immigration between 1925 and 1930 than between 1920 and 1924; the others were down by about one-fourth, whereas the country as a whole was up nearly three-fourths and the other states listed about one-half. Only a small proportion were bringing German speech from Germany to the mid-continent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Switzerland</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Switzerland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820-30</td>
<td>7,729</td>
<td>3,257</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>814,403</td>
<td>4,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-40</td>
<td>152,654</td>
<td>4,821</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>106,865</td>
<td>5,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-45</td>
<td>105,188</td>
<td>3,097</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>109,717</td>
<td>7,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-50</td>
<td>313,721</td>
<td>1,368</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>99,538</td>
<td>7,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-55</td>
<td>662,987</td>
<td>18,528</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>92,427</td>
<td>6,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-60</td>
<td>304,394</td>
<td>6,662</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>113,551</td>
<td>6,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-65</td>
<td>233,052</td>
<td>6,625</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>119,168</td>
<td>6,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>554,416</td>
<td>16,661</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>78,756</td>
<td>4,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>82,554</td>
<td>2,269</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>53,989</td>
<td>2,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>141,109</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>32,173</td>
<td>2,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>149,671</td>
<td>3,107</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>31,885</td>
<td>2,304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>87,291</td>
<td>3,093</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>22,533</td>
<td>1,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>47,769</td>
<td>1,814</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>17,111</td>
<td>1,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>31,937</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>17,476</td>
<td>1,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>29,298</td>
<td>1,686</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>18,507</td>
<td>1,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>29,313</td>
<td>1,808</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>21,651</td>
<td>2,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>34,602</td>
<td>3,161</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>28,304</td>
<td>2,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>84,638</td>
<td>6,156</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>40,086</td>
<td>3,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>210,485</td>
<td>11,293</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>46,380</td>
<td>5,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>250,630</td>
<td>10,844</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>40,574</td>
<td>4,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>194,786</td>
<td>12,751</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>37,564</td>
<td>3,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>179,676</td>
<td>9,386</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>37,807</td>
<td>3,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>124,443</td>
<td>5,895</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>32,309</td>
<td>3,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>25,540</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>27,788</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>31,283</td>
<td>3,533</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>34,239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>32,061</td>
<td>3,458</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>35,734</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50.31 **Immigration to the United States — Persons of German Race, i.e., Gerlings**

(1) Admitted to the United States

(2) Giving Destination as Kansas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Gerlings Admitted to U.S.</th>
<th>Gerlings Admitted to U.S. from Russia</th>
<th>Gerlings to U.S. from Russia</th>
<th>Gerlings to U.S. from Kansas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>26,632</td>
<td>5383</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>29,682</td>
<td>5349</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>34,742</td>
<td>5643</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>51,686</td>
<td>8542</td>
<td>1,042</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>71,782</td>
<td>10,485</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>74,790</td>
<td>7,228</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>82,360</td>
<td>6,722</td>
<td>1,109</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>86,613</td>
<td>10,279</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>92,936</td>
<td>13,480</td>
<td>1,658</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>73,038</td>
<td>10,009</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>58,534</td>
<td>7,781</td>
<td>1,144</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>71,380</td>
<td>10,016</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A larger proportion of the immigrants from Russia than of those from Germany came to Kansas upon arriving in the United States.
Emigration from Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was primarily from the South and Rhine West. The devastation of the Thirty Years War, which is said to have reduced Germany's population from seventeen million to four million, was particularly bad in this region. Later wars, particularly Turenne's campaign through the Palatinate in 1674, brought further ruin to German territory. Certain territories, again the Palatinate is a signal example, changed hands between Protestants and Catholics, between Calvinists and Lutherans so that those adhering to these principal religions frequently found themselves in unfavorable conditions. No matter which of the three was in power, less numerous sects, mostly Pietistic and Anabaptist in character, were the object of persecution. For the present purpose Mennonites and Tunkers (Dunkers, Dunkards) are the most important examples. Political and religious conditions thus led to a desire for emigration. But economic considerations as always pressed upon the greatest number of people. Population recovery after 1648 was not sufficiently accompanied by economic redevelopment, either in town or country, and crop failures were calamities to be escaped mainly through departures.

Until 1683 emigration to America was not great and not organized; then William Penn's venture brought Rhineland Pietists to Germantown. Thereafter emigration from Germany did not lapse but the great outpouring from the Palatinate began in 1708. New York, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina received contingents, but Pennsylvania was the favorite domain of settlement and continued to be until the American Revolution. The southeastern counties, particularly Lancaster (63-33) became heavily German. Not all the Westward movement was beyond the confines of the state and Penn-German settlements in the western counties on the state line furnished population which came on directly to Kansas or harbored new immigrants during their years of acclimatization in the United States before they later ventured west.
The German settlements on the Eastern Fringe and in Russia began largely posterior to 1763. The nature of the pull to the east is discussed elsewhere. The push was almost all economic. In general the South German governments found emigration was a convenient means of ridding themselves of their indigent and unemployed; occasionally the exodus was of such proportions that in some panic they put checks upon it. One important emigration to the east was neither from the southwest nor primarily the result of bad economic conditions. The Mennonites who left the Danzig area for south Russia in the 1780's left to avoid pressures for military service. Their earlier and smaller establishments in Poland had been made from the Danzig area for similar reasons. The movement into the Sudetan territory and the German enclaves within Bohemia and Moravia were from neighboring parts of Germany and of varying date.

Conditions in Germany existing during the life time of natives who eventually came to Kansas, first become of importance to this work in its treatment of Reich Germans some years after the Napoleonic era, though Kansas did receive a few emigrants born before 1800. Whatever must be said for earlier periods is set forth in the treatment of Kansas Gehr-lings not directly from Germany. Throughout the period that concerns us all the inhabitants of Germany possessed acute nationalistic consciousness, but at the same time a great many of them felt deep loyalties to the areas of their birth, less usually to the governments existing in those areas than to the land. One of the deepest loyalties was to their dialect, which did not prevent them from having great reverence for standard German. Economic, social, intellectual, and political life varied much from state to state in Germany though it was also national. The reputed difference in temperament between North Germans and South Germans is well known, but we may well listen to a
statement on the matter which shows sympathy for both stocks: "Whereas the High German from Southern Germany was marked by amiability and emotional temper of mind and was sanguine to a fault, the Low German from the North, at the head of whom stood the Prussian, was characterized by self-reliance, even judgment, indomitable will and endurance" (Sch 26). Such statements must be accepted guardedly — for example, there is a middle Germany — but they do indicate something of a tradition of behavior, and certainly manifest a consciousness of difference which has its linguistic importance. Therefore, while it is profitable to examine conditions in Germany as a whole, it is also necessary to study conditions in the component states, that is, kingdoms, duchies, provinces, free cities, and other sovereign units, sometimes grouped regionally.

The regions of Germany which for the present purposes require differentiation are five (small states not named are also included as appropriate; Prussia is broken up).

The South: Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and after 1870 Alsace. Pfalz (the Palatinate) as an administrative division of Bavaria is included.

The Rhine West: Hessia, all divisions, and the Rhineland (Rhein Provinz).

The Northwest: Westphalia, Hanover, Oldenburg, Schleswig, Holstein.

The Inner North: Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Altmark, Brandenburg, the Saxponies, and the Thuringian States.

The East: Silesia, Poland, West Prussia and East Prussia.

Linguistically, the South is High German territory; the Rhine West, Middle German, the Northwest, Low German, the other two areas mixed, but Low German along the Baltic Sea. The northern part of the Rhineland is Low German and
part of Westphalia is Middle German; because of industrial development these areas produced few emigrants after the Civil War in America.

Overpopulation was a basic cause of emigration from Germany until industrialization was well advanced, that is, until shortly after 1880. The population of Germany at the close of the Napoleonic Wars is estimated to have been no greater than at the beginning of the Thirty Years War in the early seventeenth century, but the country was all this time in such a depressed state that it could support no increase in population and the emigrations of the eighteenth century both toward eastern Europe and toward America were needed to relieve population pressures. After 1815 population increased very fast. In 1816 Germany (territory of future Reich) had 24,833,000 inhabitants; in 1830 the population was 29,520,000 (SW 34).

Decade by decade population went up.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1840 & 32,700,000 \\
1850 & 35,300,000 \\
1860 & 37,700,000 \\
1870 & 40,800,000 (SW 160) \\
1880 & 45,234,000 \\
1890 & 49,028,000 \\
1900 & 56,367,000 \\
1910 & 64,926,000 (G 278) \\
\end{array}
\]

The ability of the country to take care of an ever-increasing rate of population growth between the formation of the Empire and the First World War was largely the result of industrialization, but also improvements in agriculture played their part, not by maintaining more people on the land, but by making the agriculturist's life more bearable.

The relative importance of the areas population-wise may be seen from this distribution.

Population of Germany in 1885 by 100,000's

(0 = less than 67,000)
(Total for Empire = 46,800,000)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South</th>
<th>Rhine West</th>
<th>North West</th>
<th>Inner North</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hohenzollern</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Hess-Nassau</td>
<td>Schleswig-Holstein</td>
<td>Brandenburg (with Berlin over 1 million)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bavaria</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Rhineland</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Pomerania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pfalz 7)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hessen</td>
<td>Westphalia</td>
<td>Saxony (Prov)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baden</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Alsace-Lorraine</td>
<td>Oldenburg</td>
<td>&quot; (Kingdom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Württemberg</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>Mecklenburg-Schwerin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alsace-Lorraine assigned</td>
<td>16,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waldeck</td>
<td>Mecklenburg-Strelitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alsace</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>The 2 Lippes</td>
<td>Saxe Weimar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bremen</td>
<td>&quot; - Meiningen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>&quot; - Altenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; - Coburg-Gotha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anhalt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Schwarzhubs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Reusses</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lubeck</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South</th>
<th>Rhine West</th>
<th>North West</th>
<th>Inner North</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The high populations in the Rhineland and Silesia showed already the result of advanced industrialization.

German records as to emigration are numerous and enlightening. Their principal weakness is inability to account completely for unauthorized emigration from foreign ports. After the establishment of the Empire in 1871 they naturally become more complete and reliable. Until 1840, Moenchmeier finds, the only source of any value was that in Huebner's *Annuals* which show numbers far larger than the American records would indicate. Beginning in 1841 figures on the difference between total population and natural increase as computed from vital statistics are available and after 1846 departures from Hamburg and Bremen. The net emigration based on population records was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841-1849</td>
<td>470,500*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1858</td>
<td>802,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-1864</td>
<td>233,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-1870</td>
<td>815,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The port records show that 89% of the emigrants went to America in the years 1847-9. The net emigration was 306,000; the Americans recorded 193,000 German arrivals. The difference is considerable.*

Allowing for returns the gross emigration appears to have exceeded a million in the 1850's and in the period 1865-1870.

The German records of overseas emigration after 1870 show essentially the same phenomena as the American immigration records for arrivals of persons born in Germany. The most noteworthy exception is that the American figures are larger than the German. Since a certain proportion of the Germans
Page 83 is Missing
Overseas Emigration from Germany, 1871-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>76,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>128,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>110,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>47,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>32,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>26,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>22,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>25,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>35,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>117,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>220,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>203,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>173,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>149,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>110,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>83,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>104,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>103,951</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>96,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>97,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>120,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>116,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>87,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>40,964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>37,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>33,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>24,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>22,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>24,323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>22,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>22,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>32,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>36,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>27,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>28,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>31,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>31,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>19,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>24,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>25,531 (M 18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These statistics, like the American, show a wave in the early 1870's and a wave twice as high in the early 1880's. After a recession, another wave in the late 1880's reached nearly as high as that of 1871-3; a slight trough, in 1891-2, another wave like that of the seventies, then subsidence to a fifth or sixth of the 3 lesser waves mentioned, and only minor revivals thereafter. The number of over 200,000 per year in 1881 and 1882 definitely
marked the greatest period of out flow. Since the German economy was then already upon a steep upgrade, explanations other than economic must be found.

50.80 The geographic sources in Germany of this emigration deserve study. Of the earliest period Moenckmeier says: "Wurtemberg, Baden, and the Palatinate, still provided the principal focus of the movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when after the famine of 1816 German emigration suddenly took a great spurt upward" (M 72). During the period 1816-1843 the immigrants whom Prussia received were in excess of the emigrants. The immigrants were largely south Germans, but the net immigration was much less in Westphalia and the Rhineland than in the rest of the kingdom. In 1839-1843 the net gain per unit of population was in the East, two and a half times as great as in the two western provinces, twice as great in the middle provinces.

50.81 Net emigration by three year periods from the principal states of south and northwest Germany from 1811 (after M 74-5).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bavaria*</th>
<th>Baden</th>
<th>Wurtemberg</th>
<th>All South (rounded in 100's)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841-3</td>
<td>9,456</td>
<td>3,757</td>
<td>11,895</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844-6</td>
<td>29,638</td>
<td>13,688</td>
<td>8,165</td>
<td>51,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847-9</td>
<td>60,931</td>
<td>36,892</td>
<td>27,007</td>
<td>124,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-2</td>
<td>52,883</td>
<td>36,902</td>
<td>59,599</td>
<td>149,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853-5</td>
<td>63,224</td>
<td>51,850</td>
<td>73,726</td>
<td>191,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-8</td>
<td>5,597</td>
<td>10,993</td>
<td>10,185</td>
<td>26,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-61</td>
<td>21,334</td>
<td>7,284</td>
<td>19,645</td>
<td>48,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-4</td>
<td>+12,841</td>
<td>+14,335</td>
<td>19,647</td>
<td>+7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>but Pfalz* - 6,919</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-7</td>
<td>54,393</td>
<td>36,899</td>
<td>22,755</td>
<td>113,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-71</td>
<td>71,729</td>
<td>16,159</td>
<td>21,084</td>
<td>112,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For Bavaria, it would be well to treat the emigration from the Palatinate Pfalz separately if it were possible. In the 1840's and 1850's the exits from that province were very numerous. The facts for 1862-4 show above and for 1888 in section 5090. After 1900 the Palatines lost their propensity for emigration. For 1891 to 1900 the rate of departures from Pfalz was 12.7 persons per thousand, from the rest of Bavaria 8.4; in the period 1901-1910 Pfalz 4.0 rest of Bavaria 4.8 (M 127).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Westphalia</th>
<th>Hanover</th>
<th>Oldenburg</th>
<th>Brunswick</th>
<th>Total Northwest (rounded) - Schleswig-Holstein excluded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1811-3</td>
<td>10,562</td>
<td>1,942</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814-6</td>
<td>9,500**</td>
<td>21,130</td>
<td>4,545</td>
<td>4,106</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817-9</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>20,391</td>
<td>4,323</td>
<td>3,114</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-2</td>
<td>6,555</td>
<td>20,891</td>
<td>2,992</td>
<td>2,256</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853-5</td>
<td>12,568</td>
<td>3,322</td>
<td>3,805</td>
<td>6,952</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-8</td>
<td>12,580</td>
<td>21,509</td>
<td>+196</td>
<td>1,618</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-61</td>
<td>6,752</td>
<td>15,103</td>
<td>5,636</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-4</td>
<td>5,846</td>
<td>21,713</td>
<td>2,507</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-7</td>
<td>12,238</td>
<td>30,000*</td>
<td>8,663</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-71</td>
<td>10,021</td>
<td>11,000*</td>
<td>8,399</td>
<td>59,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** The figures for Westphalia are for officially known departures — estimated for 1814-6.

* In 1868-71, 11,000 left with the knowledge of the authorities; in 1855-7, 13,000.

50.82 Estimated (Based on Officially-Known) Emigration From the Rhine West — 1811-1871

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hesse-Darmstadt%</th>
<th>Hesse-Nassau#</th>
<th>Rhineland*</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1811-3</td>
<td>3,579</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814-6</td>
<td>8,142</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>15,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817-9</td>
<td>4,130</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>14,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-2</td>
<td>8,519</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>14,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853-5</td>
<td>18,558</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>24,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-8</td>
<td>10,038</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>17,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-61</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>7,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Hesse-Darmstadt#</td>
<td>Hesse-Nassau#</td>
<td>Rhineland*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-4</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>11,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-7</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>15,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-71</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>25,993</td>
<td>14,510</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Officially known departures — 1864—6 estimated.

#Officially known departures for the last period; rest estimated.

$Officially known departures 1861-58, rest estimated.

---

50.83 Overseas Emigration by Thousands and by Regions, 1871-1899

in Groups Presented by Moenckmeier (M 128-91)

Moenckmeier's East differs from ours by including Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, his Northwest by excluding Westphalia, his Southwest from our South by including Hesse-Darmstadt; his West from our Rhine West by including Westphalia and excluding Hesse-Darmstadt, his Middle is Thuringia and the Province of Saxony.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>Southwest</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Empire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>Southwest</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50.84 The emigration from Hanover, 1871-1910, is of such interest that the statistics for officially known departures are here presented separately (M 86, 87):

- 1871 - 7,423
- 1872 - 9,123
- 1873 - 6,658
- 1874 - 14,624
- 1875 - 12,808
- 1876 - 6,772
- 1877 - 7,255
- 1878 - 6,060
- 1879 - 1,778
- 1880 - 2,176
- 1881 - 2,518
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>4,261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>3,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>2,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>2,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>2,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>7,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>3,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>2,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>11,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>5,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>5,3964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>6,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>6,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>6,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>3,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>8,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>2,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>2,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>1,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>6,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data given above in this section and those presented in Section 50.81 show that emigration from Hanover was particularly high in the period 1867-1873. The reason was political; see below.

50.85g The landowners of Germany in 1873 sent out a questionnaire asking whether agricultural laborers were emigrating overseas. The affirmative answers from various geographical units in percentiles were as follows (M 1105): (answers of "a little" were not numerous except in the southwest)

**South**
- Bavaria 5% (but 40% said a little)
- Wurtemberg 12% (47% said a little)
- Baden 32% (33% said a little)
- Hohenzellem 50%

**Rhine West**
- Rhineland 5%
- Hesse-Nassau 60%
- Hesse-Darmstadt 10% (30% said a little)

**Northwest**
- Schleswig-Holstein 53%
- Hanover (all) 40%
  - Administrative districts of Hanover: H-Haldesheim 43%
  - Luneburg (east) 7%
  - Osnabrueck (southwest) 71%
  - Stade & Aurich 50% (the coast, inc., East Frisia)

**East**
- East Prussia 12.5%
- West Prussia 62%
- Posen 57%
- Silesia 7%

**Inner North**
- Mecklenburg 100% (only one answer)
- Pomerania 97.5%
The relative heaviness of emigration from German states in 1888 is shown by the following table derived from Moenckmeier's work (M 92). (Officially known departures per 1,000 of population.) (States with emigration above the Empire average are italicized.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South</th>
<th>Rhine West</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bavaria except the Palatinate</td>
<td>2.12 Rhineland 0.96</td>
<td>The emigration from West Prussia and Posen contained many Poles. The percentages from the South should be relatively greater because of departures through France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatinate</td>
<td>2.94 Hessen-Nassau 1.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurttemberg</td>
<td>3.18 Hesse-Darmstadt 2.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baden</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alsace-Lorraine</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holenzollern</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northwest</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schleswig-Holstein</td>
<td>3.78 East Prussia 1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanover</td>
<td>2.77 West Prussia 8.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westphalia</td>
<td>0.87 Posen 7.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldenburg</td>
<td>2.98 Silesia 0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waldeck</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schaumburg-Lippe</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lippe</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubeck</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremen</td>
<td>6.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The areas from which emigration was the highest shifted as the nineteenth century progressed. The South continued to be an important center for departures, but became relatively less so as time went on. The East or more specifically the Northeast became more and more important and after the Empire was formed was the greatest producer of emigration both absolutely and relatively. It will play only a minor part in further discussions here, however, because relatively few of these people reached Kansas. The Rhine West provided fewer and fewer emigrants as industrialization progressed, but particularly in the early days of the Empire, the Southern part of the section was a district of heavy emigration, and contributed its share to Kansas. The Northwest following a rise in relative importance after 1866 provided approximately three-fourths as many emigrants as the South until the 1890's. The Inner North was less an emigration area than others, but certain spots in it are of interest — Saxon early, Pomerania and Mecklenburg in the 1860's and 1870's. Further consideration of sectional differences in emigration patterns from Germany are postponed until political, social, and economic conditions have been examined.
The Germans very frequently emigrated as families, a conservative linguistic trait. There were, however, many adventurous young men who left alone. From them came most of the immisced Germans in the United States who abandoned German very rapidly, usually marrying either out of their own stock or girls whose forefathers had come from Germany. However, many of them stayed within the German settlements and found wives among emigrating single women and daughters of emigrants. Unmarried women came to America to relatives other than their parents more frequently than in most stocks (Scandinavians behave similarly). About one-third of the single persons emigrating 1879-1894 were women; somewhat over half of the emigrants in families were female. Between 1855 and 1870 the percentage of males over females leaving Hamburg varied per year between 58% and 67% (M 139), from 1871 to 1910 among officially-known emigrants 54% to 60% were men. Subtracting the immisced Germans it is clear that the need for miscegenation among German emigrants was small; the linguistic effect weak at least for the first generation.

The occupational character of German emigrants is difficult to determine because there were so many who combined farming with house industry or a trade. Men would naturally specify their specialty. Laborers brought up on a farm but lately employed in industry would likely specify their last occupation; naturally those specifying "laborer" increased as industrialization grew. In the years 1846-1852, the craftsmen proportion in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(M 154)
% of Occupations among Emigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Germany 1871-4</th>
<th>1875-9</th>
<th>Bavaria 1871-4</th>
<th>1875-9</th>
<th>Wurtemberg 1871-4</th>
<th>1875-9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry &amp; Handcraft</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None or Unspecified</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(M 164)

The high proportion of business employees during the depressed period is to be remarked.

In 1871 out of 1,313 adult men

I. Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction work</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing work</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food handling</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House care</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarry</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Agriculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Includes vine growers</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(M 165)

All the elements needed for building up a small Kansas town are here.

German political history in the nineteenth century explains certain features in the history of emigration. The blockade of the Napoleonic Wars did not allow great numbers to leave Germany. The arrangements after those wars greatly increased Prussian territory, but left it in two divided blocks.
The older Prussia consisted primarily of Brandenburg, the country around Berlin, and the Germany to the north and east of it. The kingdom already held bits of territory in the west, but it was only the Congress of Vienna that installed it in all Westphalia and the Rhineland. Hanover and the Hessias were the largest political units interposed between the two portions of Prussia. Neither Westphalia nor the Rhineland had any sense of internal political unity, and little local patriotism interfered with Prussianization. The western Provinces, however, had been imbued with the spirit of liberalism during the period of French occupation and had willingly accepted French innovations that unified their laws and political organization. The administrative personnel installed by Prussia was from the eastern provinces, but wisely these people behaved much more liberally in the west than they did at home. With its great economic resources the west was then ready to prosper very early in the century, and except along the inner edges of the provinces were not much given to emigration. The eastern provinces except for the Poles in Posen and neighboring districts were politically satisfied or at least docile throughout the century. The other states of Germany were ruled by conservative governments which only at moments were greatly affected by the political liberalism that was seething among the middle classes.

The liberals burst into revolt in a comparatively minor way in 1830, and again in momentary triumph in 1848. The suppressions and revocations of rights that took place soon afterward together with actual physical insecurity in some cases led to the emigration of the Forty-eighters to the United States. They were in general intelligent, energetic and irreverent men, given to open dissatisfaction with everything imperfect, and inclined to act upon their impulses, a contrast to most other emigrants from Germany who
usually only demanded a chance to work and accumulate and non-interference with their established habits and beliefs.

Progress toward the unification of Germany, hindered by the rivalry between Prussia and Austria, advanced principally, until the Bismarckian Wars of the 1860's, through the politico-economic organization of customs unions which finally embraced all Germany before the establishment of the Empire. The customs unions served almost everybody's self-interest because economic advancement was impossible unless goods could be exchanged, but local patriotisms might very well have stood in the way. However, national patriotism for whatever causes developed faster than political union and was there to put the seal of approval upon anything unifying. The most potent reason for excluding Austria from the ultimate unification was that the Austrian Empire was only in small part German. A clearer example of German nationalism was presented by the case of Schleswig-Holstein. The German-speaking section of that area, all Holstein and a large part of Schleswig were just as certain that they did not want to be Danes as the Slesvigers were later that they did not want to be Germans. Still many of these Germans were willing to transplant themselves to America where they could remain German and become American both. Shortly after the Empire was founded the general public became aware that the German emigrants had not really remained German and disapproval of such behavior was probably one of the psychological factors that ultimately led to cessation of emigration.

When Bismarck came to power the Prussian army was already stronger than Prussia's neighbors realized, and he built it into a striking force of a power realized only after France's defeat in 1870. The short wars of 1864 and 1866 which brought first the humiliation of Denmark and then that of Austria were of great profit to Prussia. Hanover and Hesse-Nassau had
been so unwise as to side with Austria and consequently lost their sovereignty and like Schleswig-Holstein became Prussian states. None of the three liked their new status (F 225, among others). In Hanover the issue was held before the public longer because of the efforts of the deposed ruling family and its adherents to regain their former position (F 102, 123). The size of emigration from the conquered provinces prompted Consul Lang in Hamburg to say in 1886: "The new Prussian territories Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, and Hesse-Nassau, put forth a very large emigration for a few years after 1866, and though it has diminished to some extent, it is still large and embracing a greater average than the other provinces" (EI 183). His last phrase was incorrect for Hesse-Nassau, but was true for Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein where the rate of emigration in 1887 were 2.87 and 3.62 per thousand, while the Empire average was 2.10 and that average was raised by the high rate in the provinces discharging Poles. Of the other provinces, only Pomerania's was higher (4.63) and only Oldenburg (3.01) and Wurtemberg (2.99) competed (M 92). In any case Lang's statement shows the reputation for ire of the Muss-Preussen. The emigrants from Schleswig-Holstein were in part Danes (P 94).
The most onerous burden they had to undertake was obligatory military service. Many young men departed when the law began to be stringently applied in 1869 but avoidance of conscription was not the only political stimulus for departure. For a decade many Muss-Preussen (must-Prussians) required little other stimulus than dislike of the regime to make them emigrate. The formation of the Empire brought conscription into all states, and until the First World War inspired many young men with a desire to emigrate. The burden was not, however, so greatly resented in the later decades. The American consuls of 1886 in their emigration reports often included comments on conscription avoidance as a cause for emigration, though from the Prussia territory of the 18th century Julius Dittmer at Stettin maintained that a cause of emigration must not be sought in compulsory military service (EI 240), also the reports from Saxony, kingdom and province, scoffed at the notion that Germans fled from army service. Though the consul at Dresden was silent, the consuls at Annaberg, Leipzig, and Chemmitz spoke out. Tanner at the latter town said: "Compulsory service, though severe, has no terror to the average Saxon, who above everything else, is military in sentiment and taste" (EI 158). The consul in Thuringia was silent, and so was our representative at Mannheim in Baden. But Consul Balck at Nuremberg in Bavaria probably speaks well for all south Germany; he says: "There can be, I think, no question that the compulsory military service causes a number of young men to emigrate, who appear to prefer a separation from friends and old association, rather than undergo the discipline it engenders for three years" (EI 212). The consul in Stuttgart reported similarly (EI 242). J. H. Smith speaks from Mayence (Mainz) for Hessia and the southern part of the Rhine West: "A wish to escape military service drives many away, but the great body who emigrate
have already served their time as soldiers" (EI 208). The only voice from farther north that declared Germans did not flee army service was that of Wm D. Wamer at Cologne: "There are, no doubt, some instances where the compulsory military service has led to emigration, but generally speaking the military service is not objected to, but even liked by the majority of high-spirited young men" (EI 164). Three other consuls from the northern Rhineland are silent on the subject, and D. J. Partello at Dusseldorf discounts military service as a cause of emigration (EI 175), but Joseph Falkenbach at Barmen says squarely: "Hundreds of young men in Rhineland and Westphalia emigrate annually in order to avoid compulsory military service, as appears from official announcement of the penalties and punishment to which they have been sentenced" (EI 147). The consuls at the sea-ports of Bremen and Hamburg speak with the most authority not only for neighboring Hanover and the other states of the northwest, but for many who came from far to ship from these cities. At Hamburg, Wm W. Lang speaks thus: "The greater part of the emigrants are free of military service, yet there are some who owe military duty and seek to evade it by emigrating . . . . It is estimated that the desertions from military service by emigration numbered 10,690, of which, 4,503 were agricultural workers" (EI 185). His exact figures indicate a confidential German source. Albert Loening at Bremen speaks without statistics but with considerable insight: "The young men . . . emigrate to escape compulsory military service . . . . Another hardship is the calling in of young men (who have served) for military practice of some fifteen days or more, and then from four to six weeks each year to the fall maneuvers. The young man who has a position as clerk or workman often loses his position or job by being called off to military practice in the midst of this work, or the young
farmer is called off to the maneuvers for a period of four to six weeks just at harvest time, when he least can afford to go" (EI 152). He adds under the heading of government attempts to prevent emigration: "Four government special agents stand at the gangplank and examine each emigrant. As many as ten or twelve young men a week are caught trying to escape from future military service. Therefore most of these young men go via Antwerp or Rotterdam" (EI 154). The remarks from Saxony and Cologne indicate that in certain regions social stigma was attached to escape from military service. Loening implies the contrary for north Germany. Certainly upon arrival in the United States escapees suffered no stigma at all, and certain subscription biographies made much of having escaped to the "land of the free," where such nefarious laws were unthinkable. For the decade 1862-1871 Moenckmeier presents figures from Prussia. He explains the high percentages of the last years as the result of the application of the obligatory service law in the "newly conquered provinces," Hanover and Hesse-Nassau and to the increase of the period of service from two to three years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. deserters sentenced</th>
<th>% of total emigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1,648</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>2,754</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>2,666</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>3,297</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>3,946</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>6,225</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>7,454</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>7,424</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bismarck's Kulturkampf (1871-1887) was the only political event affecting religion that played any part in emigration from Germany. It was directed against the Catholic Church. The two features of it most affecting emigration were the laws forbidding the members of religious orders to teach in any schools and the suppression of all seminaries training priests. These measures did not of course produce any great number of emigrants directly, but the nuns and the prospective priests forced out very often found their way to the United States, sometimes to Kansas, and furnished a linguistically conservative element among the Catholic clergy here. The Franciscan colony at Burns, Kansas, was an example. The Catholic laity also added a religious motive to other reasons making them leave Germany. Ludwig Windhorst, who before becoming the leader of the Center Party in the Imperial Reichstag had been Minister of Justice in Hanover, was Bismarck's chief opponent, and the settlement at Windhorst, Kansas, which originated in Cincinnati is one testimony to the honor attached to his name and to the bitterness aroused in Catholic Germans by the Kulturkampf. The practical defeat of Bismarck was evident in the early eighties and thereafter emigration was not affected.

Emigration fell off in small part because practically all Germans became sure that the imperial government with all its imperfections was a superior thing with which government in the United States compared unfavorably. The laws passed in the 1880's to assure social security accentuated this feeling. The bitterness in almost all Schleswig-Holstein, in Hanover, and in Hesse-Nassau finally melted away. Bismarck's policy of just so much liberalism as to make the new efficient government establish conditions that were better than those which existed in the past stilled angry voices if it did not win admiration, and a growing enthusiasm for Germany
"über alles" was cemented to the political entity called the Empire. Fife from personal experience shows how this conviction affected emigration. He says: "In 1908 and again in 1911, the writer talked with people in various parts of Germany . . . and met . . . always the same answer: 'We are better off here! We are quite contented; America doesn't mean to us what it once did.' The causes assigned for this in some cases reflected sharply on the flaws of our government . . ., but beneath it all lay a great confidence in the industrial future of Germany and in the growth of a liberal spirit of government" (F, 84, 85). The belief in the "liberal spirit" probably was in large part evoked from informants by Fife's own enthusiasms, but such statements did not come from discontented mouths.

Though religion was an unimportant factor as a cause of nineteenth century emigration from Germany, the religious composition and characteristics of the country greatly affected German life. At the time of the Forty-eighters free thinkers were numerous among the Germans, but though powerful, they found themselves in a minority among those already here and were submerged by the religiosity of the great numbers still to come. Both Catholics and Protestants were sincere devotees, and the Protestants were possessed of a zeal for theological dispute that split them into groups almost as hostile to one another as to Catholics. The life in Germany did not train them to carry such hostilities to the point of interfering with their economic life. After the Thirty Years War toleration was accepted, and in the cities, co-habitation of sects was amiable enough to allow many to join societies where those of other faiths might be found, many, but hardly a majority.

In general the northeastern two-thirds of Germany was Protestant and
the south and the eastern fringes were Catholic, but there were districts where this generality did not hold. Many of the emigrants from Wurtemberg and Baden were Protestant. Many Catholics were to be found in those parts of Oldenburg, Hanover, and Westphalia where all three states lie close together. City states that had long been ruled by bishops like Münster remained faithful to Catholicism. The Protestants were for the most part, practically all those in the north, Lutherans who remained in approximate unity as long as they were in Germany. The Protestants in the South were largely Reformed, that is, Calvinists. The Prussian government tried to unite these Protestant elements into a Prussian state church, and a certain number of people accepted it, but most Protestants would not compromise a principle by adhering to the hybrid. The first measures for unification were taken in 1817. Strict regulations on the subjects were enforced in the 1830's. Separate worship was allowed after 1846. A number of unified churches persisted. The Unierter were scorned by all faithful Lutherans, and at least looked on with suspicion by the Reformed. Together with these generally accepted faiths, Pietists who found the established practices too laden with liturgy and form existed. They were given to separate devotions untrammeled by pastors with set ways. "In 1817 thousands of Separatists and Pietists, who were in conflict with the rationalistic church regime, emigrated from Wurtemberg to North America or especially to the Orient" (FS 361). The movement did not die in 1817. There were also remnants of sects, like the Baptists, that had arisen in the 16th century. Particularly among the well-established denominations, the pastors ruled almost despotically. By custom they were consulted on all matters affecting their people and their opinions or decisions were accepted with little question, with the result that their parish usually acted as a unit. Since
pastorates carried with them so much prestige there was no dearth of pastors and there were many trained and half-trained young men ready to emigrate. They were almost without exception enthusiastically German, ready to champion the language of the Fatherland, particularly as they knew its theological vocabulary and found no other that could convey the meanings they intended. Because of their great influence with their flock they were a most conservative linguistic force. Everywhere the language of religion for emigrants was Standard German without any conscious intrusion of dialect. Even those who were otherwise unschooled were therefore fairly proficient in Standard German, ready to circulate in any German community.

Mennonites in Germany were relatively a very small group, but they deserve special attention because of their importance in the settling of Kansas. They came to Kansas from the South and Rhine West, significantly from the Palatinate and from the Northeast, from the area near Danzig. Mennonites of various types formed a substantial part of the Palatine emigration to Pennsylvania in the late 17th and the 18th centuries. They also came to southeastern Iowa (Donnellson) and to the part of Illinois across from St. Louis (Summerfield) just after the middle of the nineteenth century and thence to Kansas at Halstead and to the north of it. They furnished part of the attraction of Kansas to the Russian Mennonites.

Dutch Mennonites, refugees from persecution, were numerous in the neighborhood of Danzig and up the Vistula by the middle of the sixteenth century. With their experience in Holland they were able to reclaim unoccupied swamp lands and became a numerous people with much wealth, not too well distributed by the 19th century. They had by then lost their Dutch tongue or at least adapted it to the Low German dialects near by and had accepted High German as their cultural language. Dutch characteristics
remained, however, especially in a religious split into Flemish and Frisian groups; still they were German. The acquisition of their territory by Prussia with the attendant militaristic pressures against their pacifism along with overpopulation determined, their emigrations to the Black Sea area (q.v.) and Volhynia (q.v.) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The military up-sweep that accompanied the victory over France and the formation of the German Empire in 1870 disturbed some that were left, even among the prosperous, and well-to-do farmers emigrated in 1876 especially from the Heubuden Congregation in the Vistula Delta to Whitewater, Kansas, and Beatrice, Nebraska. Their Danzig area settlements were ultimately destroyed as part of the population displacements during and following the Second World War.

51.2 Villages or towns of no great size at the beginning of the nineteenth century contained the vast majority of Germans. "In 1815 the total population of the twelve towns which in 1914 were the greatest of the German Empire was about 750,000 ... . In 1850 the twelve towns contained 1,340,000 people" (C 32, 82). In 1815 of the 750,000 there were 200,000 in Berlin and 100,000 in Hamburg and its suburbs; which leaves an average of 35,000 for the next ten. "In 1871 only 26% of the new Empire's forty-one millions were resident in cities of more than 5,000 population, and only 36% in places exceeding 2,000" (S 198). Urbanization went on all during the nineteenth century but for many years its pace was slow. On the other hand, a system of isolated farm houses existed only in eastern Germany and near the southern Dutch border. Clearly German emigrants were ready to fit into small town American life and not resistant to becoming urban. On the other hand, most of them were farmers, either exclusively or as a side line to being craftsmen. They readily sacrificed village life in favor of residence upon the large holdings of the American countryside. As a whole German emigrants
could enter freely into any level of American society willing to accept them. And compared with most Europeans of the nineteenth century they were mobile. The man who was exclusively a farmer was not, but a great section of the population was influenced by the tradition of the Wanderjahr. Many young men emigrated with no expectation of settling down immediately. In Germany this habit had made for wide use of Standard German as an auxiliary to dialect. In America it was a force for Engl­izing. In both countries it contributed to destruction of local patriotisms. There was little that resembled the campanilismo of the Italians, especially in the days of the great exodus. The linguistic result in American towns was a chaotic mixture of dialects and standard German which a new generation would reject.

The propensity of Germans for organizing social clubs was greater than that among Europeans in general. The only line that it was difficult to cross for acceptance into such societies was that of class. A single common taste drew people together from many areas, most usually music or gymnastics. As to gymnastics, "it was Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852), still revered as the 'Father of Gymnastics' who brought home to Germany the importance for young and old of gymnastic exercises on scientific principles. He first introduced the practice in Berlin in 1811. Gymnastics, turnen as it is called, forms an important part of the curriculum of every school... The gymnastics club (Turnverein) is also a popular institution, to be found in every town and its exhibitions and contests are events of unfailing attraction. There is even a national athletic meeting once a year, in which clubs from all parts of the Empire take part" (D 185).

William Harbutt Dawson, who wrote the words above in 1901, speaks too of music: "The stalwart gymnasts of the Turnverein sing songs which good old 'Father' Jahn, their patron saint left them, as they march to the district
festival" (D 183). Dawson goes on to show how every group of Germans, assembled for any sort of purpose, broke into song. "Song is the life of the German." Along with all this incidental singing there were organized groups; maennerchor for instance abounded. Choral singing, gymnastics and other rhythmic mass movement in groups were of great appeal. Drill under arms—often a delight. "Boys whose ages range from eight to thirteen may be seen forming themselves into military companies, forming in line, deploying as skirmishers . . . displaying a native military genius that is truly astonishing" (EI 159); this from Chemnitz, Kingdom of Saxony in 1886. The south, less military, showed similar tendencies in aesthetic domains. Unorganized pleasure taking was likely to be pursued in large groups too. Beer halls and gardens in the towns were large. Scores or even hundreds were accommodated at once. Gemütlichkeit was best maintained in company, numerous company. Such group harmony makes for sudden about-faces in linguistic areas as well as elsewhere. But the groups bound together were frequently not the whole community; church rows were the bitterer when the pastor lost control because nobody was on the fence. The suddenness of the shift to English in 1917-8 in the United States and the storms accompanying the shift are as much to be explained by these attitudes as by the pressure of American hysteria.

The economic push was, in Germany as everywhere, the great cause of emigration, and the weakening and final disappearance of that push was the primary cause of emigration's cessation. The push was the result of overpopulation in a territory that was not through much of the nineteenth century possessed of economic resources for maintaining an expanding population. Germany was fortunate in having latent resources both in technique and materials, and in developing them somewhat more rapidly than the Scandi-
navians so that after the high tide of the early 1880's emigration in Germany became much more rapidly unattractive than in Sweden and particularly Norway. By 1900 she was in some sort a competitor with the United States in absorbing the peoples of the New Emigration. The thin stream of emigration that continued, thin in comparison with times past, was based on a factor of American pull rather than on push from Germany except that the inflation of German currency after the First World War which reached its crisis in 1923 caused a brief push of considerable force.

51.41 Agriculture occupied three-fourths of the Germans in 1815, 67.5% in 1871, 59% in 1880, 40% in 1910. The farming population furnished most of the emigrants throughout the nineteenth century. The area that is now the German Federal Republic was in the organization of its rural life different from the territory to the east. Everywhere except in the extreme east the farmers lived in villages, but the villages were of different types. The villages of the west, usually hodge-podge, were surrounded by open fields made of small holdings arranged equally hodge-podge so that no one had all his holdings contiguous to each other.

51.42 In the east there were several types of villages but frequently field arrangement was better suited to cultivation by a small proprietor; more of his land would be easily accessible. Along the Baltic Sea, lands reclaimed from marshes were frequent and colonies from the North Sea coast had occupied them. Such were the Mennonite colonies near Danzig that provided the emigrants to South Russia and also the Elbing-Whitewater settlers in Kansas. The land of these people was presumably sold in accordance with a pattern common throughout the old Prussian kingdom. The great landlords bought out the small; the states increased in size and a landless population became numerous. The growth of this group for whom the landlords substituted cheap
seasonal labor from Poland accounts for the great increase in emigration from the East during the decades following the American Civil War. The displacement farther west along the Baltic is of more interest to Kansas. In the early days in Kansas Germans from Mecklenburg (chiefly in the towns) and from Pomerania (important for instance on Lyon Creek) were not uncommon. On these provinces Clapham comments as follows: "The Dukes of Mecklenburg had protected the peasants in their own domains but either they had not been strong enough, or had not tried, to check the very extensive Bauernlegen [among] their subordinate gentry. In parts of Pomerania things had gone so far that the true peasant, who lived by his holdings, had almost disappeared" (C 37). Mecklenburg was also a land of great estates (SW 13). The process became the easier with the emancipation of the peasant from feudal servitude. During the Napoleonic era appropriate laws were passed, but they went into action slowly, and when they were applied the peasant had to buy his release from feudal dues. He gave up part of his land to have the rest clear and his freedom, but thereby he lost income so that he was in a difficult situation. He also lost his rights to use of the common land, because commons were abolished. "One hears of the resultant hardships particularly in Pomerania where the laboring class was most fully developed" (C 48). Sometimes he sold out what remained to him and moved to town (S 150). "The gentlefolk were glad to be rid of the poor people and to take over their property cheap" (FS 362). Emigration as a remedy for it also became popular after 1848 (C 46). The departure of the Lyon Creek settlers from Pomerania for Wisconsin may thus be explained.

In the west, eviction and consolidation of estates was much less practiced. In Hanover and Bavaria particularly (C 36) this lack of Bauernlegen was true. However in Hanover the commons were split up (C 50). What the
small proprietor gained as his share was more or less balanced by payments to buy off feudal service. The division of the commons took place mostly in the mid-nineteenth century. But, as in other countries, increase of population made holdings inadequate, in parts of Bavaria and in the South and West, i.e. in most regions, because heirs split up the paternal real estate, in Hanover and "Old" Bavaria where holdings were of moderate size because the children not inheriting land were left with only a compensating payment to balance their loss. Such a system meant that the farms could maintain a population of the same size from generation to generation without degradation of the standard of living, but that younger sons rather than become hired hands, the alternative, would emigrate. The tendency existed in Hanover and was the more marked among the sons of the smaller but poorer class of very small landholders. "It is recognized that the Heuerlinge [day laborers], Hausler [proprietors with a bit of ground], and Kotter [cottagers] provided the main contingent of the emigrants" (M 122). Thus Hanover discharged its surplus population, and maintained the rest rather well. The Hanoverian pressure that resulted did not lead to distress as early as in the South because the Hanoverian landless had not become too numerous before the century began, whereas in much of the South the holdings were already more or less microscopic. Emigration from this southern area had been of importance in the 18th century. The peasants of the South had also often become obliged to exercise a handicraft to eke out their income, and while the industrial revolution was very slow in becoming effective in Germany, even a little competition began to deprive families of vital income and, as industrialization progressed, affected a great many. Emigration as a solution was already in the mores of the people.
Those with bits of land were in better position to emigrate than the landless because they possessed capital that could be turned into passage money. And these people thirsted for more land, and the landless and the common people in general shared this appetite: "To possess one's own land and soil has long been the goal of the German shopkeeper, handicraftsmen, peasant, and laborer, the most important categories among the emigrants" (M 20). The pull of America as long as land could be obtained cheaply was greater than the pull of industrial jobs. It is significant that emigration did not shrink down beyond the numbers in the early waves until after all homestead and railroad land in the United States had been occupied, whereas the heaviest emigration in the early 1880's took place when industry in Germany was already absorbing large numbers.

Another element of pull was very potent in the 1880's. Germans already in America sent money home to bring over their relatives. The potency of this motive can be judged from the American consular reports of 1886 on emigration from Germany. Ten of the twenty-one consuls reporting named money from America for passage as a reason for emigration. No one spoke of remittances home for maintaining a family as was often the case among "new" immigrants (Italians, Slavs, Greeks, Lebanese). The ten consuls were rather well scattered over Germany, but the Consul-General at Berlin and the four consuls in Saxony made no comment on this phenomenon. The South, the industrial west, the Northwest and the East -- Thuringia too -- sent in reports on this detail that are fairly consistent. The number affected is set the highest by one who was in a position to be well informed, Consul Loening at Bremen. He says of the emigrants: "Over 50% have prepaid tickets sent them by their friends and relatives" (EI 153). The consul at Dusseldorf mentions 50% as induced to come by friends or relatives "often advancing
means sufficient" (EI 175). The consul at Mayence reduces the prepaid ticket holders to one-third (EI 211). Others use such phrases as "many" or "large numbers." This practice of the relatives was as widespread in Kansas as anywhere, perhaps more widespread, for the boom of the 1880's there provided the money. Linguistically the importance of this practice was the close connection of the newcomers with those already here, which meant that the earlier arrivals were sure to keep up their German. Conversely when the practice practically ended with the hard times of the nineties in America, the stock already here was forced to rely on its own resources for the preservation of German. The consuls note in several instances the sensitiveness of the remittances to financial conditions in the United States. The consul at Elberfeld on the Westphalian border of the Rhineland mentioned as particularly affected by the practice "the farming population of the northwestern provinces of Germany" (EI 181). Observations in Kansas verify this statement. The consul at Stettin speaks similarly for Pomerania and East and West Prussia. Kansas was less affected by the practice there.

Agricultural productivity increased greatly in Germany during the nineteenth century, by a multiple of three or four, but only the bases for later development — pioneer application of artificial fertilizers, much improved notions among the well-informed on crop rotation, introduction of new crops such as sugar beets — were laid before the Empire was set up. The great landowners profited first by the improvements, for they involved capital for experimentation.* Consequently, the push for emigration was not, until quite shortly before the Empire was set up, as widespread or as intense as many had expected. The slowness of the peasant to respond by comparing two areas of approximately the same fertility, Mecklenburg-Schwerin where large holdings prevailed and Bavaria, where small holdings were general. The yields per acre were much higher in Mecklenburg in the period 1902-1911.

*Clapham demonstrates the slowness of the peasant to respond by comparing two areas of approximately the same fertility, Mecklenburg-Schwerin where large holdings prevailed and Bavaria, where small holdings were general.
"when peasant education had done its best" (C 219), nearly 50% higher in the case of wheat, about a third for barley and oats, a fourth for potatoes, an eighth for rye.

late, greatly reduced by such improvements; it might even be augmented, for the great landowners found investment in more land profitable, and were the readier to force out the small farmer. Naturally, areas where all holdings were small or even medium in size profited by improvements last, particularly the South, though development in Hanover and Westphalia was late.

In these circumstances unfavorable weather conditions, or competition for markets was certain to make German farm life more difficult. Both these factors helped determine the pulsation of emigration. A disastrous crop year in 1816 (cold and wet) brought famine in certain areas and drove people abroad. Very few of these emigrants lived long enough to reach Kansas, but their sons and daughters did. There were more bad crops in the 1830's, and emigration grew. The potato blight that was so disastrous for many European countries in 1846 was no less a misfortune in Germany and pushed many abroad. These people, mingled with the Forty-eighters after arrival in the United States, provided the German population in the United States when the territory of Kansas was opened in 1854. Again in 1853 there were crop failures, and a rise in departures. Crop failure in Germany occurred regularly in years of excessive rainfall, and Moenckmeier demonstrates graphically how such years brought on departures (M 71). These crises were general; there were other bad developments affecting particular regions. For instance the relation of the size of the labor force to the land and its disposition was particularly unfavorable in the wine growing area of the Rhine valley and its tributaries. "The vine growers lived worst; in 1841 there were 19,000 families
or 11.7% of the agricultural population of Wurtemberg, who worked only upon
1.44% of the land used for agriculture" (SW 121, see also M 43). A part
of these people reached Kansas and in the hills flanking the Missouri Valley
tried to carry on the type of culture for which they were trained; they were
among the earliest settlers.

51.62 The great improvement in agricultural technique began by the sixties
and, with population and industrial expansion, demand for field products
increased so that there was here a period in which the push for emigration
lessened. But it remained considerable among those with small or even moder­
ately large holdings because farming now required investment of more capital
for fertilizers and tools than these men possessed. Also in Hanover where
great landlords let out part of their holdings for cash rent (C 109), with
modernized methods the owner became capable of handling the land more pro­
fitably with day workers or else put pressure on the tenant to make expen­
ditures that were overgreat for him.

51.63g The agricultural depression of the 1880's, general in Europe, became
severe in Germany early, beginning in 1878, because that year was one of heavy
rainfall. The depression had at its root, however, low farm prices that
resulted from the flooding of European markets with grain from America, and,
particularly in Germany, from Russia. Improved transport by rail and water
together with new supplies of wheat grown on the plains of the American West
and South Russia and the far Volga country furnished the grain. To alleviate
the competition, Bismarck in 1879 instituted a tariff and it was increased
progressively as the flooding continued. This protection relieved agriculture
sooner than in some of Germany's neighbors, but it did not become effective
fast enough to prevent the great wave of emigration of the early eighties,
subsidized by money from America made from the very wheat causing trouble
The industrialization in Germany which finally cut off emigration by supplying jobs at home developed increased impetus as the century advanced. It did not in the beginning absorb much personnel, nor was the pressure, which it exerted on home manufacturing and craftsmen immediately perceptible. Indeed for two decades craftsmen increased in number because of increased demand for their product and because the guild laws which had restricted the number who could enter a trade were in general abolished (SW 227). The districts where textile workers carried on their home manufacturing suffered first from factory competition, northern Westphalia and southern Hanover for instance. Emigration became great in the forties (M 46) among these people. Early settlers in Kansas from this area were noticeable in number. Along the Moselle vine growing and weaving had flourished together. Between 1844 and 1848 11,100 persons moved away from Trier; 7,180 left Koblenz. There were early Kansans born in Koblenz. The emigrants from Trier who ultimately arrived in Kansas did not leave home till the early 1870's (Andale-Colwich Germans). In the 1850's "Competition from machine industry began to be overpowering and injured not only home industry but also craftsmen; a sharp crisis arose in both. . . . This time the handcraft population was particularly hard put to it and driven to emigration" (M 51).

The workings of the business cycle in Germany continued to cause bad periods as well as good even after the craftsmen had been disposed of; a period of depression thus engendered began in the mid-1870's (M 57, P 105) and combined with the crisis in agriculture to trigger the mass departures of the early eighties.

Minor Forces for Emigration. America was better known to Germans at the beginning of the nineteenth century than to most countries of Europe.
Consequently a letter from America describing conditions there was not so precious as in Scandinavia, but there is common agreement that one of the most important manifestations of pull from America was success stories generally circulated. Immigration and steamship agents also played a significant role with fewer complaints of abuses on their part than from other countries. The call of relatives has already been considered. Consul Loening of Bremen alleged a reason for emigration as common which all others neglect. It is implied however in enough subscription biographies contributed by immigrants to "albums" to justify notice being given it. Loening says: "Another cause of emigration is the peculiar feeling and pride of class which is evident everywhere, and the unfortunate who is compelled by necessity, etc., to work at anything below his station in life ... at once emigrates, as he would rather starve than work here at what his associates would call disgraceful labor. ... The carpenter, who can find no employment at his trade, emigrates to the United States, and drives a street car or chops wood ..., or the German army officer, having to resign his commission on account of inability to pay a gambling debt at once emigrates to America, and can be found ... tending bar in New York or herding cattle in Texas" (EI 152). Such people may not have raised the moral level of their compatriots in America, but they usually raised their cultural level. All these were but instruments for transmitting the real pull, that of practically free land, higher wages, and unhampered opportunity to become entrepreneurs.

When there were no more homesteads in America, when real wages in Germany compared favorably with those in America in the 1890's and governmental treatment of social security was more favorable to the poor in Germany when American bankruptcies were numerous during the hard times, America
exerted no more pull. Upon the return of prosperity to America other and cheaper sources of labor than those provided by the Germans offered; there was no push from Germany and immigration to the States rose only slightly. Still it must be remembered that enough Germans arrived during the early twentieth century to keep alive a sense of belonging to Deutschtum and sharing in its glories. Only a great war could smash the sense, and give a majority of Germans a desire to hear no more German.

The sections of Germany furnishing immigrants to Kansas were essentially the same as those furnishing immigrants to other parts of the United States except that emigration from northeast Germany never became very important in Kansas. Future Kansans born in Germany, in the great majority of cases, came from what became in 1945 West Germany, the Federal German Republic. There are exceptions, and some are significant; the most important element among both Lower and Upper Lyon Creek Germans was Pomeranian; particularly in the cities there was a minority from the area that was organized as Communist Germany, the Democratic German Republic; but except for the Mennonites from Danzig at Whitewater, a few natives of Posen, particularly Jews, and a very few Silesians, almost no one came to Kansas from the territory east of the Oder, which was joined to Poland after the Second World War.

The published data of the United States and Kansas censuses aid little in determining regions of origin of Kansas Germans, and the census-takers' own records are of limited help. The analysis of 1860, reproduced in Volume I, page 4, reflects quite faithfully the data locally collected for the larger political units. Since it records that 477 persons out of 1007 from Germany who specified their region of birth were from Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemburg and neighboring Hessia, it brings out very clearly the fact that the
southwest contributed heavily to the early German quota in Kansas. But it does not tell us how many of the 530 Prussians were from the western provinces, the Rhineland and Westphalia, and how many were from Brandenburg and the adjoining provinces. It also fails to record any facts concerning the northwest, Hanover, etc.

The places of birth other than "Germany" or "Prussia" recorded in the Cutler-Andreas History of Kansas, 1883, by 229 Germans is of significance, though this record does not do full justice to the Prussian element, and particularly to the Rhinelanders and Westphalians who were quite apt to specify simply Prussia as their place of birth.

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<th>Places of Birth of Germans Noted in Andreas-Cutler History of Kansas</th>
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<td>Totals</td>
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The persons recorded by Andreas-Cutler had of course been in America long enough to prosper sufficiently to provide the fee for a biographical entry, that is, they had nearly all arrived by 1873. The majority of their dates of emigration from Germany fell in the 1850's and late 1860's, and they had usually been born between 1825 and 1855. Almost all those arriving
before 1850 had accompanied their parents as children. The proportion of immigration from south Germany seems little altered for 1870 over 1860, but for the later period the Hanoverians, Oldenburgers, etc. do not show up as well as they should. They were farmers not yet ready to spend money for vanity's sake; and therefore the Andreas history was closed to them.

If the people in Washington, Marshall, Riley, Dickinson, and Barton Counties had achieved wealth and figured in the same way as those of Wabaunsee County, the record would have been altered in favor of the northwest. As is set forth in the Hanover, Kansas, settlement history, the 1885 census for that town and its adjoining township reveals the preponderance of Hanoverians and Oldenburgers there, that is, of people from Germany's northwest with people from the Rhine West nearly as numerous, with a number from the south, a few from the inner North and none from the east. The state of affairs as it is revealed by several subscription county histories a few years later is shown in the following table:
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* In Sedgwick County, the 4 from Prussia can be placed as coming from the Rhineland, i.e., the Rhine West area.
Swiss is the term used in the succeeding sections for persons born in Switzerland of German mother tongue. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Switzerland belong in that category, and the proportions of Ger-lings among emigrants from that country was still higher. In Kansas as shown in Volume I the French Swiss were hardly 10% of the total Swiss-born population. Swiss were among colonial immigrants to America, but we shall not endeavor to distinguish them from other Ger-lings, for settlements of that era that were and remained peculiarly Swiss hardly existed. Indeed similar statements may be made of much of the Swiss immigration of later date, that which came to Kansas included. There are however both in Kansas and elsewhere in the United States settlements that are truly Swiss though even in them other South Ger-lings are frequently to be found. Swiss are the Kansas settlements at Bern in Nemaha County and New Basel in Dickinson County. Other settlements that are largely Swiss are Gridley-Lamont (Greenwood County); Alida (Dickinson County); Burns (Butler County); Mulberry Creek (Clay County), and Whitewater (Butler County, the Swiss Mennonite church there). All are in the Pre-West.

Of the Swiss settlements outside of Kansas, the best-known is probably Sutter’s in California. He found New Helvetia in 1839. Sacramento and the gold strike were in his domain. In 1930 California was the state containing the most Swiss-born, 20,000; New York with its urban settlements was next with 16,500. These states received late immigrants. In 1900 Ohio with 12,000 was just yielding its first place to New York, and California was still behind. In 1890 Ohio had 11,000, Illinois 8,000, Missouri and Wisconsin in the neighborhood of 7,000, and Pennsylvania over 6,000. Large settlements of Swiss, relatively pure, are those at Berne, Indiana, New Glarus, Wisconsin, and Ohio communities in Wayne and Putnam and Allen counties. A less known Ohio Swiss
settlement was in Monroe County at Switzer on the upper Ohio River. That at Highland, Illinois, is somewhat older but more penetrated by other Ger-

lings. At Hartford, Wisconsin, the Swiss have been a minority among Germans, but very Swiss. The Swiss east of Peoria, Illinois, are also intermingled with Reich Germans. At Helvetia, Virginia, the Swiss were using their dialect deep into the 20th century. The Swiss in Pennsylvania, there in colonial times, particularly at Allentown, Philadelphia and Pittsburg, are worthy of remark; so are those in the district about New York, particularly in the Bronx of older times, and in Passaic, New Jersey. In Philadelphia a Swiss Benevolent Society has existed since 1860 (SRII70). Four other Swiss Societies existed there in 1930 (SRI54).

Swiss arrived in America as soon as other Germans but the immigration of the nineteenth century is that of importance for the present purpose. The data presented in #50.30 show that the rhythm of arrivals from Switzerland was very similar to that from Germany but that the proportion from Switzerland rose. In the period 1841-70 Swiss immigration was only about 3% of the German; in the period 1880-1884 it had risen to 9% and these years saw the high tide of emigration both from Germany and Switzerland. In the period 1890-94 it was 6%; period 1900-4 -- 9%; period 1910-4 -- 12%. In other words during the period of industrialization and stable government in both countries, the restraining effects upon emigration were less marked in Switzerland than in Germany.

Swiss history before the Napoleonic wars interests us only because of its religious features discussed below and, in a negative way, on account of one other feature: The relief for over-population was largely accomplished by sending mercenary regiments abroad. The Swiss soldiers who served other countries usually did so under contracts made by their own governments thus
strengthening the Swiss economy in much the same way as remittances from abroad have later helped Italy, Greece and Slavic lands. In the nineteenth century, however, the Swiss were no longer willing to be mercenaries. After Napoleon’s fall, the Swiss Confederation was for some time so loose in character that each canton was very nearly an independent state. The various cantons frequently disagreed with one another and within cantons there were also struggles. Sometimes these movements reached revolutionary proportions. There was even a brief civil war, in 1847, that of the Sonderbund. Governmental instability was thus a push for emigration. While the rest of Europe in 1848 was overturning existing governments, Switzerland too gave itself a new constitution, and unlike the other new creations of the period this one was durable. The push for emigration after 1848 cannot be regarded as political.

The Reformation did not make all Switzerland Protestant. A core of cantons in the center of the country remained Catholic as well as Fribourg and the Valais; Catholic emigrants from Switzerland to the United States joined other German-speaking groups; purely Swiss settlements in America have been the work of Protestants, Reformed or Mennonites. The Reformation brought about among other things the birth of Anabaptist sects, including the Mennonites. All other religious groups disapproved of them to the point of driving them out by persecution and they were disseminated both to the north and to the east, to the north in neighboring regions of Alsace, that part of France contiguous to it, the Palatinate, and the Netherlands; to the east, in early days, to Moravia, in 1781, to Galicia after stays elsewhere, and thence in large part to Volhynia (now in the Northwestern Ukraine). From both Galicia and Volhynia Mennonites came to Kansas as well as in small numbers directly from Switzerland (to Whitewater). There were Swiss Mennonites
among the first Palatine immigrants to Pennsylvania in the early 18th century. The emigration of Bernese Mennonites to America was very heavy in the first half of the 19th century. The Mennonites of Pennsylvania are of Swiss origin, nearly all from the canton of Bern, but some from Zurich. Emigration from the Emmental and the Jura was also very strong in 1830-80. Those Mennonites settled chiefly in Ohio, Indiana, and Ontario (MEIV 676). In the nineteenth century economic motives rather than religious persecution prompted Mennonite departure.

Economic motives, except for the earlier Mennonites, provided the powerful motive for leaving Switzerland. The depression following the Napoleonic Wars was most severe there because other countries took protective measures to shut off the sales of Swiss goods in competition with their own. The settlers who came to Switzerland Township in the northeast corner of Monroe County, Ohio (62-279) in 1817 were driven out by famine conditions. The Mennonites who came to Wayne County, Ohio (62-247) left Switzerland in these hard times. The crises that affected the rest of Europe bore as hard upon Switzerland as elsewhere. The settlement at Highland, Illinois (60-100) of people from Lucerne (EI-337), can be explained by economic conditions about 1830; the New Clarus, Wisconsin, settlement (61-261) definitely owed its foundation to the distress of the mid-1840's. The wave of emigration that swelled through the 1870's to become strongest in the early 1880's was caused by the same agricultural distress that sent men from most of western Europe to America. The economic crisis had much to do with foundation of the Kansas settlements of the Swiss.

The parts of Switzerland providing emigrants to Swiss settlements in America were mainly in the Northwest, in the cantons of Bern and Basel and Solothurn. Even the French Swiss settlement at Neuchatel, Kansas, is
from the Northwest. An important exception is the case of Glarus which sent its people to New Glarus, Wisconsin, and in every community there would be other exceptions, particularly for the cantons of Aargau and Zurich. In Kansas as well as elsewhere this preponderance is true; Bern and New Basel deserve their names.

Alsace, part of France from the beginning of the period of German emigration to America until 1870, and part of the German Empire during the rest of it, produced in the United States no exclusive settlements of its own that have achieved note. Alsatians were part of the German element in American towns large enough to have a diversified German population. The exodus from Alsace did not, after the province became part of the Empire, follow the same chronological pulsations as that from its neighbor, from the Palatinate or as from the Empire as a whole. In 1871 1.3% of total official emigration from the Empire was from Alsace-Lorraine; in 1881 when German emigration was at a peak it was only .3%. After 1890 when the departures were slacking off the proportion from Alsace-Lorraine rose. In 1900 it stood at 2.2%. Since other factors were similar to those in the Palatinate, the explanation must be sought in political conditions, most probably the dislike of army service. Linguistically, the integration with France before 1870, while it made for exaltation of standard German by those who were discontented with France, tended to give Alsatian dialect a role even greater than that played by dialects elsewhere, and consequently among immigrants in America there existed a certain readiness to accept English for public purposes, since no other language was culturally rooted. After the transfer to the German Empire the dislike for the new masters also made the Alsatians ready to abandon their cultural language for another.
Luxemburgers, though they were only in a few cases strong enough numerically to form settlements in the United States separate from other Germans, tended to do so more evidently than the citizens of any German state that ultimately became part of the German Empire. In Kansas Gonner in 1881 listed ten settlements containing ten to twenty families of Luxemburgers (GL 313). All are Catholic German settlements where the Luxemburgers lived with people from other regions, most frequently the Rhineland, and particularly in it the valley of the Moselle. They were Parsons Creek (295-I, 20), Marysville (197-I, 11), Seneca-St. Benedict (213-I, 5), Tipton (205-I, 6), Dubuque, Burns (193-I, 24), Ellinwood (89-I, 18), Ost (247-I, 11), St. Mark (269-I, 5), St. Paul (215-I, 4). We may add two very small groups, one at Kimeo (295-I, 21) in southeastern Washington County (P2) and the other at Leoville (117-I, 12) on the line between Decatur and Sheridan counties (F3 and 6) are their best representatives. As inferred above, the Luxemburgers are solidly Catholic, very faithful at the social levels furnishing emigrants. Their dialect was in some sense sacred to them, but it has never reached literary status. Luxemburg, after the Napoleonic Wars was a part of the Netherlands. In 1839 the French speaking section went to Belgium and the Grand Duchy in its present proportions remained attached to Holland through a personal union; the King of Holland was the Grand Duke of Luxemburg; independence became complete only in 1867. The push for emigration, in the period of union with the Netherlands was partly political — high taxes, military service. Later

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FN Gonner does not always use the names here listed. He depended on reports, presumably from priests, and he makes some misinterpretations, for instance he says Marion County is west of Barton County. He probably made no such mistakes for areas he knew personally, eastern Iowa and Wisconsin.
the economic push was very severe (GL 127). Though Luxemburgers were to be found early in America, emigration to the United States became important only in the 1840's, for Brazil attracted those leaving their country earlier. New York and Ohio received many beginning in 1842. The settlement at and near Port Washington and Belgium, Wisconsin, 30 miles north of Milwaukee on the lake, began in 1845. The Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa settlements became particularly important. Also in Minnesota there were sizable settlements not discussed elsewhere in this work. They are mostly in territory containing many other Germans along the Mississippi below Minneapolis and in the counties surrounding the city. They are most numerous in Stearns County, seventy miles up the river from the metropolis. The inner eastern part of the county is heavily Catholic German with a high proportion of Luxemburgers, 215 families in his time, says Gonner (GL 302). Gonner estimates that in the 1860's from four to five thousand Luxemburgers came to the United States (GL 116). He quotes Luxemburg statistics for later years -- 1871-1880 --4037; 1881-1888--5265. The Grand Duchy had a population of 217,381 in 1887 (GL 120,128,130).

52,52g The second generation of Luxemburgers learned their fathers' dialect much better than usually happened in small settlements. Even the third generation in Wisconsin persisted in upholding it. Gonner's discussion in 1889 on language, in which it is difficult to separate statements specifically for Luxemburgers from those for Germans in general, is so pertinent to the present work that large portions of it are here translated:

"When we Luxemburgers in the United States use the English language in daily intercourse, we do so only when and if we must in order to make ourselves understandable to those who are masters only
of the language of the land or who employ this language easier than another. A Luxemburger uses High German more willingly than English. The language is closer to him, and he knows that he belongs to the great German family of peoples just as much as Low Germans, or Tyrolese or Silesians or Badenese. In general he speaks the standard language no worse than a Swiss or a Pomeranian. Preferably though the Luxemburger uses his home dialect. To be sure he can employ the dialect only with those of his own stock, but with them it is his best letter of recommendation; it recommends more quickly than passport or certificate, brings help in word and deed in time of trouble, gets work, which used to be hard to find, and everywhere secures the best services. Anyone ashamed of his dialect...denies his kind and loses his fellows' respect. Any one who rejects his language is not far from heaving overboard other good things: Religion, honor and morals. How deeply German a Luxemburger is becomes crystal clear abroad. As soon as he steps off the steamer on to the Atlantic shore any adhering French mannerisms of speech or behavior disappear as if by magic. Any man here who tells a Luxemburger, even one who has worked for ten years at cabinet making in the Faubourg St. Antoine in Paris, that he is a Frenchman insults him. He no more wants to be a Frenchman than a Prussian. All those well acquainted with the situation of Luxemburgers in the United States know that in the northwestern states they live gathered into groups in settlements, where they often are the majority of the inhabitants of a county, more frequently of a township. In the districts most thickly populated with Luxemburgers, the Luxemburg dialect is almost exclusively employed for daily use. Even where families are most closely united, it must, as conditions require, give way to High German, rather though to...
English, certainly to the latter in the second generation" (GL 185-6). He finds it natural that English is the source for new words, even that English words like "box" and "cider" should replace German equivalents. He thinks High German can "in general" be permanently maintained, and though the example of Penn-German encourages, dialect will disappear—perhaps after one or two hundred years in places but already in places "even if [the younger generation] still understand their fathers' tongue, they no longer speak it with affection. . . People want to strip off the "Dutchman" and put on the Yankee; they become ridiculous and advance the defeat of the tongue of their fathers" (GL 188).

Polish Germans, exclusive of Jews, may be divided for the present purposes into three categories. Those resident in Volhynia are treated with Russian Germans. Those resident in the Polish corridor of the period between the two World Wars are considered part of the Reich Germans. Those resident in the western part of the Congress Kingdom of the period before 1914 merit brief separate consideration. They were usually artisans, able to exercise their skills because the Poles neglected to learn the trades, or farmers who, like the Mennonites on the Vistula, were given advantageous conditions by the Polish kings or by noblemen when their liberties were curtailed or their economic position became disadvantageous in Prussia. The stresses that they were subject to were similar to those described elsewhere for the Poles under Russian rule. Their numbers were not great among emigrants, and in Kansas the principal points at which they made a significant element in the population was in the Gorham German Conglomerate (263-I, 5) in western Russell County, and in the Mennonite Johannestal settlement north of Hillsboro in Marion County (192-I, 9).
The old German settlements in Moravia furnished emigrants to Kansas. (Few seem to have come from the Sudetan areas, nor from the rest of Bohemia.) The settlements in Kansas are in Barton County, Odin and Olmitz (89-I, 10,11). The latter name suggests where the settlers there originated; those at Odin (named for a town in Illinois) came from near Brunn (Brno). A few were from Budweis (Büdejovice). These people are the descendants of Germans settled in Moravia after the withdrawal of the Mongols and Cuman in 1241 and 1252. They may well have been reinforced by religious refugees of the sixteenth century (Anabaptists). The Germans were established in townships and given special privileges so that they preserved their heritage intact. Protestantism was suppressed by imperial edict in 1628, though it persisted. However, Jesuit missionaries reaped a harvest in the neighborhood of Brunn and Olmitz and in a few other places after the Thirty Years War. In any case all Kansas immigrants were Catholic. The nineteenth century resurgence of Czech culture did not cause such severe struggles in Moravia as in Bohemia, and the Germans were on friendly enough terms with their neighbors, so that the Kansas Olmitz community is in part Czech. Economic pressures, doubtless brought on by overpopulation, caused the emigration, speeded in its later phases by the rise of Czech nationalism. The German townships could not be expanded.

The Hapsburgs, Maria Theresa and particularly her son Joseph II, adopted a policy of German colonization beginning in 1763 for the lands recently acquired or suffering from war desolations. In order to attract immigrants, the Austrian imperial house offered inducements very similar to those advertised by Catherine II in Russia (see. 000). Indeed Maria-Theresa was from 1763 to 1768 bidding competitively against Catherine for
settlers to place in Hungary. At the time the Russian Black Sea settle-
ments were organized Joseph with his Galician and Bukovinan enterprises
was again in competition with her. The current of settlers was strong
from 1782 till 1787. It tapered off till interrupted for long years
by Napoleonic troubles. Immigration was resumed in the 1820's and con-
tinued in general till about mid century.

These settlers in Austria-Hungary were called Swabians (Schwaben),
and hailed like the Volgans in Russia from a variety of regions in central
and southern Germany. Their sense of unity, and indifference to geo-
graphic location was expressed by a Swabian in Vienna on his way elsewhere
ca. 1785 "Ei, überal wo's Herr Gottle huset, do kann no allivil a
Schwable sein Platzle han" (Z 5). "Wherever God dwells, a Swabian can
find his little corner too." As in the case of the Protestant Volgans,
their dialects varied about a norm which approximated that of Hessia,
and this norm became the accepted point of departure for the development
of speech. Beyond the Carpathians there were also Sudetans; a few of these
reached Kansas at Ellis.

Bukovina was the most remote of the areas in the Austrian empire
receiving German settlers, some four hundred miles east of Vienna in the
same latitude. This province (capital Czernovitz) is between 50 and
75 miles in diameter, and lies just beyond the Carpathians in territory
that since the Second World War has been part of the Ukraine near its
western border. During the wars of the eighteenth century this bit of
the decaying Turkish empire was repeatedly overrun and plundered by
armies (KB 1-13) so that when the Austrian emperor acquired it in 1774
it was underpopulated (6 inhabitants per square kilometer, KG72) and in
many places wasteland. Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Rumanians, and Poles
were at hand to fill the void, and the Ruthenians eventually became the
preponderant population, but the Austrians settled Germans there also.
These were both Catholics and Protestants and elements of both confes-
sions usually were to be found in the same village. There was a gen-
eral spirit of tolerance. Their settlement at Ellis, Kansas, also con-
tains the two elements.

52.71g Galicia fell into Austrian hands in 1772 two years before Bukovina.
Its density of population, 30 inhabitants per square kilometer, was much
greater than Bukovina's at that time, but the Hapsburgs initiated German
colonization there too. The Germans were not too welcome either to the
Poles or the Ruthenians in the area and prospered primarily as artisans
in the towns. For further information on conditions there see the treat-
ment of the Poles there. Our primary interest in Galicia is with the
Mennonite Colonies. Colonization of Germans began in 1774, but was limited
almost exclusively to Catholics until 1781 when Joseph II came to the
throne, then it broadened and continued until his death in 1792. The dis-
trict chosen for Germans was some 15 to 60 miles south of Lvov (Lemberg)
on the plains just below the Carpathians (KKII5). This part of Galicia
had mostly Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population. The immigrants were mostly
Protestants from Wurtemberg and the Palatinate, but all southwest Germany
contributed population. The Mennonites, Swiss in origin, arrived in
1734-6. Some of them moved on into Volhynia, and they never became very
numerous in Galicia, 600 in 1914. Those who were left in 1939 were moved
out with other Germans when the Russians took over. One of their first
villages was Einsiedel, and its name was borne by the Kansas congrega-
tion at Hanston (Hodgeman County; 167-I, 3) from 1885 to 1952. Two thirds
of the emigrants of 1885 settled in Minnesota. In Kansas among the Swiss
Mennonites at Mound Ridge there are "Austrians" (no Mennonites in Austria proper). Not far from the Concentrated Mennonite district emigrants of the 19th century settled at Arlington (217-I, 8) in Reno County.

The push for emigration from Galicia and Bukovina developed first in Galicia, where the political situation of Germans like that of Ruthenians became difficult with the accession to power of Polish landlords in 1867 and where overpopulation became evident soon. Indeed from Galicia came part of Bukovina's German population. The movement for exodus spread to Bukovina and reached its apoge in 1904-6.

In Hungary the vacant lands along the Danube, both crown lands and the possessions of noble houses were opened up to German immigrants, again mostly Swabians, beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century. For Kansas the settlement of most direct importance was just downstream from Vienna in the County of Sopron around what the Germans called New Settler Lake (Neusiedlersee). The villages here were some Catholic, some Protestant with minorities of the other confession in each village. They lived on relatively good terms with each other so that in Herndon, Kansas, the people from this area could center upon one community, though, as in Hungary, there grew up a predominantly Catholic and a predominantly Lutheran district. The largest German settlement in Hungary was at the other extreme of the country in the Seven Towns (Siebenbürgen) area across the river from Belgrade. People from here went to the Black Sea settlements in Russia and thus samples of the stock were eventually to be found at St. Francis, Kansas.
The Russian Germans who emigrated to Kansas came from colonies which were established during the reigns (1762-1796 and 1801-1825) of Catherine II (b. 1729) and her grandson Alexander I (b. 1770). The earlier colonies from Germany settled in Russia on the Volga, the later ones near the Black Sea. The Russian Germans first came to Kansas from both regions in the 1870's. Volgans most notably to Ellis and Russell counties, Mennonites mostly to Marion and McPherson counties, Blackseamen principally to Cheyenne and Trego Counties. (For more detail on location in Kansas see 40, 4.) The Volgans were almost all either from purely Catholic villages or from purely Protestant (Lutheran) villages; the Black Sea people were largely Mennonites. Henceforth, when there are no other qualifiers, the terms Mennonites and Russian Mennonites will refer to people of this sect from what is now the southern Ukraine. Other Germans from this region will be called Blackseamen.

Locations in Russia. The settlements on the Volga River were above and below the city of Saratov, close to the river between the latitudes of 50° and 52°. The Black Sea colonies were between the mouths of the Danube and the middle of the Sea of Azov; were mostly above the Crimea. There were also small groups in the province of Volhynia, which has usually been regarded as part of Southwestern Poland; it is now in the Ukraine.

When Catherine came to the throne the Black Sea country was not part of her empire and the lower Volga, all its southern course, was not yet truly frontier country.

The Tatar Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan, at either end of the southflowing Volga, had been conquered in 1586, but the country had been left almost completely to the nomadic tribes, though a few forts were set up to protect commerce on the great river. Saratov was one of their strong
places, analogous in function to the early forts in Kansas. In its shadow Cossacks established themselves, but when in 1732 the line of protective forts was moved somewhat further east, the country was still essentially unsettled and so remained during all the reign of Elizabeth II.

Catherine II's ambitions to expand her empire at the expense of her Polish and Turkish neighbors receives notice in even the briefest accounts of her reign, but her earlier and more legitimate measures to become powerful by colonizing and strengthening Russia's eastern frontier country are frequently neglected. She had no sooner installed herself firmly upon her throne than she issued invitations to immigrants (December 4, 1762). The immediate results were negligible, and on July 22, 1763 she published a manifesto, offering specific privileges. At the same time she set up elaborate machinery for the recruitment of immigrants. She named as "directors" a half-dozen adventurers with French names indicating real or assumed aristocratic origin, who worked under contract, and remained a handicap to the colonists in their first days of settlement (see particularly Ca 319-321).

The "Directors" and also the Russian diplomatic staff in Germany sent out a swarm of agents, some with prison histories, who recruited emigrants by means of rosette stories. The agents did not operate in Prussia and Austria where the sovereigns were distrustful of Russia and were engaged in settlement programs of their own that absorbed the mobile population of their realms.

In the smaller states of middle and south Germany, however, the Palatinate, Hessia, Saxony, Baden, Wuertemberg and Bavaria, also to a lesser extent in Switzerland and Alsace, the agents found fertile soils for their
seeds of propaganda. The Seven Years' War had just ended, and the misery and economic exhaustion then prevalent particularly disposed toward emigration a people that had been disseminating itself for some time. Some had become Pennsylvania Dutch. So many emigrants heeded the agents that the German states became increasingly hostile and a decree by the Austrian emperor forbade emigration in 1768 (BV 25).

Immigration into Russia had already been choked off by the glutting of the means of transportation, and in 1768 Catherine's energies became absorbed in the Turkish War.

The Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-1774 gave Catherine title to the northern littoral of the Black Sea. Only nomads inhabited it, and it offered a better object for the Empress's colonizing endeavors than the Volga frontier. More of its land had rich soil, the climate was less severe, and most important, Catherine's empire would, by its settlement, become firmly established upon the sea, and provide a solid basis for further pressure upon Turkey. Colonization could not begin at once, however.

Except in a few strong places, the Turk's rule over this region had been only nominal. It was the realm of the Black Sea Tatars. Besides, the Crimea continued to be Turkish until 1783. When the Tatars on the Volga had submitted to Russia almost 200 years before, the more southern Khanate had found in Constantinople a protection against the advancing Slavs.

The Tatar boundary had remained more or less floating, but the Cossacks had exerted constant pressure, and in the 18th century the frontier was sta-

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FN In accounts current in Kansas, particularly because of Laing's dependence on Bauer, Captain J. Ovon Kotzer is portrayed as the chief of the agents. He was one of Beauregard's lieutenants (BV 20).
bibilized along a band of rather unfertile territory 100 to 150 miles north of the Black Sea. With the Turk eliminated, the Tatars had no protection against Catherine. She dallied with them almost a decade, but by 1783 they were driven from the territory or contained in limited regions. It seemed that colonization could begin, but further hostilities against the Turks rendered the Southern area unsafe, and colonization after a start in 1789 was not resumed until after her death and after the murder of her son Paul in 1801. Alexander I renewed his grandmother's plan, endeavoring to make the administration of it more systematic. As it turned out, the main change was the replacement of "directors" who were entrepreneurs by group leaders during travel eastward, immediately succeeded by government supervisors in Russia till communities were under way. The officials were no great improvement over the directors. The acquisition of Bessarabia in 1812 furnished new territory for settlement and the end of the Napoleonic wars made emigration from the west more possible. Active participation by the imperial government ended with Alexander's conversion to reaction. After 1822 there were few new arrivals except in Bessarabia, and immigration was shut off in 1857.

Catherine's and Alexander's second recruitment of immigrants was widespread, and southern Russia became as much a melting pot as the United States. We are interested, however, in the Germans, the only element of the population that later came to Kansas. As had been done a score of years earlier the Empress sent agents in 1784 into Germany; they found willing ears. Frederick II still forbade emigration; only after his death in 1786 did the first emigrating parties gain unwilling permission to leave Prussia. Russian immigration agents were again operating in 1804 in the Palatinate (BV 26). Intermittently immigration went on in the 19th century, particularly into
the Black Sea country, though in 1853 Mennonites began to appear among the Volgans.

53.11 The offer made to colonists by Catherine in 1763 was unchanged throughout her reign; Alexander's renewal in 1803 was nearly the same. It may be summarized thus: (BD 10-15 gives a German text of Catherine's proclamation of 1763; Pi 108 ff. gives the Russian text.)

A. 1. free transportation
   2. initial grants of land practically free
   3. freedom from taxation for a limited period (10 to 30 years)
   4. loans to aid in making a start, both agricultural and otherwise

B. 1. local self-government after a pattern of their own choosing
   (They remained Germans)
   2. religious toleration and self-government
   3. control of their own schools
   4. freedom from military service

The conditions listed under A are of interest to the present work only because of striking similarities between Catherine's procedure and that followed by the various agencies endeavoring to attract immigrants a century later in the U.S.

The privileges listed under B are of much greater interest, 1) because they in part explain the completely German character of the immigrants that came from these settlements to America a century later; 2) because their abridgment furnished the immediate causes for emigration.

53.12 The imperial government remained approximately faithful to its covenant to the German colonists until the decade beginning in 1870. The great reforms of the 1860's did not affect the Germans directly, though the underlying prin-
Pinciple of equality of all citizens before the law was sooner or later bound to find its application against privileged foreign minorities (BV 107). The freeing of the serfs in 1861 also made Russian population much more mobile, and the restlessness of the German colonists thereafter was in part doubtless occasioned by the movement and ferment in other sections of the population.

The German population in Russia expanded phenomenally all through the nineteenth century. The total number of immigrants is estimated at 100,000. The need for more land became pressing in both the principal areas by 1840. Population kept increasing all during the period of emigration that began in 1873. The increase between 1897 and 1914, while emigration was in full swing amounted to approximately half a million persons, more than 25%. In 1897 the count for all Germans in the Russian Empire by religious affiliations was

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lutherans</td>
<td>1,360,943</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics</td>
<td>242,209</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonites</td>
<td>65,917</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>63,981</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>19,913</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>13,360</td>
<td>.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christians</td>
<td>1,411</td>
<td>.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews and non-Christians</td>
<td>22,855</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This included a considerable German population along the Baltic (about half a million).

The result of the special conditions under which the German colonies existed was a cultural solidity resistant to surrounding Russian influences. The Russians had very few points in common with the Germans through which cultural characteristics could penetrate. The government, the religion and
the instruments of education were all totally different; the economic structure was such that it rarely mixed Germans and Russians, and when it did, the Russians were usually playing the role of cultural inferiors. They were harvest workers or other unskilled laborers on the rare occasions when the hard working Germans needed outside aid (BV 106).

Thus the German settlements remained completely independent. When they became overpopulated they were for some time able to find new areas for settlement farther east of the Volga in nomadic territory, in the Caucasus, or in Crimea. In general they were prosperous by the middle of the 19th century, sometimes wealthy, though there were variations in individual settlements which will sometimes require our attention. In 1870, then, the German settlements in Russia represented practically autonomous states. The settlers rarely knew any Russian, used German exclusively, and regarded their language as part of their religion, the eternal as opposed to the evanescent, that is, the Russian and the eastern church.

Czar Alexander II (ruled 1855-1881) began as a liberal and ended a conservative, more or less embittered. Both phases of his reign worked to the disadvantage of the German colonists. His reforms tended to level privileges and inequalities, his reaction tended to be severe on everyone. The Polish rebellion of 1863 exasperated him against Roman Catholics and against non-conforming subject populations. The power politics that followed the unification of Germany including the Turkish war of 1877 set him on the path of armament and increased armies. He and his successor Alexander III came to feel that they were nurturing a potential domestic enemy by continuing the privileges of very considerable populations which remained openly German. The obvious remedies were two: to weaken the dissidents by pressure, and to convert them into real Russians, in other words persecution and Russification.
(See BV 104 ff. for an exposition of this matter from a somewhat different point of view.) Through the 1860’s and early 1870’s the political privileges were curtailed. Finally it was the turn of the most highly prized of all the privileges, the exemption from military service. Recruits to the Czar’s army served before 1870 for as long as they were a military asset, 15 or 20 years, and they lived such an abominable life in the army that terror-stricken Russian youths, threatened with impressment, often took refuge in German villages. Germans, because not Orthodox Catholics, had fewer privileges than the ordinary soldier. There was no effort to deal with them in their language. There were thus many excuses for the brutal punishments ordinary to the service.

In 1871 the Czar announced that Germans were to lose their privileges of self-government, and that they were no longer to be exempted from military service. Inductions began in 1874. In 1875, the Mennonites were granted permission to do labor under the Minister of the Interior. Many of them considered such service as inconsistent with their principles; those on the Volga, however, generally accepted it (BV 110). Service turned out to be the more objectionable from the point of view of parents and all those who remained at home because the German recruits were scattered into widely distributed units to aid in their Russification, which was to some extent successful. The proclamation of 1871 contained a clause which was given little publicity by the Czarist regime. It permitted emigration from Russia without loss of property till 1881.\footnote{Fixing a terminal date for emigration seems to have been a way of saying that the abolition was not technically a violation of the terms of Catherine’s manifesto of 1763 which had guaranteed freedom from military service according to the German version "during their total period of residence [in Russia]." The Germans could terminate their...}
residence if they did not wish to conform. American immigrants insisted upon the revocation of freedom from military service as the chief motive for emigration. Their descendants agree, and cite the brutality of the Russian army to explain their own willingness to conform to the American draft laws as contrasted with their forefathers' stubbornness before a similar situation in Russia. Hatred of army service was doubtless the impetus for those who left in the mid-seventies. Bauer speaks thus on the matter to explain the point of view of the majority who remained behind on the Volga: "It must be recognized that the colonists proved that they were valiant patriots, and not only without grumbling, but with a feeling of duty, undertook this service. To be sure, subsequently, the introduction of military conscription served certain colonists as a pretext for emigration to America, but this readiness to quit Russia is rather to be ascribed to the wanderlust at one time innate in all Germans" (BD 175).

This provision, when it came to the attention of the Russian Germans, encouraged the well-to-do to leave early. Such men were in fact in larger proportion among the first emigrants than among those arriving later. Emigration to America began in 1873 and was large for several years. The government at first put only routine bureaucratic obstacles in the way of those departing. Then it tightened up briefly. After 1881 little property left Russia, but no serious obstacles were put in the way of persons leaving the empire. The Russification enthusiasts were not displeased to see the country rid of a discordant element. In 1888 the Minister of the Interior Durnovo even declared the necessity of a "completely clearing Russia of every foreign element."

53.17 There were later waves of emigration, for which the Russification ukases of 1884 and 1892 were partly responsible. The unrest occasioned by
the Russo-Japanese War, the First Revolution, and fear of the on-coming First World War also were political factors of importance in emigration. Finally after the First World War before the United States put into effect its immigration quota system in July 1921 there was another surge to this country. Later emigration to escape conditions in Soviet Russia were to Canada and South America where colonies had begun as soon as those in the United States. In 1940 Stumpf gives as an estimate that there were Russian Germans outside Russia as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Estimated Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>350,000 to 400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish America</td>
<td>187,000 (Stp 31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Governmental institutions** were very similar among Volgan and Black Sea Germans. In the tradition of both West European and Slavic peoples they were founded on the village, but because of the remoteness of the seigneur the Germans in Russia had a degree of independence rare in late medieval and post-medieval times. The settlements were originally all on crown lands and the Czar was the only lord; he did not multiply his local agents of administration. The village was governed by a small council (on the Volga), or all family heads (on the Black Sea). Its executive and magistrate was a mayor (a *Schulz*, Black Sea; a *Vorsteher*, Volga). The villages were organized into larger units (Gebiet, Black Sea; Kreis, Volga), presided over by an *Oberschulz* or *Obervorsteher*. These units were in turn subsidiary to a central authority at Odessa and Saratov respectively (Fursorge-Komitee, Black Sea; Comptoir, Volga, abolished 1876) whose main function, besides maintaining a sort of Supreme Court, was to deal with the imperial government at St. Petersburg. Independence was greatly reduced in the last decades of the nineteenth century (ScR 26). The officials in the
upper units were usually Germans, "colonists", often rapacious because uncontrolled.

The German settlements were thus until 1871 crown colonies for which Russianizing political influence was minimum. Territorially the German villages made up compact units which were not interspersed among Russian villages, or among villages of other origins (Catherine drew immigrants from several sources) except for the many marginal colonies found in the mid-19th century. They never formed, however, continuous unbroken entities over great stretches of territory. Either by design or by force of circumstances the territorial distribution was not such as to include easy development into provinces independent of imperial power. When the Czar's pleasure was to alter conditions the colonists had no real powers of resistance.

Culturally all the colonies were, at least until shortly before emigration to America began, very conservative. They clung to their heritage, but did not greatly develop it. They preserved their religions, growing rather than diminishing in zeal. They kept up schooling sufficiently to transmit their traditions and carry on their affairs. Linguistically they remained almost exclusively German. Few of them learned to speak Russian, and their contacts with Russians were so limited that only a very small number of Russian words entered their vocabulary. For Blackseamen the number is negligible; for the Volgans Rupenthal (Ru 525) found only 50 words; Laing's list (La 522) is even shorter. They developed no institutions of importance. This fact is partly to be explained by the long duration of frontier conditions and the allied paucity of urban life, and partly by the colonists' suspiciousness of the outside world. This latter characteristic may be regarded as the most important influence of their Russian environment. They felt themselves to be constantly surrounded by inferiority, hostility and a thirst for exploitation, and along with evil they shut out, at least
until emigration began, many salutary stimuli that might have penetrated among them.

Though much alike the two groups of German colonies in Russia each passed through a history that has affected later evolution in Kansas.

As has been said, the Volgan Germans settled around the town of Saratov which then numbered some 10,000 inhabitants. The Volga flows toward the city from the northeast and then goes on to the south. Its western or right bank rests against a bastion of hills beyond which in mesa fashion lie the steppes cut for a short distance by valleys leading to the river, but soon draining westward through the Medveditsa into the Don. This country is called by the Volgans the Bergseite (the Hill or Mountain Side); opposite on the left bank lies the Wiesenseite (the Meadow Side), where the country rises only gradually away from the river and meadows imperceptibly become great steppes. In imperial times the river was the border between the government of Saratov (Bergseite) and Samara (Wiesenseite).

The original colonies were founded on both banks. On the Wiesenseite some 60 air miles upstream from Saratov near where the Big and Little Karaman flow into the Volga the city of Katharinenstadet (now Marxstadt) was founded in 1764 or 5 and villages were spaced at very short distances up along the three rivers — up the Volga for some 25 miles. Along it, below the new city, no Germans settled from near Katharinenstadt until 20 miles below Saratov. This area on both sides was reserved for Cossack and other Slav population. Below this preserve, hugging the river, the succession of German villages was resumed and continued some 30 miles.

On the Bergseite the villages were, all but one, downstream from Saratov opposite the lower German stretch described above. They were not
on the river except to touch it at the two extremes, but formed a rather narrow band parallel to the river in the shallow valleys on the mesa.

53.23 **Ultimately the settlements pushed away** from the great river, not much further on the Bergseite, but for some sixty miles on the opposite bank. The daughter colonies from the Bergseite when they were blocked in settlement farther west, went into the southeast part of the territory on the other bank; the Wiesenseite expansion was farther north. Usually, new lands were acquired from the government, sometimes from great landowners. There were in 1769, 44 villages on the Bergseite and 60 (Orlow's report, see BV 129-130) on the Wiesenseite; in 1910, 60 on the Bergseite and 116 on the Wiesenseite (BV 121-122). The names of the villages offer a complicated pattern; the majority have more than one name. The Germans most often called their original settlements after the principal leader of the village (Pfeifer 12-49, etc.) who usually became its first Vorsteher, or sometimes after the "directors" or their agents. For Monjou were named Ober-72-6 (Upper) and Nieder-(Lower) Monjou, in Kansas Munjor perpetuates the name. In at least one case a pious name received popular acceptance, Marisenthal 72-13. Occasionally the "directors" used names of their invention. These were derived from towns in the west, usually in Switzerland sometimes in territory neighboring the Rhine (Strassburg). The colonists often spoke of these villages called after towns they had left by the name of their leaders, but sometimes they retained the names chosen by the directors. When Russian officialdom got around to name the villages that had been built they reported them by a series of names derived in large part from the names of the streams upon which they were located, attaching Russian words to show different parts of the water course, such as "verzhny" (upper), "nizhny" (lower), "ust", (mouth). At times they retained the names
that were given by some of the "directors".

When further colonizing took place in the 19th century, the new villages were named by prefixing "Neu" to the name of the mother colony or by inventing descriptive names such as Liebenthal [72-15], or pious names of the same character as Marienthal, already mentioned. The government usually accepted the colonist's names for the new settlements.

A further complication came with the soviet regime which abolished names recalling imperial times. Thus Katharinenstadt became Marxstadt. American historians using the Russian names have usually adopted German transliterations found in their sources. Thus, sometimes the historians even write Wolga for Volga. Map makers in the United States, on the other hand, adopt transliterations founded on English spelling habits.

These habits have reacted on Kansas nomenclature. The examples chosen above all appear in Kansas. Because they were accustomed to official designations, the Volgans did not in this country insist on legal adoption of their names. For instance, the name Victoria, in Kansas, won out over Herzog [72-11].

The settlers on the Volga were on the whole much less fortunate than their brethren in the south. In the north the first ten years were so hard that in both 1769 and 1775 the Germans counted only about 23000 (internalia BV 40) fewer despite births and large reinforcements by thousands in the first year of arrival. And almost no one had gone home,FN

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FNChristian Zuge was an exception. He has left a 2 volume account "Der russische Kolonist" (1802). Zuge had a low opinion of his fellow colonists, qualifying them as "Liederliches Gesindel", "disorderly vagabond rabble"; however, they seem to have been of as good stuff as most successful frontier communities. The evil times tore many men loose from their moorings, giving
them only temporarily the characteristics of social failures. The majority of the colonists were undoubtedly of decent, industrious stock.

though a few tried. The wild steppes lay behind them as well as before them. They were not truly residing upon a frontier; they had been dropped into the midst of a wilderness, a bead upon the Volga suspended in space. The government which controlled all shipping arranged that very few should ascend this life line to the past.

The hardships of the colonists were of all sorts. Socially they were not well fitted for the life that was now theirs. Half of them were artisans and city people. They had expected to continue their former careers, but here they could only become farmers. Neither they nor the government had provided them with equipment; and in the first miserable years they made little attempt to procure the tools that would allow them to profit by the methods of the west, for they were all fanatically convinced that they would soon leave this terrible land (see particularly B 26). Of course there was also the weather with its cold and droughts. There were also hostile men. Brigands had already established themselves to prey upon the commerce of the Volga. They plundered the colonists frequently, particularly on the Bergseite. Then there were the Kirghiz to torment the people on the Wiesenseite. Their raids persisted over a considerable period sometimes small and merely thieving, sometimes destructive of many lives and much property. The most notable was in 1776 (BD 67; 1774 say others); Marienthal, which furnished emigrants to Kansas, was the victim worst hit. FN

FN Numerous kidnappings accompanied this and other raids. Some of those carried off escaped from their slavery. The memoirs of Joseph
Ilenberger published in the translation of Louise Rylko in 1955 at Hutchinson, Kansas, as Grandfather's Story by Helen Ilenberger Hall recount the adventures of his grandfather who was carried off in the raid of 1776.

The country was also in the path of the pretender Pugachev as he traveled toward Moscow, and the plundering by his forces was grievous in 1774 or 1775.

Doubtless, their hardships would have been great if they had had all the aids possible, for nowhere in Germany were there conditions like those in which they found themselves. There were not only the long cold winters, but all the conditions that go with a wheat country. There was no one to say that this was wheat country, where the good and the bad years would under the best of management produce painful contrasts.

The Volgans became reconciled to their residence only when the younger generation that had not known or that had forgotten the west was in charge. In agriculture, they adjusted to the new conditions. They learned some things from the few Slavic pioneers who were around them, invented somethings and underwent the influence of the more prosperous Moravian brethren who as Missionaries had settled (in 1753) at Sarepta, some 230 air miles below Saratov.

In the middle of the 19th century when they had reached a relatively prosperous state, Baron Von Haxthausen was not well impressed by their economy, saying, "their agriculture is not first rate; although superior to that of the Russians, it cannot serve as a model to them" (Ha II, 39; see also I 350). The Baron was probably more severe than he should have been, for he admired intensive farming, and here was a land where extensive methods were better justified, but essentially he was right, because
the land holding system hampered extensive farming. In any case their methods at least in some areas ultimately improved so that certain late emigrants felt that agriculture was comparable to that in Kansas.

The 23,000 people present in the colony in 1775 did little more than hold their own for twenty years. Then they began to multiply as shown by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
<td>40000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>55000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>175499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>259478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>494405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>ca. 600000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1931</td>
<td>425000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(BV 66, 122 and ED 76-77; for 1931 Brockhaus)

The villages came to vary a great deal in size. The older ones obtained and held a population as high as 15,000. Some never achieved more than 3,000. The younger ones began with very small populations and became large with 3,000 souls. Kathaiinenstadt was an all German city with over 10,000 Lutherans in 1914. Saratov was more truly urban with a mixed population which in 1914 contained 12,000 Protestant Germans. There follows a count of the souls in a number of Protestant villages in 1914 of importance in the emigration movement to America:
Analogous data for the Catholic villages would be of comparable magnitudes.

The conditions of land tenure offer one of the most striking contrasts between the Volgan and Black Sea colonies. In the south private ownership of farmlands obtained, but not among the Volgans. To begin with, 30 dessiatines (ca. 70 acres) were assigned to each family. But the families were firmly integrated into village organizations. It was the village and not the family that held title to the land, as far as the imperial government was concerned. Village territory was inelastic and when conditions permitted an increase of population the holdings decreased in size so that before mid-century the villages could not support their population.

Bonwetsch (BV 152) says that the family holdings were decreased from 30 dessiatines to 20 in 1793 and to 15 in 1840. The share per "Revisionsseele" (males recorded in the census) was 1790 - 15.5; 1816 - 10.4; 1834 - 5.7; 1850 - 3.8; 1869 - 1.5 dess. or less than 2 acres per person (males and females) (BV 66; BD 76-77, ScR 28). With no revolution in agricultural methods possible, either the workings of the Malthusian law would have to limit the population or more land must be found. The government about 1840 provided more land on the eastern edge of the territory and left to the colonists the problem of settling it (BV 88ff SCR 28). The
separate communities thereupon developed techniques of migration that encouraged the less prosperous to seek opportunities in new settlements. Like bees, villages or rather pastoral circuits, swarmed and established new colonies on the eastern and southeastern borders of the domain. This bee-like method of expansion was still going on in the 1870's and had become nearly enough a fixed pattern so that it greatly influenced later settlement in America. For our purposes it is the more important because each village, in its isolation, had developed distinct dialectal traits.

The villages also acquired land for cultivation at considerable distances. This method of land-holding developed peculiarities that were later imitated somewhat in Kansas. Because the villages in the Volga domain were located very near each other, the land-holdings of each were in narrow strips running back long distances and some of them were isolated far from the village. Neither were all the fields assigned to a family, contiguous.

"Thus work in the fields with return home in the evening is excluded. At the beginning of the plowing season and of harvest the labor force of every family must leave the village and move out on the land for several weeks with all necessary goods. From land strip to land strip the caravan goes farther and farther. In this manner many a family had to put 35 or 40 miles behind them twice a year" (BV 53). Toward the end of the 19th century the mir system without being abandoned was in various ways weakened. The poor then disposed of their lands, used up their money, and were among those who emigrated most readily. The phenomenon became more notable after 1906, when dissolution of mirs became legally possible (BV 126). Mirs were still the common method of landholding in 1914 (GF 37-8), however.
Toward the end of the eighteenth century by the workings of birth and death in each village great inequalities in holdings had developed, and the poor demanded equal division. This they obtained by the introduction of the Russian mir system. Land was re-distributed periodically among the families on the basis of the number of males (sometimes of females) in it. The village became a unit almost as important as the family, but the family remained very strong.

The custom of assigning the land to families according to the number of males of course encouraged the rate of human reproduction, which hardly needed the stimulation. Child mortality was so high that the tradition is that no one counted a child as a permanent member of the family until he was past eleven; still every family brought enough progeny into the world to maintain constantly its claim to a large section of the village domain, apparently oblivious to the results of such competition. The resulting push for emigration is evident.

Children were regarded as such a good investment that three generations would be kept together as a patriarchal unit under one roof, a custom obviously productive of linguistic conservatism. To be a good investment, the child, besides furnishing a claim for land, was early set to work, with the rest of the family. This habit, which persisted in America with important results, was the easier to maintain because of the long sojourns at farm work in the back country isolated from other people.

The stays away from the village also meant social sanction of irregular school attendance or even no school at all, another condition that had its effect on life in America.

The land system, by demanding many children encouraged marriage at a very early age. The custom thus established persisted in the United
States at a time when the American custom was quite different. By these phenomena a family head had a corps of trained workers made up of his children when he was still comparatively young. He could and very frequently did become primarily an administrator, giving up labor while he was still vigorous, ultimately, with those co-eval, forming the leisure class in his community. He was uncultured because of the way he had had to spend his own youth, not readily accessible to educational influences himself and hostile toward providing them for others.

The system also encouraged the retention of all males within the agricultural framework. To satisfy the need for artisans it appears that certain families traditionally kept up particular non-agricultural skills in addition to their farming activities. The avocations were probably handed down from the immigrant ancestors who were not of peasant stock. In addition the villages developed other mercantile or handcraft specialists, who were at the same time farmers and frowned so much upon those who left to become traders at Saratov or elsewhere that these stragglers had little later connection with their families. They did, however, remain German, at once expanding their former comrades as liaison agents with the Russian world, and sowing the seeds of cultural advancement among them (Scr 29).

The adoption of the mir was a necessary step forced upon the Volgans by the inability to expand beyond their territorial limits until the Czar so willed, but besides the effects described above, it had others which half explain the agricultural technique of these Germans.

Haxthausen as already quoted, called their methods backward; Bonwetsch (p. 52) and the Bauers are scarcely more complimentary about conditions as they wrote in the first decades of the twentieth century.
Gottfried Bauer, the father, wrote his history of the German settlers on the Volga between 1885 and 1888. His son of the same name published this history in 1908 and wrote an introduction in which he said: "We must admit that on the whole the German population on the Volga has remained at the same stage of intellectual development at which it was at the time of settlement; materially it has in general even receded" (BD iii). His father expressed himself on the subject too (BD 92). Bonwetsch, who published his work in 1919 and was certainly writing after 1909 says: "None of the settlers has an interest in improving the soil. Why should he put manure or special efforts of permanent value upon ground which will fall to the lot of another in a short time. It is thus that the economic structure of the mir later proved itself a significant obstruction to sound development and progress" (BV 52).

Apparently both these statements referred to conditions existing in areas where the mir held on the longest; later reports were more favorable (see 53,91).

Perhaps there were other influences than the mir which contributed to the development of the traits described above, but this Russian institution is probably largely responsible for certain traits which differentiated Volgans not only from Germans in Germany, but also from Blackseamen.

One Slavic trait which they acquired was a liking for distilled liquor and the ability to consume it without social degeneration. The Blackseamen frequently replaced the beer of their homeland by wine as a customary drink, but the Volgans farther north could not make the same substitution.

Russians taught them little but, "The first thing they learned from them was to drink hard liquor in the Russian manner" (BV 29). (See also
The history of government on the Volga was not without its incidents and changes, but for the present purposes it need only be said that the descriptions of institutions given above apply most accurately to the middle of the 19th century.

Church history was a matter of importance throughout the history of the colonies, and continued to be so in America.

The first emigrants from Germany to Russia were both Catholics (25%) and Protestants (75%). Heterogeneous in both territorial and religious origins, the emigrants made their faith even more than their sentiments of local patriotism the basis for grouping and settled in villages exclusively of one confession or the other. The minority Catholic villages did not all accumulate together, however, but were scattered in groups of three to six in five districts of the Wiesenseite and one on the Bergseite. The Protestants were in part Lutherans and in part Reformed; the two denominations drew apart into separate villages or at least each colony came to be unified denominationally. In 1785 there were 10 pastoral circuits, of which three were Reformed, all rather close together on the Bergseite. The sense of distinction between Reformed and Lutheran seems to have been sharp only in the settlement deliberately founded as a city, Katharinenstadt. In that town the two Protestant denominations and the Catholics, too, each had significant establishments. Ultimately, in 1820, all Protestant churches were gathered into one consistory, and the troubles within it were not primarily occasioned by inter-denominational fighting. Throughout Volgan history church difficulties, both Catholic and Protestant, were caused principally by the small number of the clergy and by the poor quality of many of them. Both of these
imperfections may be ascribed to the Volgan inability to provide recruits for the work. FN Each Protestant Kirchspiel had but one minister, and the number of their parishioners was enormous. As examples, four circuits which sent emigrants to Kansas numbered parishioners as follows in 1910 (BV 121) and 1913 (GF 146-154).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Kirchspiel</th>
<th>1910 No. of souls</th>
<th>1910 No. of Places</th>
<th>1913 No. of souls</th>
<th>1913 No. of Places</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bergseite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norka</td>
<td>23179</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20861</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dietel</td>
<td>15667</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18175</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiesenseite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaurgard</td>
<td>16731</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eckheim</td>
<td>12733</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14939</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of preaching places was comparatively small among the old villages, (as in the case of Norka and Beaurgard), large among newer settlements (as at Eckheim and Dietel). The preaching places heard the pastor in turn, one per Sunday. Thus any advantage of attention accruing from the smaller numbers of souls in the Kirchspiele with many preaching places was nullified by the small amount of pastoral care, for the pastor rarely stirred from his principal village except on the designated Sundays, and weather might then detain him at home. The Dietel and Eckheim circuits lay on the edge of the German territory. The Eckheim group was made up of daughter settlements founded in 1865. These two circuits represent then the less populous areas, Norka and Beaurgard the more populous.

FN The lack of recruits for the clergy was not owing to spiritual inertia, as proved by the history of the group in the United States. It was probably caused in part by the retention of all farmers sons in the mir.
Naturally under these conditions a pastor was removed from his people by sheer lack of contact. He was also separated from them by his origins, and by his status as an officer of an established church. In the latter capacity he was in close relation with the area government which was sometimes quite favorable to him. Even when it was hostile, the parishioners identified him with it the more because, by means of legally extracted church dues, his economic status was superior to theirs. His pay was so modest that he had difficulty sending his sons and daughters to proper schools, but he lived in luxury compared to the rest of the community.

Even bad pastors had, however, a very great influence upon their community, both because of the traditional power of German pastors and because of their relationships with the governments. Besides, by no means all pastors were poor servants of the Lord. Some were the best leaders that the Volgans had. Through most of the nineteenth century the Protestant ministers were usually products of the Dorpat seminary on the Baltic, men who were at least educated if not the best produced by their schools. The best would naturally secure parishes less far from civilization. Linguistically they were a very conservative influence, discouraging their parishioners from learning Russian for fear of the influence of the Orthodox Church (BD 159).

The pastors were indeed the element in Volgan life most closely connecting it with the outside world. They came from all over Germanic western Europe primarily, however, during the later period from among Germans living on the Baltic Sea. Some of them were, in the middle of the 19th century, of the Basel school of pietists. These, scorned by other pastors at first, though ultimately fitting into the behavior pattern of established clergy, sowed the seed of pietism.
The field for pietism was fertile, not only for the usual reasons in an established church, but also because the parishioners were very frequently forced to rely on themselves for direction of their worship and because of the mixture of Reformed and Lutheran elements which, though soldered together, were never fully amalgamated. The Bruderschaft (Brotherhood) movement which led to the establishment of small prayer groups was strong on the Volga about the time of the first emigration to America (Sa 55). It had of course a centrifugal effect and met pastoral opposition. In the new colonies, after 1859 especially, Baptists, "Springers," and Adventists sent in missionaries who were successful in carrying whole communities in a very few places (BV 92). For Kansas Strassburg, Baptist, is important. It is in the southwest corner of the German region. By means of these missionaries in Russia the readiness to split up into many denominations in America was prepared, a phenomenon which we shall see has its linguistic importance.

Another factor contributing to splitting was the appearance of a certain number of Mennonites from the Danzig area in the middle of the 19th century who founded separate colonies which ultimately numbered eleven (first Koppental, 1853, ScR 29, BV 94). These people also had their economic influence; as compared with their neighbors they prospered quickly; to them is ascribed betterment of farming methods, the beginnings of the abandonment of the mir system at the opening of the 20th century, and the introduction of great improvements in agriculture. Most important for the present purposes was the proselytizing success of the Mennonites on the Volga. Peter Eckert made many converts. A large part of them found their way to Kansas with Peter and contributed an element to the Mennonite settlements here distinguished from the others in various ways, including
material poverty on arrival and a difference in speech characteristics. (Sm 125, 127, 152, 252). In the Volgan region the focus of Mennonite activity was on the upper Tarlyk, south southwest from Saratov some 40 miles, around Orloff. It was almost in the center of the Wiesenseite as it finally developed but was on its eastern frontier when the Mennonites arrived.

In spite of all the unfavorable conditions the Christian zeal of the Volgan Protestants was at the time of their emigration very high. The lack of all other intellectual stimulation made spiritual life more fervent. Such a statement is true to at least as great a degree for the Catholics.

The history of the Catholic settlements in the Volga region had many analogies to that of the Protestants. There were the same difficulties in acquiring a numerically adequate and properly equipped group of pastors, and very similar problems brought on by the very great number of parishioners per priest. The Catholics, however, maintained consistently the unity of faith that they had in the beginning, and remained in such isolation from their Protestant neighbors that they were completely untouched by the proselytizing and disruptive influences of the mid-nineteenth century. The most fortunate thing that happened to the Volgans was the papal suppression of the Jesuits in 1779, which was followed by their acceptance in Russia. They did not reach the stranded Germans until the beginning of the next century, but in the twenty years following until the Czar banished them from his domain after the re-establishment of their order by the pope, they did excellent work and remedied deplorable conditions. Poles furnished the priests for the next fifty years, mostly those cast off at home. During this period the Catholics were even more out of
sympathy with their clergy than the Protestants, but the Jesuit training had been so thorough that there was no falling off of devoutness, though apparently a growing belief in the potency of mechanical observances.

When the Poles fell into imperial disgrace after the uprising of 1863, the Bavarian Franz von Zottmann became the guiding voice in the diocese of Tiraspol established in 1847, and he became bishop in 1872. Tiraspol was near the Black Sea German colonies, but there were no Germans and no Roman Catholic church in the town. The diocese was at first administered from Odessa where there were Catholic Germans, but after a few years the see was at Saratov (Ko 179). Zottmann's uplifting influence was for us most important in the field of education. He did his best to build up the seminary established at Saratov shortly after the erection of the diocese. Through it only were a few Catholics, particularly future teachers, enabled to secure something better than the most rudimentary education. Former students of the institution were among the leaders in the emigration to Kansas. Parallel Protestant schooling beyond the rudiments was in a similar state.

A secondary school was established at Katharinenstadt in 1833 and another on the Bergseite at Grimm soon after. These were under government supervision and fear of Russian influence, especially by the pastors, strengthened the colonist's reluctance to lose good hands for such an unprofitable occupation as study. The attendance, bolstered by a scholarship program provided in general by the burgers of Katharinenstadt, was sufficient, however, to train all the future teachers that the colonists were willing to maintain. The teachers, as a contrast to the pastors were then mostly of local origin, either from poor families or the sons of other teachers. "In later years the colonists themselves began to appreciate the
benefit of the schools and many were anxious to send their own sons there" (Am 73). But the schools were of course ready instruments for Russification, and pressure for the use of Russian as the language of instruction in even the village schools became great in the 1890's. Educational institutions multiplied always with intrusions of Russian. The Soviets followed the policy of the Empire with progressive invasions and shortly before the Second World War German was completely ousted from the elementary school system (Sch 35).

Elementary schooling among all the Volgans left a very great deal to be desired. Illiteracy never reached nearly as high a percentage as among the surrounding Russian population, but until the twentieth century at least it was high. Each colony had a teacher, called by the old-fashioned term, Schulmeister rather than Lehrer, but no matter how large the community became, it never had more than one Schulmeister who was given at most one helper, called the teacher. At Norka 1100 pupils were taught in two shifts in one room (BV 79). Direct responsibility for these conditions lies upon the community, at once poverty stricken and niggardly by habit in prosperous times. The teacher was almost always so ill paid that he was a farmer in addition. He was also the sexton, the choirmaster, the purveyor of news through his facility in reading the written word.

FN It was not until the twentieth century that the Russian government employed a means of nationalization which did so much service in the United States. Then, it began to set up schools which children might attend without tuition. (BV 125).

FN At Jagodnoje in 1904, the annual salary of the teacher, who there had 100 pupils, was 120 rubles. (Jagodnoje sent colonists to Kansas.) (BV 124)
and the substitute for the pastor (either Catholic or Protestant) on the many occasions when the pastor could not visit a village. He was chosen by the village, though the pastor, with more or less support from the government, tried to have a hand in his selection. He might be chosen because he was cheap, or very frequently, because he had a good voice, and choral competition between villages was keen. The Schulmeister's status in the community seems to have varied greatly. He was always a man apart, sometimes despised because of the lowliness of his functions as a teacher, often dominant if he were a man of ability who knew how to manipulate his various offices so as to control people, always the creature of popular whim. He and the pastor were very frequently jealous of each other, each disposed to blame all the woes of the community upon the other. FN Schooling was hindered not only by a limited teaching staff, and inadequate facilities, but very greatly by irregularities of attendance brought about by the socially sanctioned importance given to child labor on the farms. Presence in the fields was more important than at school. The transfer of all these attitudes to America greatly affected life here.

53.90 The Volgans resisted learning Russian over a much longer period of time than the Blackseamen. For a long time they had few neighbors, and when Russian settlements grew up around them they still lived in solid German speaking areas that were more extensive by far than those in the

FN Bauer, a teacher and the son of a teacher, and Bonwetsch, the grandson and probably the son of a minister, express in their books the prejudices of the group to which they belong. Bauer is bitter; Bonwetsch is lofty.
Further for many years the Russians were endeavoring to iso-
late them rather than assimilate them. Laws forbade contracts with Slavs
without specific authorizations; there were other hindrances to business
relations. When Russian was introduced into school curricula, it was
first necessary to instruct the instructors. Beratz declared in 1915
that it was fundamentally impossible for the children to learn the lan-
guage by the methods used. "The Russian language ... because of the
location of the colonies and their great distance from Russian settle-
ments can be learned by the colonists only in school, not by the easy
practical way of practical use in daily intercourse with Russians" (B 294).

Linguistically, there seems to have been a perceptible difference
between the German of Catholics and Protestants. Bonwetsch, a Protestant,
speaks thus: "Thus the hereditary peculiarities of dialect, manners and
customs were gradually fused together. There arose a mixed idiom,
Colonist German, in which Hessian was predominant" (BV 84). Stumpf, a
Protestant, remarks that on the Volga there are purely Hessian villages
and that in determining districts of origin in Germany of Volgans,
"research on dialect is often helpful" (Sta 15).

These dialect studies show that the people in the southerm part of
the Bergseite came from the area around Heidelberg and the back-country
Palatinate, that in the northern part of the Bergseite they came from the
Hessian mountain country, that on the Wiesenseite the northerners came
from western Middle Germany and the southerners from eastern Middle
Germany. In other words villages were established near other villages
speaking similar dialects (SPK 364). All these German districts were to
the north of the area from which the Catholics came.
The Catholic Bishop Zottman wrote: "Among these sons there are of course Bavarians; I recognize this in the speech of the pupils in our boys' seminary . . . Indeed, I often hear words and expressions there, which I have heard nowhere else but in the neighborhood of Anbau" (369). Other testimony indicates, like Zottmann's, that the dialects of the Catholics were Swabian. It is natural that the manners of speech should be divided because, among the regions from which the Volgans were recruited in Germany, Catholicism predominates in the south and Protestantism in the more northern section. Bonwetsch's allusion to a "mixed idiom" is true of Volgan speech as compared with German of the Reich, but there is ample evidence that local differentiations between villages developed before emigration from Russia.

Similar statements may be made for folk customs that play such an important part in accounts of Volgans both in America and in Russia. Marriage customs, for instance, preserved a pattern bespeaking old Germany in general, but each community had small shades of difference. Organized societies played little part in Volgan life.

The tableau of life on the Volga set forth above describes the society from which the immigrants who came to America in the 1870's issued. For all but the economic side, the picture remains essentially valid for the whole period of emigration before the First World War (See particular BV 119-120). The social consequences of the great changes which began with a period of agricultural misfortune during the 1880's and early 1890's and continued with the rapid evolution in economic organization that followed had hardly become stabilized before the cataclysmic events resulting from the victory of the Bolsheviks overturned and then destroyed German life on the Volga.
the twentieth century their settlements there had been. A history of the colonies under the Soviets does not interest us deeply however.

We must look more closely at economic conditions between 1880 and 1914 because immigration to America and to Kansas was thereby affected.

Bad droughts afflicted the Volga region in 1879 and 1880. Crops through the eighties were generally poor, partly because the older land was becoming productively exhausted. Between 1889 and 1892 there was practically no rainfall. Thereafter the weather relented at least in part of the years, for only the crop failure in 1908 was an outright calamity. The speed with which the Mennonite colonies recovered from their bad years convinced the rest of the population that they should change their farming methods. River transportation was greatly improved and a railroad reached Saratov so that wheat could be turned into money. The region came as a whole to be rich. But the old conditions of land tenure had changed and the new agriculture demanded capital. The well-to-do became rich, and the needy became poverty-stricken (see particularly ScR 29-30). The latter provided a large part of the reservoir for emigration in the decades at the turn of the century. The earlier immigrants from the Volga were not rich, but there were a few who had some capital; the late comers were usually brought over through credits extended by relatives already in America, frequently themselves risking thus their whole savings. (For these events in Russia see BW 110 ff.) During early days some were not without capital, but had no cash because they had not been able to dispose of their share in the still existent mir. Many a visit home was made to be present when the new distribution of fields took place (BW 118), clearly a linguistically conservative force.
Chronology of Emigration. The fuse that set off emigration from the Volga region was, as has been said, the revocation of the colonists' freedom from military service. Still, economic and other political pressures had much to do with the emigrant movement even at the beginning and still more to do with its continuation.

Discussion of the possibility of emigration began as soon as the intention of the Czar's government in the matter of military service was made known in 1871. At least two sources of knowledge about America as a destination were available to the Volgans. At Eckheim in the Southwest a Protestant minister was serving who had been a missionary among the Germans in Missouri and Kansas in the 1860's (Sa 31). In the Catholic seminary at Saratov there was, also in the 1860's, a geography professor named Stelling who had been born of a German emigrant on the Pacific coast and who talked to his boys of America.

The agitation was wide spread. By 1873 Protestant scouts were sent abroad. The minister spoke here and there. In the spring of 1874, 3,000 colonists met at a Catholic village; a few weeks later, the first emigrants were on the way (Kansas got its share), and the next year a real exodus began which continued in waves till past the period of interest to us.

A record of the years of group departures from Galka has been preserved. Part of these immigrants went to Southern Russell County, Kansas. The following table, listing, with the Galka data, arrival dates of immigrants to Protestant Russell County and to Catholic Ellis County shows that the activity at Galka corresponded to general emigration currents in the Volga region.
### Groups left Galka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Corresponding Ellis Co.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Revocation of army service</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<tr>
<td>1876</td>
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<td>1909</td>
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<td>1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Areas of Settlement in the United States

Volgans were contemporary with the earliest settlements of any size made in America. In a few cases Kansas was selected by the immigrants when other states were bidding for them (sometimes Kansas lost). Certain late Kansas groups are derived from outstate agglomerations. Volgan settlements in contact with Kansas exist in Nebraska and Colorado, and to a lesser degree in Oklahoma. The beginnings of those in Nebraska were as early as those in Kansas. The settlements in these three states as well as those in Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio are treated in the sections of this work dealing with Germans in those states. As contrasted with
Blackseamen few Volgans went to the Dakotas, and the settlements in Minnesota and Iowa were minor.

Catholic Volgans in Kansas almost all came directly to the state from Russia, but their choice of this part of the United States was largely determined by reports concerning Nebraska and Arkansas made to them at home. In 1874 the Catholic scouts sent out from the old colonies on the Wiesenseite spent only ten days in the United States and examined farming conditions primarily in the neighborhood of the Blackseamen who had already settled at Sutton, Nebraska (La 492). The report was favorable and attracted the settlers to the trans-Mississippi region. The settlements in Ellis County were the outcome of the victory of the Kansas Pacific over the advocates of railroads in Nebraska. The Protestant village of Doenhof on the Bergseite sent a small contingent of settlers in 1874 to Little Rock and Rogers in Arkansas. Though these settlers ultimately moved to Kansas because of the fever in Arkansas, in their first days they sent a glowing America letter home which circulated among the Catholics as well as Protestants on the Bergseite and also helped to turn the first settlers to the Trans-Mississippi. The earliest Protestant Volgans in Kansas (Marion) arrived directly from Russia, but the Nebraska settlements served as way stations to many arriving later.

When the beet sugar business developed about 1900, the growers speedily found that the Volgans (not the Blackseamen) had the characteristics which they wished in field workers, hard work by every member of large families completely controlled by their heads. The importance of child labor was great because much could be done even better by children than by adults; in the fields the only way to administer such labor
was through the family. Therefore Colorado beet fields soon absorbed
great numbers of Volgans. With the opening of the sugar factory at
Garden City its proprietors, following the pattern set in Colorado
enlisted a labor force of Volgans. Ultimately this was supplied from
Kansas Catholics.

The Mennonites were the first of the Germans of interest to the
present work in the Black Sea area.* They came from the Danzig district

*The Mennonites in Russia are here more briefly treated than
would seem proper considering their great importance in Kansas. This is
because a profusion of easily accessible works in English deal with them.
The Mennonite Encyclopedia is the most extensive of these works. All
facts set forth in this study dealing with the Mennonites are treated in
the Encyclopedia. The interpretation of these data has been influenced
by two works of C. Henry Smith, his Story of the Mennonites and Coming
of the Russian Mennonites, and to a lesser extent by articles in the
journal, Mennonite Life, as well as by the works specifically referred to
in the present discussion.

on the southeastern Baltic, and settled in two areas relatively close
together in South Russia. The first settlement was made in 1789 at
Khortitza across the Dnieper River from Alexandrovsk, now called Zaporozhe,
at the farthest east downstream point on the river. The second settlement,
made in 1801, grew to be the most important. It was on Milk River, in
Russian the Molochnaya, which for convenience sake is called in this work
after the custom of American Mennonites the Holotschna. This stream
reaches the northwestern shore of the sea of Azov just beyond Melitopol
and comes from the northeast. Halbstadt, the capital of the Mennonite
area, located in the northwestern part of it on the river, is about 30 miles from Melitopol and 55 or 60 miles south southeast of Khortitza.

In time daughter settlements were made farther east and in Crimea. The settlements near Simferopol in Crimea provided Kansas with a few citizens. The great majority of the Black Sea Mennonite emigrants to America came from the Molotschna settlements, some, but few to Kansas, from other daughter settlements of the Molotschna people, only scattered individuals from the Khortitza colony. The people from Khortitza went largely to Canada.

Agitation for emigration among the Danzig district Mennonites was the result of the partition of Poland and the consequent Prussian threat of military service. Overpopulation had already caused establishment of colonies up the Vistula River, and the less fortunate of the Mennonites were leading an economically depressed existence as urban workers in the city of Danzig. Still the pacifistic religious tenets of the Mennonites have repeatedly been a primary push for emigration. Whenever they are threatened with military service, there are among them many who elect to move. Even when military obligations are reduced to service in non-combatant units, not all Mennonites find such participation acceptable. But scruples are more apt to affect Mennonites who are not rich. So it was in 1737 at Danzig. To be sure, the Prussian government would issue passports only to the poor because the others were more productive for the state than any replacements would be, but the elders opposed emigration, and the elders, who served without pay, were necessarily chosen from among those who were sufficiently well off to find leisure for their Godly duties. In those days, then, when going into South Russia meant a leap into the unknown, these leaders were presumably doing little to per-
suade the Prussian officials to permit departures. At any rate fifteen years later when people who were propertied elected to take their chances in the new and developing land, they were allowed to leave upon paying a 10% emigration tax. The Russian agents assembled 228 families and in 1788 wintered them deep in Russia. They were without religious leaders because elders could have no passport. The wintering of immigrants is naturally depressive of morale; the religious situation was more so, and the news that, because the Turks were too active in the neighborhood of the lands, flat like those at Danzig, which their representatives had selected, they must settle in the hilly country at the mouth of the Khortitza farther inland, so discouraged them that for several years their behavior was not admirable. They were mostly not farm bred, and their agricultural performance was at first not good. Still, they recovered from shock much more quickly than the Volgans and the other Blackseamen, partly because their connections with home were not completely severed. By 1797 there were 4,000 emigrant families there; in 1819 the district that developed contained 2,888 inhabitants, in 1910 12,000. By then there was here a center manufacturing agricultural machinery.

The Molotschna Mennonite settlement had its origin in 1803. Its pioneering years were easier than those of the Khortitza group, partly because Khortitza furnished a base of operations and a source of experienced advice, partly because the newcomers were on the average better off financially at the start and also more largely farmers, and partly because the land was better, and being flat like that around Danzig required less adjustment in methods of working it. New immigration continued until 1835; 365 families arrived in the period 1803-1806. In
1835 there were 1200 families and a population of 6000. In 1905 the membership (total souls) of Molotschna Mennonite churches was 22,453. Thanks in large part to the activities of Johann Cornies (1789-1848), the Mennonites made very great advances in farming methods which were communicated to the other Germans in South Russia, later to those on the Volga, and to a lesser degree to other national groups. The result was great productivity, and much wealth accumulated among the people of the Molotschna district.

54.1 The accompanying increase in population brought difficulties. Instead of shrinkage in the size of landholdings as occurred on the Volga with the mir system, the South experienced troubles because the land holdings by law remained intact. As a consequence there arose a great body of landless men. They were the more numerous because common lands were not broken up, but rented to those who had cash to pay, that is, those who were already well-to-do. The problem at Khortitza was less, and so was the consequent latent push for emigration to far places. At Khortitza industry developed, but not on the Molotschna, and Khortitza began establishing daughter colonies sooner. The problem was in part solved by 1860 through obtaining legal permission to split some holdings and through governmental pressure leading to the sale of common lands. Also the establishment of daughter colonies began. But when the time came that the Czar declared there must be military service, there were rich and poor among the Mennonites on the Black Sea as there had been at Danzig.

54.20 The religious organization of the Mennonites, while it contained no paid clergy before the twentieth century, established in some sort a theocracy. There were preachers chosen by the congregations, and there
were elders chosen among the preachers, normally consecrated by another elder. The leadership of the elders was seldom questioned as long as the members of the congregation were agreed on theological tenets. The respect for the elders' authority was probably not greater than that for Lutheran pastors; but the elder was usually a successful farmer and businessman, and his skill in economic management was such that he could act as a community director without there being much resistance to his competent performance in this area. Because this quasi-theocracy existed, emigrating groups normally had a leader upon whom they depended and to whom they clung. The institution allowed them to act as a unit in strange surroundings with less cultural shock and greater ability to persist in their own ways, including use of German. As was noted above, one of the early misfortunes of the Khortitza people was deprivation of religious leadership, while in transit. In dissident religious groups, the religious leaders were sometimes ill-trained in economic life. Such groups still entrusted themselves to these men, and if these leaders turned out to have nothing but spiritual competence, which might be visionary, the results were unfortunate. But even among such groups the spirit of discipline usually in the long run brought a successful outcome.

Guidance by leaders in emigration is well illustrated by two congregations in the main church body. Alexanderwohl was founded in the Molotschna in 1821 by 21 families from one congregation on the Vistula (Schwetz) under Elder Peter Wedel. Others from the Vistula joined them. In 1871 Elder Jacob Buller led his village to Kansas where they formed two congregations, the Alexanderwohl (192-east of 19) headed by Buller and the Hoffnungssau (188-15) under Dietrich Gaeddert, respectively two road miles northeast of Goessel in southwestern Marion County and twenty
miles west, at a point eight road miles northeast of Buhler. In Russia to the east of the Molotschna settlement, daughter colonies had grown to a mass of 2000 to 3000 persons in what was known as the Bergthal district near Mariupol. Their villages made up one congregation. Gerhard Wiebe was their elder, and he led them practically all to Manitoba.

Dissenters to the usual Mennonite practices appeared, though not heretical on what outsiders would regard as essential doctrines. No one questioned pacifism, for instance. But differences on questions of behavior and manner of worship developed. The Kleine Gemeinde originated in 1814. Because of their great asceticism in daily life they never became a large group. When they emigrated to America part of them established themselves in Canada and much later to Mexico. Others settled in Jefferson County, Nebraska, on the Kansas border, just north of the Pre-West, and elements from this colony and from Canada established the Meade settlement (Meade, B) in Kansas. Eventually the congregations in the United States have been absorbed by other branches of Mennonitism; the group has been conservative in use of German as well as in other respects.

The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren are another dissenting group which originated in Russia — as the name indicates, in Crimea — at Annafeld near Simferopol to be precise. They did not come into existence until 1869, and were closely related to the Kleine Gemeinde. In 1871, they practically all emigrated to establish Gnadenau in Kansas, 2 miles south of what became Hillsboro, Kansas. This was the Kansas Mennonite settlement receiving most publicity from others than the Mennonites themselves (see Concentrated Mennonite District Settlement History). The Gnadenau congregation became part of the Mennonite Brethren church in 1954; other congregations perpetuated the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren as an established
The Mennonite Brethren were in Russia, and have been in America, the most vigorous of the separatist movements among Mennonites. Their church was the outgrowth of the pietistic movement that swept all Russian German settlements in the middle of the nineteenth century. The greatest impulse in this direction came from outside the Mennonite body. Edward Wust who came to Russia in 1845 was a great awakener among all Protestants and had as great an influence among the Mennonites as among their Lutheran neighbors. Organization into a church, of the brotherhoods established in the following years occurred in 1860. Families from among the group began to emigrate to the United States in 1874, but they achieved no organization here until Elder Abraham Shellenberg came to establish the Ebenezer Congregation east of Buhler, Kansas, in 1879. To be sure Peter Eckert from the Volga area had established the Ebenfeld congregation of similar beliefs in 1875 ten or fifteen miles to the north, but it adhered to the M.B. organization only later. There were early congregations also in Nebraska, and eventually in all the Russian Mennonite regions of the New World; of particular interest for those in Kansas are the settlements in Oklahoma (q.v.).

Education among the Mennonites in the Black Sea area, though it reached no higher levels, was in general carried on more efficiently than on the Volga or in other Black Sea groups. A principal reason was the activity of Johann Cornies. As an agricultural expert, Cornies gained the confidence of the Russian government, and he and his agricultural association were given Imperial backing when they entered domains other than that of growing crops and stock. Cornies became something of an enlightened despot, for instance, forcing the intolerant main body of Mennonites to
accept legally the Kleine Gemeinde. In education he intervened authoritatively in the interest of better schooling and after his death his Association formed a central directing body more active than any unit manned by Russian Germans elsewhere. One result was the preservation of literary High German as an established cultural language, more radically different from the daily speech, Low German, than the dialects of other Russian Germans were from the standard language. In America the result was as with other groups. When school instruction in standard German ceased, the cultural language was lost.

The wealth and relatively high degree of education among the Mennonites made them regard the Russians who gathered around them as an inferior people, and there was little temptation until after the principal migrations to the United States to delve into Russian culture. Very few learned to speak Russian.

Mennonites from Western Europe settled in Volhynia as well as near the Black Sea coast. Volhynia, now in the western part of the Ukraine and, before the partitioning, part of Poland, was underpopulated at the beginning of the nineteenth century when it was under Russian rule, underpopulated in part because there were great uncultivated estates belonging to Polish nobles. The native rural population was mostly Ruthenian (Ukrainian). Instead of promoting the spread of these people who were not then as efficient as farmers as westerners the nobles frequently preferred to bring in Germans as tenants, and the settlements thus originated. The first considerable immigrations were in 1816. After the Polish revolts of 1831 and 1861 there were other waves. The wave of 1861 was increased by the abolition of serfdom, which deprived the nobles of cheap labor and made land sales a necessity for nobles with reduced income.
Emigration to the United States and specifically to Kansas from this region was almost all from among the Mennonites. The conditions of economic prosperity and of morale among the Volhynian Germans were so different that two types of settlements must be considered.

The Swiss Volhynians who came to Kansas in 1874 were at the time of emigration located almost exclusively at Kutusufka (various spellings, one is Kotozuka) or in its neighborhood. This village, located 25 miles northwest of Zhitomir, at approximately 29° E longitude, 51° N latitude, had been settled in 1861-62 by people under the leadership of Elder Jacob Stucky. Since approximately 1791 they had lived in three other locations in Volhynia or nearby leaving, sometimes, with other Mennonites remnants of their group as they moved, but never losing their Swiss identity. During their thirteen years at Kutusufka, although they were far from rich, they had made progress and their morale was good. Stucky led almost all his congregation in exit when army service threatened, and they established in Kansas the Hoffnungsfeld congregation (189, I, 16) west of Mound Ridge. They soon prospered. Others from settlements in the same Volhynian area settled in South Dakota. At the time of emigration their dialect was still Swiss but perceptibly different from that of Swiss Mennonites who arrived in Kansas from Canton Bern.

The Volhynians who were generally called Polish by their fellows came to America from a number of villages most of which were situated near Ostrog something over 100 miles west of Zhitomir. These people by various stages and at various times after 1791 had come mostly from the settlements in the Danzig area or daughter settlements. They were not prosperous in 1870, and were still primarily renters, who received no charitable consideration from their landlord when they wanted to move. In
1874 they arrived in America very poor with exceptionally low morale. Their fellow Mennonites thought that they had been spoiled by their Polish Associations. Some of them located in South Dakota; others founded the Bergtal Mennonite Church near Pawnee Rock (231, I, 205) and Lone Tree Church (189, 9) in McPherson County. The Bergtal people finally reached prosperity sooner than the Lone Tree people. Their dialect produced no particular remarks among other speakers of Low German. Another congregation led by Johann Schroeder moved out of Micholin near Machnovka southwest of Kiev, and established themselves as the Gnadenberg (Grace Hill) church (5, I, 10) east of Newton, Kansas, near the county line. They had come from the Danzig area (Graudenz) beginning in 1791. They were not rich.

As noted elsewhere there were Mennonite groups from Galicia, Switzerland, and Germany who came to the United States and settled in Kansas from 1874 on, but the majority of Mennonites were from the Molotschna district, frequently from villages other than those cited, frequently not under leaders, but rarely forming viable groups unless they joined communities with leaders whose authority was at least in part already established in Russia. The continuance of the system of forming daughter colonies is well illustrated by Mennonite settlements in western Kansas and in Oklahoma.

The world distribution of Mennonites after the establishment of communism in Russia shows how important the United States had become to the sect. The following estimate was prepared by the Mennonites of southern Germany in 1925 (N 286):
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<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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Displacements since this estimate was made have enlarged the comparative numbers in America, though not in the United States. Refugees from Russia in part found shelter in western Europe, largely in Canada and South America, notably Paraguay. (See further #54.90).

54.40 The chronology of emigration of Mennonites from Russia to the United States, as shown abundantly shown already, begins in 1874. Smith (Sm 107) quotes the 1875 report of the Mennonite Board of Guardians as distributing thus: The Destinations of Mennonites Arriving from Russia, 1874

- Dakota: 200 families
- Manitoba: 230 families
- Minnesota: 15 families
- Nebraska: 80 families
- Kansas: 600 families
- Remaining in East: 150 families

Emigration continued vigorously for a few years, but after the panic concerning military service had subsided and non-combatant service in the...
army or in forestry had been accepted the Mennonites did not flock to the New World like the Volgans or the other Blackseamen. The imported habits were strengthened to only a very limited degree by incoming recruits. When the United States had closed its doors to immigrants after the First World War, Canada and South America received the great influx in the 1920's of Mennonites fleeing Soviet severity. The refugees after the Second World War had similar destinations.

In the United States we have seen that the Mennonites from Russia went primarily to Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota, and later to Oklahoma (see #57.76ff). The thriving group at Mountain Lake, Minnesota, needs mention. The town is 30 miles north of Iowa, three-fourths of the way west from the eastern border. They were here some 125 miles east of the settlements in South Dakota, one group of which were farther south, another farther north, with centers at Freeman and Marion further south and Huron to the north. Many settlements in South Dakota were Hutterite; this variety of Mennonite is not to be found in Kansas. Mennonites began settlements in North Dakota in the 1890's coming up from the south. The most important settlement is near Munich about 35 miles from Canada and 80 from Minnesota. They are not far here from one of the principal Mennonite territories in Manitoba. The "West Reserve" lies against the American border farther east than Munich but west of the Red River. The "East Reserve" is northeast across the river (centers respectively, Winkler and Steinbach). Winnipeg, on the river, is farther north.

The Dniester River was the western limit of the Russian Empire near the Black Sea until 1812. Odessa, some twenty-five miles from the Dniester, was the seaport around which most of the foreign settlements which were founded about 1804 clustered. There were also settlements in
the Crimea. Somewhat later, particularly between 1816 and 1822, there were more non-Mennonite German settlements to the north of the peninsula, but emigration from them did not reach Kansas, nor in general, the United States. After 1822 there was no government-sponsored immigration east of the Dniester, though individuals arrived to some extent. After Bessarabia beyond the Dniester became Russian in 1812 settlements were planted in it too. Besides the settlements made by immigrants from the west there were established a great many daughter settlements as those first founded became overpopulated. These new creations did not occupy districts as solidly as the Volgan daughter settlements, for they were usually established by making purchases from the great absentee landowners and were thus located wherever a hard-pressed magnate could be found. Besides, in South Russia, groups of other types flocked in for settlement so that Germans might find land contiguous to their early holdings already occupied by others. Thus Blackseamen did not have as ingrained a tradition of solidarity as the Volgans. Nor were they supported by as long a history of successful resistance to outside forces. They were however, largely of similar origins, Swabians or Hungarian Germans recently Swabian; 1000 Swabians, mostly from Wurtemberg, set off for Russia in 1816; 1400 families from the Black Forest followed in 1817 - the exodus to the east from Wurtemberg was reported to be 9000 in that year (N6). Mother settlements, founded at about the same time, existed near the Mennonite settlements presented above, but most of the emigration of Blackseamen to the United States was from Kherson, the province which contains Odessa; there were also emigrants from Bessarabia, some of whom found their way to Kansas. The Kherson settlements were divided into four areas. First, there were the Old Colonies, the Gross Liebental
district, a compact group to the west and southwest of the port, half way to the Dniester. This group of nine villages, half of which were Catholic, provided Kansas with the Catholic Blackseamen at Park. Those at Collyer came from the neighboring Kuchurgan district—six villages, farther back from the coast, some 25 miles to the northwest of Odessa. Farther inland still some 85 miles from Odessa in the same direction was the Gluckstal district (near 7li-l) containing the village of that name. Many came to St. Francis, Kansas, from this district. Finally there was the Beresina district named for the river, an area containing eleven villages, which contributed somewhat to the population of the St. Francis area in Kansas. The center of this district was located about 65 miles northeast of Odessa.

The Old Colonies as said above sent some of their Catholic citizens to Park in Kansas; they were from Franzfeld, Mariental, Klein Liebethal, and Josefstał, (7li-7, 8, 9, 10). These people had come largely from the Palatinate and Alsace (Stp 16). Jacob Stach reproduces with "a few not too extensive stylistic emendations" (St 134) historical sketches submitted in 1848 by eight of the Old Colonies for government record. These are all from Protestant villages; the Catholic villages were hard by. The early days were nearly as distressing as those of the Volga colonists. The cold was still a problem, though not so great; marauders did not execute major raids, but there was constant thieving. Disease was devastating—over and over, but particularly at the start. In 1804 they were herded into barracks, so crowded that an epidemic, once started, was beyond control. Ei senach quotes a doctor: "People lie all mixed together, the healthy, the sick, and the dying; they are all moaning, wailing and
pleading for help. A horrible and heartrending sight!" (Eis 31). The authorities, who doubtless had no resources even if they had had good will, brutally rejected their appeals. The scorn heaped upon them was in part deserved. The immigrants, like those on the Volga, were for the most part not farmers and showed the same ineptitude in agriculture during the early years. Some account of the troubles in one or two colonies will illustrate the point. Gross Liebental that lies very close to Catholic Klein Liebental (7h-10), whose Palatines furnished residents to Kansas, was founded some twelve miles southwest of Odessa in 1804 by immigrants who had spent the winter in that city. There had been an earlier attempt by others to settle this rural site, but the Germans found the land "unpopulated and a wilderness" (St 135). The number of earliest settlers is unknown, but there were signal accretions by immigration in 1817. The historical sketch of 1848, signed by the mayor, two council members, and the town clerk says of early fellow-townsmen, "Most were poverty-stricken, coarse and immoral people, lacking in the intelligence and prudence necessary to found an advantageous settlement for themselves and their descendants. The few who provided an exception had no influence upon the whole group. They were all artisans with no understanding of agriculture. In the year 1807 the Crown erected a large building so as to set up a cloth mill in it, but the colonists seemed as little inclined to manufacturing as to farming. Nothing came of the weaving project, and the building stood unused for a long time. In the same year, 1807, the Crown built the first church in Gross Liebenthal. In the years 1806 to 1810 the colonist who was then District Superintendent, Franz Brittner, took over half of the land belonging to the community, since he maintained that it was his property, which the simple citizens, who were
making no use at all of their other half, straightway believed" (St 135). Behavior did not become better for many years. With good crops in the late 1830's there was some improvement and in the 1840's with a new administration, evidently that of those who signed the report, real prosperity arrived. The severity of judgment expressed in the Gross Liebental report may be part pharasaical, but the Duke of Richelieu, who in the first period of the nineteenth century was in general charge of South Russian settlement, wrote in 1806, "The Mennonites are admirable, the Bulgarians incomparable, and the Germans intolerable" (Kl 44). He added that because of crop failures the Germans would have nothing to live on in the year he wrote. We must conclude from what we have already read and from the record of later prosperity and religious faith that these were people of sturdy stock, but with morale temporarily destroyed by misfortune and the disappointment of exaggerated hopes. Peterstal was founded some twenty miles west of Odessa on the banks of the Baraboi from which a hill rose on the far side. It was first settled in 1805. Its town clerk in his historical sketch was not so severe as the town clerk of Gross Liebenthal, but he could not offer unstinted praise of the pioneers. He said, "Our forebears, 10 or 12 families all together, journeyed here from the Siebenburger region in Hungary without forming a party or having a leader. A few families came on separately, but were at once incorporated into the Liebenthal district. Only three or four men brought to Russia any noteworthy property; it is now impossible to say how much; the others brought along so to speak nothing whatsoever. The former could then plow, sow crops, and raise cattle, just as they liked. They reaped rich harvests from the fields covered with tall grass, and soon possessed a fine herd of cattle and flocks of sheep. The men without property on the other
hand felt urged on by the fact that everything that was to be produced must be gained through their farming. They were content with the simplest fare of barley meal and potatoes, for which they had brought along some seed eyes from home. Instead of boots they bound pieces of rawhide on their feet with small strings.

By such economy they improved their status so that they could soon provide themselves with better food and clothing. There were also frivolous people who attached little value to morality, agriculture and cattle raising, remained very poor, and tempted others to immorality and drink. On this account and because of ignorance of soil conditions here, agricultural progress in the first decade was slow despite good harvests and rich meadows" (St 163-4). The incoming settlers eventually numbered 40 or 50 heads of families; in 1818 there was a population of 61 families. In April, 1821, Alexander I, during a journey to the South, paused briefly at an estate four or five miles northwest of Freudental which was in its turn three miles north of Peterstal. The people of these two villages gathered at the estate to gaze upon him. He alighted from his carriage, approached a group of women, and inquired how the country pleased them. They were from south Germany and Hungary; a woman from Hungary spoke for them, narrating that the ships upon the Danube had been overloaded, that fever had broken out, and whole ship-loads had almost all died, and many were still dying in the hospital at Ovidiopol where they had landed. Furthermore they were not receiving the money promised by the government for maintenance till they could establish themselves. The Czar urged patience. There was no cheering until he lifted his shako as his carriage started off (St 160-1). Two of the late founded villages gave a complete list of the resident heads
of families and their origins. Gyldendorf was founded in 1830 by gathering there the inhabitants of three earlier villages that were being abandoned for lack of an adequate water supply; their provinces of origin were as follows: Wurtemberg 66, Baden 20, Prussian Poland 12, Hungary 3. The Hungarians came from Franzfeld which is not far northeast of Belgrade. A Franzfeld was also founded among the Old Colonies and from there came many of the Catholics at Park, Kansas. Helenental was founded in 1838 by persons drawn from other colonies, notably Peterstal, 18 heads of families out of 25. Fifteen of the heads had been born in the Black Sea colonies, 1 in Wurtemberg, 3 in Alsace, 2 in Baden, 1 in the Hungarian Banat. The great preponderance of South Germans, generally reported in other works and by informants, is here supported by statistics. There was, however, a small element from north Germany in some colonies. The establishment of Helenental indicates a push for emigration in the various colonies as early as 1838. The push would obviously become much greater as the years passed.

The Catholic Kuchurgan villages which provided some of the citizens of Collyer, Kansas, were Strassburg and Selz (74-2, 3). These Catholics were mostly from the Palatinate, Alsace, and North Baden (Stp 15). The Protestant villages in the Gluckstal District of most importance to Kansas are Neudorf and Bergdorf (on 74 to the north of 1). Their inhabitants were from several South German provinces with a much smaller element of people from the south Baltic coast (Mecklenburg and Pomerania). Hoffnungstal on the Khadshibai River to the east was almost purely made up of Wurtembergers. In the Beresina district Worms and Rohrbach (74-11 and the village closest) sent a few to Kansas. These Protestants were South Germans with some from the South Baltic in Rohrbach.
Bessarabia provided a small portion of the Russian Germans of Russell County and still smaller portions in Marion County and in Cheyenne County. The Russian effort to find settlers for Bessarabia began as soon as Napoleon was on his way to Elba. By 1816 German villages were established. Those who came to Kansas, however, were mostly among the late settlers, though a few came to Marion County from near the mouth of the Dniester, from Shaba founded, it seems, in 1822 (MR 590). The other were partly from the village of Plotzk (75-5), apparently named for a town on the Vistula in Poland; the Bessarabian Plotzk was settled by Germans mainly from Poland and Bavaria in 1839 (MR 583). The village, eighty miles southwest of Odessa, is at the southeastern edge of a complex of German villages; for these land was found by displacing the Tatars, who remained troublesome neighbors, likely to waylay wagons transporting wheat to Kilia and Ismail, 4/4 miles to the south, and constantly invading the villages to steal. There were other difficulties from epidemics and from frontier changes resulting from the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars. Still the area was prosperous in the late 19th century and emigration was largely the result of economic pressures from a very high birthrate.

Economic conditions among the western Blackseamen though in general trailing those of the Mennonites, were as a general rule prosperous by the middle of the nineteenth century. The land was rich, farm machinery was introduced early; farming methods improved. There were, however, in these wheat lands as in other wheat country, years of crop failure. Stach says nothing whatsoever was produced in 1833, 1850, 1867, 1873, 1882 and 1899, and that harvests were small from 1840 to 1848 and in 1874 and 1875 (St 206). The bad years in the 1870's and the calamities of 1882 and 1899 have a direct relationship to emigration to the United States. Still the
representatives to Kansas were:

- Gross Liebenthal: 2,721
- Selz: 2,649
- Kandel: 2,497
- Rohrbach: 2,358
- Hoffnungstal: 2,349
- Josef stal: 1,124

Religion among Germans in the Black Sea area showed very nearly the same characteristics as on the Volga. Protestants were more numerous than Catholics but not in the province of Kherson. In 1911 the German Black Sea population was religiously distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Mennonite</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bessarabia</td>
<td>57,931</td>
<td>4,914</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>62,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kherson</td>
<td>66,663</td>
<td>99,072</td>
<td>3,578</td>
<td>169,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taurida</td>
<td>56,581</td>
<td>27,050</td>
<td>50,293</td>
<td>133,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iekaterinoslav</td>
<td>26,811</td>
<td>48,109</td>
<td>48,240</td>
<td>123,160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The parishes were far too large for one pastor, especially among the Protestants (Eis 45); there were thousands of souls per minister (St 82). Reformed and Lutheran congregations tended to become fused and called Lutheran, by the same processes as on the Volga, but Reformed villages or at least villages with a strong Reformed element existed: Neudorf, Worms, Rohrbach, Glueckstal, Kassel (DB 2,130). The difficulties and the imperfections of the pastors were similar in north and south. Very soon they were the product of the schools on the Baltic, outsiders. The various Pietistic movements seem to have been much more active in the south than in the north. Among the first settlers a number of these people were to
main push was that from population increase. In 1859 the Germans in all South Russia numbered 128,652 (Eis 27). At the outbreak of the First World War there were over half a million. The count in 1859 in the German districts of the provinces of Kherson and Bessarabia was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of foundation</th>
<th>Number of colonies</th>
<th>Number of inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>according to Stach</td>
<td>according to Eisenach(p27)</td>
<td>Stach(p24) Eisenach(p27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kherson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Liebenthal District (The Old Colonies)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803-5 1804-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808 1805</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808 1808</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809 1809</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782 &amp; 1804 1782</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bessarabia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814-22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the province of Kherson the number of colonies had risen to 139 in 1890, to 237 in 1914; in Bessarabia to 67 in 1890, to 111 in 1914 (Eis 28). None of these colonies attained the size of the larger colonies on the Volga. Swarming became necessary sooner because the areas at a village's command were smaller, and it became possible more easily because landed estates for sale were much more common than in the colder Volga region where nobles had had no great ambitions to procure for themselves wide stretches of steppe. In the early years of the twentieth century the population of some villages in Kherson either mentioned above or sending rep-
be found (SPK 360). They were among the most prosperous from the start, in part, because they had been impelled to emigrate to escape a hostile environment even when the economic push was slight. They possessed a bit of capital to begin with. In any case their prosperity gave them influence disproportionate to their numbers and brought the improvident to time sooner than would otherwise have been the case. They also imposed upon the Black Sea settlements as a whole much more Puritanical behavior than German settlements ordinarily exhibit. Their influence became notable with Pastor Must in 1845. Baptists became numerous. The new recruits were mostly among the poorer people and consequently among those feeling the pull for emigration. The prosperous section of the community had its element tending toward indifference. Stach writing in 1904 affirmed that while the original emigrants were woefully imperfect, their sons were praiseworthy, but the third generation of his own time was unworthy of the preceding. Granting that he was speaking as those of an older generation tend to speak of the next, it would still seem that extended prosperity relaxed the moral fiber of some, and those unfavored often took refuge in evangelistic groups. At any rate Stach says: "In the domain of religion there reigns in many places frigidity and indifference or Pietistic-Methodistic sanctimoniousness and pious babble" (St 52). His last denigrating category is doubtless intended to refer primarily to the members of the Bruederschaft (Brotherhood). Eisenach champions the movement and remarks that about 1850 "the first awakening came to pass in Plotzk and New Elft" (Eis 81), the two Bessarabian towns mentioned above as sources of Kansas population. The first great revival occurred in 1860; the greatest was in 1881. This last was the year before the greatest
crop failure. Drouth conditions may have already existed. At least Eisenach finds a correlation between religion and harvests in 1892. "Pastor Jundt reports a mighty revival in the villages in 1892 such as 'had never been experienced.' The severe crop failures of 1891 and 1892 brought about the revolution" (Eis 82). Klaus, commenting on Bruederschaft, found the "germ and root" of all such movements "among the masses" in dissatisfaction with economic conditions (Kl 284). Religious exaltation and tendencies to ecclesiastical rebellion among Blackseamen arriving in the United States have here some explanation.

The schooling of German children, obligatory after 1840, was in the Black Sea area similar to that in the Volga region. Here as there the village schools were designated as church schools until Russification nationalized them near the end of the century (1892). Here as there, school attendance was far from perfect. The role of the teacher in village life was similar. Because the Black Sea villages were often smaller units than those on the Volga, however, tales of classes of monstrous size are less frequent, though enrollments rose to 100 or 150 (St 87). Secondary schools for teacher training were introduced into both areas at nearly the same time with the same effort to introduce the Russian language through them -- with the same essential lack of success. Indeed, these secondary schools were lauded by Stumpp thus, "Above all the leading citizens owe these schools their good knowledge of the German language through which their sense of national unity was preserved" (Stu 115). He adds that Russian was taught in these schools, and it was necessary for government reports. "Still, let it be emphasized," he says, "that these young people remained in their environment, were not thus divorced from their people, and later
exercised their calling in their native parishes. This cannot be said of all those who in later years went to Russian urban gymnasia" (Stu 116).

The pastors behaved similarly in north and south. They "have defended with all their might the confessional orientation of the village school, and therefore against the wishes of the best of the colonists have hindered the introduction of Russian into the curriculum" (St 56). Stach is here quoting the Russian, Kamensky. He disagrees with the last clause, but his reply is defensive. At least he agrees that Russian is resisted — by the stick-in-the-mud peasants, he says. They know the advantage of knowing Russian but resist all change. They send their children to school only in the coldest months — 60 to 70 days a year for seven years. Fifty per cent attendance is usual (St 87).

Stumpp, an ardent Protestant from the Black Sea country, presumably spoke of that district primarily when he wrote thus in 1964 from his safety in West Germany:

"The church used its whole influence to keep life, morals, and customs German in the congregations. No child was admitted to instruction for confirmation who could not read and write German. The children beyond school age went for two years more after confirmation to 'Kinderlehre,' that is, they practiced reading and writing every Sunday under the supervision of the church elders. Thus the pastors and their representatives had control not only of religious education but also of instruction in German" (Stu 27). The need for the rule upon some rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing before confirmation was real, and of course further instruction in Sunday School would not have been required unless it were necessary. The pastors had sometimes to be, or at least were, tyrannical in enforcing the requirement, but such measures preserved German as a
cultural language, and illiteracy was very much lower in incidence in German villages than in Russian.

Social life among Blackseamen presented in other respects characteristics very similar to that among Volgans. Not only religious and school life had marked similarity; customs and disinclination for societies outside the church were nearly the same. There was, however, little communication between the Black Sea and Volga areas. The resemblances can in part be explained by the fact that the same kind of political and religious government was being exercised in both places. More important was the near identity of stock. Both groups originated mainly in south Germany, either immediately (the great number) or through south Germans who had emigrated elsewhere first and then to Russia. In America the Russian Germans were seldom accepted by those from the Reich, but neither did Blackseamen and Volgans mingle very often with each other, and their position on the social scale here was nearly the same. Blackseamen were less apt than Volgans, it seems, to separate into groups dominated by people from a given village upon emigration, that is, their local patriotism was less developed. Two factors explain this difference in characteristic. By their age the northern colonies had existed longer, which had allowed time for the development of local variations. They were also larger, less restricted geographically than the communities in the South. The result near the Black Sea was more mixing of the population. Not too much, however. Stumpp says, "Marriage with non-Germans was most exceptional, even among Germans marriage between the various denominations seldom occurred" (Stp 68).
The German speech of the Blackseamen was varied, but there was not the same consciousness of differences as on the Volga. The villages had not existed long enough to develop peculiarities that could identify them, and in a given village there was likely to be a variety of dialects brought from Germany, Hungary or Poland. The small admixture of people from Mecklenburg, Pomerania, etc., made for acceptance of marked differences.

Blackseamen emigrated to America in small numbers before the Volgans, from 1847 on. Their proximity to the sea made departure easy, but until 1872 they were few in number, and scattered, except for a small group at Sandusky, Ohio. None appear to have crossed the Mississippi except for a small bridgehead at Burlington, Iowa. The ukase of 1871 declaring restriction of privileges and army service for Germans in Russia turned many of those seeking land from finding homes deeper in the Russian domain as had been the almost exclusive practice during the preceding thirty years.

After their arrival in the United States, the settlements at Sandusky and Burlington, and even those that began at Lincoln and Sutton in Nebraska, — whence a few to Kansas, but the Nebraska settlements were never large — became little more than way stations for immigrants on their way to settlements that became very large in the Dakotas, spreading from an early settlement southeast of Scotland, which is 25 air miles northwest of Yankton and 20 miles from Nebraska and the Missouri River, and in general a little south of the Mennonite groups. They took up much of the land as far as Yankton and by the mid-1880's had become a way station for settlers on their way elsewhere (Sa 14), a few to St. Francis, Kansas. Considerable settlements developed in both the Dakotas.* Those states received 85% of

*Because so few Kansans came from the Dakotas no study is included of those states, but the Russian Germans in them preserved the
wide use of German late into the twentieth century more frequently than other Ger-lings in the United States. The Hutterite settlements with their avoidance of the world account in part for this phenomenon, and late arrivals from abroad provide most of the rest of the explanation. Children near Sioux Falls, South Dakota, usually knew no English on first going to school about 1927. At Eureka, South Dakota, near the northern state line, some 30 miles east of the Missouri River, the Blackseamen were in 1951 still having services in both German and English every Sunday. German services were still very well attended, but already the attendance was falling off. Near Sioux Falls in 1925 German children began school knowing no English.

The Catholic Blackseamen (Sa 25), but the first Blackseamen to come to the Catholic community at Park, Kansas, before immigration directly from Russia began, were from Plantersville, Texas, some 45 miles northwest of Houston.

The later history of the Germans in Russia is a sad one. It is of little direct interest to this study, and therefore only a few generalities are here noted. The colonies in all the areas we have studied have been completely destroyed. During the First World War the accounts of the Slavic Russians' attitude toward their German fellow citizens reveal something very similar to the corresponding American attitude. "Russification, or rather the hatred of Germans, reached a high point in the First World War. The German language was forbidden not only in the schools, also on the streets; even preaching might no longer be done in German" (Stu 98). Once the Bolshevists were in power, there were a few amiable gestures; indeed in 1926 thirty of the thirty-nine Catholic villages on the Volga
still had their pastors. If only 14 out of 40 Protestant pastors remained it was largely because many had elected to go to Germany (Ka 202). Soon, though, persecution by the Russians became worse because of non-conformance to Communist programs. Grain stores were expropriated so that famine in the 1920's killed a large proportion of rural Germans. Resistance to collectivization, often merely potential, was punished by banishment and transportation of the men. The German population of Russia decreased very materially during the famines but in spite of all difficulties was increasing again until the Second World War. Then the settlements were annihilated by transportation to Siberia, central Asia and the North. The hardships inflicted on these scattered people by both man and nature did not keep them from a gradual population rise. They are so widely distributed and subject to such propagandist pressures that they are more likely to succumb to Russification than in the past. But the struggle goes on. Children below 18 cannot attend church. Stumpp lamented in 1964, "Christmas without children! Grown-ups recite Christmas poems and sing Christmas carols. In Zelinograd only, where the sole Protestant minister in the Soviet Union is still active, is there a modest chapel" (Stu 137). In 1965 the stigma of being collaborators was removed from them. They received civil rights on two conditions: they should not try to regain lost property, and they should not return to their former residences. From the Black Sea country a goodly number were moved out with the German army, ultimately to Germany; from there many went on to Canada and South America.

Yiddish-speaking Jews, whose language may be regarded as a German dialect, lived mostly, at least most of those who emigrated to the United
States, within the boundaries of the Russian Empire of the nineteenth century, in Lithuania, Poland, White Russia, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine. From this area came over a million of the million and a quarter Yiddish-speaking foreign-born residents in the United States in 1930. Few lived in Great Russia or in the Don area of the Ukraine, that is, the 35th meridian which passes near Moscow was approximately their eastern limit in the south. In the latitudes of Moscow with exceptions it was five degrees farther west. There were few farther north. The Russians had driven them into city ghettos. Their isolation repressed any tendency to abandon Yiddish. They were subject to persecution of every sort including the imposition of severe economic handicaps, and the push for emigration among them, which became greater as the campaign of Russification became stronger, could hardly have been greater. Only lack of money for travel and a conviction that sooner or later Jews would be oppressed no matter where they were could have kept them in Russia. In comparison with the settlements that formed in the great cities of the United States, very few of them reached Kansas, particularly, few of those of the period of the great emigration. The early-coming Jews in Kansas were mostly born in Germany or close to it. Examples from early times connected with no settlement are Kohn (Eudora 1854) from East Prussia; August Bondi (Lawrence 1855, Greeley 1856, Salina later) from Austria and Theodore Weichselbaum (Ogden 1857) from Bavaria; connected with groups that organized synagogues, Frank (Leavenworth 1855) from Poland; Friedberg (Kansas City 1870) from Russia, but his wife was a Prussian Jewess. Friedberg's origin was an early example of that of a group that became preponderant, he came from the Ukraine, and in later times Jews from Russia.
usually had been born in the Ukraine. In 1890 the Orthodox Jews had two organizations in Leavenworth County (2145 members), one at Wichita (100) and one at Topeka (56). The Reform Jews had one at Atchison (62) and one at Salina (21). At the close of the First World War the Jews were able in Kansas City to form a Ukrainian Club that conducted its meetings in Yiddish (see Kansas City settlement history).

German immigration into the American colonies was greater than that of other non-English stocks and became so entrenched in Pennsylvania that even a half century of almost no immigration, if one excepts 5,000 of the Hessian mercenaries who remained in America (M12), in the years before 1815 did not in the rural counties drive out German speech. The German settlements in other places that is, in New York and in all the states south of Pennsylvania except perhaps in Maryland and in New York city, had been very largely absorbed linguistically when immigration revived after the Napoleonic Wars. The situation as described by the Freiherr von Fursterwarther in 1817 was then very similar to that existing again about 1900. He was writing from Philadelphia:

"The richest and best educated Germans of this city are not friendly toward the German language and would be glad to know that it was completely abandoned. Among the lower classes more German spirit is to be found. Among them there are several societies whose aim is religious education and upbringing in the German language. . . . The German emigrant does not forget his mother tongue as long as he lives. His children still learn it, though seldom thoroughly; with most of them everything German is usually repulsive; they know not the land of their fathers, and are often ashamed of their origin. With grandchildren it is usually all lost. Inland and
especially in rural districts German holds out longest. Much in their household arrangements, in their customs and dress still bears the German imprint, is passed on longer, and longer withstands the introduction of local ways” (Mu 47). In Philadelphia even the Lutheran Church had split. English Lutheranism was founded, and in those days, the epithet “English” was appropriate only because of the language used: the members of the church were all of German descent. But part of the original congregation remained faithful to German, which is witness to the persistence of the German language in a not inconsiderable element in Philadelphia’s population (B 102). The contentiousness exhibited by the Protestants of Philadelphia had its parallel among the Catholics. A German church, Holy Trinity, had been established by 1806. Father F. A. Britt, a Jesuit, was the pastor. When Bishop F. M. Egan was appointed in 1808 strife between him and his people in Philadelphia, both Irish and Germans, began. The Jesuit superior recalled Father Britt, and Holy Trinity was left to Irishmen. "When the Rev. Mr. Kenny attempted to preach, threats were made that he would be dragged from the pulpit. He seems to have been stationed there for the benefit of those who could no longer speak German" (Sh III, 212). Because of the continuing presence of speakers of German, Philadelphia went on as the center of German culture of the United States, possessing the most widespread influence of any city among the Germans, though the American public came to think of other younger cities as more German. New York City had its German citizens while it was still New Amsterdam and the German element in the town was strong enough in 1748 to permit the establishment of a German Lutheran Church which continued on through the period of light German immigration into that part of the nineteenth century when New York became the chief immigration port of the
Germans. In 1784 a German Society was organized there which continued to flourish. John Jacob Astor was its president in 1841-5 (S 126).

Penn-Germans, as this work designates, irrespective of their early or late American habitat, the descendants of seventeenth and eighteenth century German immigrants who in the middle of the nineteenth century and later were still using German as the language of the home, were often then still resident in Pennsylvania and coastal states; sometimes they had emigrated to states farther west. Immigrants of the nineteenth century settling in Pennsylvania and later going on westward may be considered Penn-Germans if they entered settlements dominated by other Penn-Germans. The Penn-Germans who came to Kansas were frequently from the western daughter settlements. In Kansas and outside these people are best located by their typical churches, the Mennonite Church (Old Mennonites), the church of the Brethren (Dunkards), the Brethren in Christ (River Brethren), and churches related to them. Penn-Germans formed the bulk or at least a noteworthy part of the former United Lutheran church, of the United Brethren, and sometimes of the Evangelical Association, but for various reasons the information furnished by the existence of congregations of these latter denominations must be regarded as accessory in determining locations of Penn-German groups that were linguistically German as late as 1900.

In surveying Ger-lings in states of the Mississippi valley, these groups are occasionally pointed out in this work. In Pennsylvania the use of Penn-German persisted; however "most reports agree that the 1950's marked the final turning away of children and adolescents from the old tongue" (FK 223). This quotation from Heing Kloss terminates a good summary of the history of the use of Penn-German (FK 215-223).
In cities that grew up beyond the Alleghenies it is often difficult to say when the first Germans appeared; they were an element expected everywhere, and their first arrival was frequently not noted. It is easier to speak of the year at which Germans became numerous enough to form some sort of organization. They were quite certain to do so very early. In the movement westward, Germans, like others, followed the national road over the mountains to the upper Ohio and down it, or a little later, up the Hudson, through the Mohawk Valley and along the Great Lakes. After the Louisiana Purchase, immigration by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi also began very soon. The towns that became great cities along these routes all came to have German colonies of importance.

Pittsburgh in 1782 saw a German Evangelical Church organized (Fa 420) in 1807 it had a German music club (K 45, B 113)

Cincinnati had German mayors beginning in 1802 (B 155, K 178); by 1817 there were several German churches (B 156); in 1811 there was a call for a German Catholic organization

In Louisville the Catholics built a church in 1838, the Protestants met earlier but built later (B 216)

Across from St. Louis a colony of Swiss settled in 1818, Hanoverians shortly afterward (B 177). The immigration provoked by Gottfried Duden's eloquence in 1824 centered in St. Louis.

Buffalo held some forty German families in 1828, and a German newspaper was established in 1836.

Cleveland boomed after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1827 though it had only a thousand inhabitants in 1830; in 1836 a German Society was formed there (B 173) and a Protestant congregation organized (K 230)
Chicago had a few Germans in the 1830's; a political meeting of Germans took place there in 1843; a newspaper was founded in 1845 (B 184).

Milwaukee had two or three hundred Germans in 1840; the first one was on the site of the city in 1836.

New Orleans saw action by Germans very shortly after the Louisiana Purchase; Vincent Nolte began a career that shuttled between there and Europe in 1805; in 1837 a German sharpshooting company was organized there (B 228).

Five of these nine cities will occupy us later, Cincinnati, Cleveland, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee, even more the areas surrounding them, for these cities or their dependent territories sent many German citizens to Kansas. Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Louisville also were the transient homes of future Kansans, but the German immigrants who came on from western Pennsylvania and New York seemed less bound to Pittsburgh and Buffalo than people from the neighborhood of the first five cities were to them. In Kentucky, Louisville was a somewhat isolated phenomenon; the German Kentuckians were elsewhere usually connected with towns on the other side of the Ohio, particularly those at Covington opposite Cincinnati. German Kansans came from these Kentucky towns on the Ohio too. Many Germans that arrived early in Kansas had landed at New Orleans and made their way up the rivers, but few of these stayed long in Louisiana. Germans, however, were early important in that area and straightway became French. There was along the Mississippi River a Côte des Allemands.

The states that have been the main sources of German population in Kansas (direct emigration from Germany aside) are those lying between Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Kansas City; and the northern neighbor of
Kansas, Nebraska. More Germans have gone from Kansas to Oklahoma than have come from there, but Oklahoma too needs consideration. A few remarks on Colorado, Michigan, Minnesota and the Dakotas are also necessary.

In Pennsylvania mid-nineteenth century German immigrants frequently did a stint in industrial areas in the state, both that stretching from Scranton to Harrisburg and that which led from Altoona to Pittsburgh. They also passed some time along the fringe of the Penn German district, that is on the southern border toward the east or in the western border counties, particularly south of Pittsburgh. Many remained in the state, but the land-hungry made off for the west, and often the craftsman and would-be merchant too. The industrialization that did not attract them in Germany was not much more likely to attract them in Pennsylvania -- or northeastern Ohio.

In Ohio there were in 1930 a great many counties where at least 300 persons born in Germany or with at least one German parent lived. On the western border above Cincinnati such counties form a band two counties wide the full length of the state. Occasionally the band spreads into Indiana, but in general the state line delimits it. Until this band is intersected by another coming from the east along the northern border, it corresponds to a current of settlement sent out from Cincinnati. The current from the east in the northern part of the state is at its western end four counties wide. In large part the Germans here are the descendants of numerous immigrant settlers in the Black Swamp area. Farther east this four county band shrinks to one county at Lorain, the next city of importance west of Cleveland. It broadens out again east of Cleveland in what became an industrial area where many foreign stocks are important. In the rest of Ohio the
counties with 300 Germans in 1930 are more scattered but a wedge with its tip at Columbus extending east and southeast across the Western Reserve to the West Virginia border contains mostly counties having this qualification. A few counties in the neighborhood of the wedge are of importance, most of them farther north and near the Pennsylvania border, also Chillicothe directly south of Columbus. Because German immigration continued to a later date in western and northern Ohio the description of distribution of German stock in 1930 emphasizes those parts of the state, but for historical reasons, except for Cincinnati, further treatment of Germans in Ohio will consider areas to the east before those to the west.

Settlement of Germans was well under way in nearly all parts of Ohio by the 1830's. Indeed, almost everywhere in the settled part of Ohio when it became a state in 1803 there were Germans, mainly from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. They were so scattered that the Lutheran minister, Paul Henkel, reported in 1806 that many "were abandoning their mother tongue." However, concentrations developed soon, for in 1817, the General Assembly authorized the printing of the Constitution and the laws of the State in German. "The state legislature in 1838 passed a law, whereby in those districts in which a sufficient number of persons should request it and in which a sufficiently large school population was present the school trustees might introduce the German language as a subject into the public schools. On the 19th of March, 1840, the word 'might' was changed to 'shall'". Except for "the three R's" the language of the public schools might be German. Though this law was passed particularly for the benefit of the Germans of Cincinnati, respect for the German electorate throughout the state doubtless influenced the legislators.
In Cincinnati "by 1830 approximately 5% of the population was German; by 1840, 23%; and by 1850, 27%. Together with their children born in the United States, the Germans as early as 1840 constituted 11,163 of the 46,382 persons in the city," that is 30% (W 52). In 1900 German immigrants and their children were 41% of the population. The rapidity with which the German population of Cincinnati grew before the nineteenth century had reached its midpoint may be further illustrated by a few facts in church history. Preaching in German began in Cincinnati in 1808, when Heinrich Boehm, a Penn-German, spoke to a Methodist congregation (Fa 430). He also preached in Chillicothe. German Methodism as a separate conference was founded in Cincinnati in 1835 and the city remained virtually its capital throughout the conference's existence. In 1890 there were in Cincinnati's county seven German Methodist churches with 8,141 members. The founder, Wilhelm Nast, began publishing its journal at Cincinnati in 1839; in 1889 its circulation was 17,750 (B 463). Cincinnati prospered as a Catholic center. It became the see of a diocese in 1822 and of an archdiocese in 1850. Though the bishops and archbishops did not bear German names till 1904, the Irish played second fiddle from quite early, but apparently not without a struggle. Father Henni, later bishop and archbishop of Milwaukee, founded German parishes in seven other Ohio towns between 1827 and 1831, but it was only in 1831 after an interregnum during which a Hanoverian, Frederic Rese, had wielded episcopal powers, and after a newly-elected Irish bishop (Purcell) had named Henni Vicar-General of the diocese that a separate German parish in Cincinnati, Holy Trinity, came into being. There had been earlier efforts, ca. 1832, to allow the Germans to meet separately in the Cathedral, but "strong opposition was manifested" (Sh III, 618). There were then 5,000 Germans at the Cathedral (L 135).
Saint Mary's, the second German parish was formed under Henni's superintendence in 1841. Apparently the Germans did not feel that the hierarchy was treating them fairly, for in 1844 sixteen hundred of them organized to take over the economic government of German Catholicism in the City. Henni quelled the movement for Bishop Purcell by gathering two thousand men into a meeting at St. Mary's where he and three other German priests exposed "the madness and baseness of such a corporation" (Diamond Jubilee St. Mary Church, p. 14). Henni shortly afterward left for Milwaukee. In 1846 at St. Mary's 2,500 persons belonged to the church societies; there were 1,322 baptisms and 250 funerals. The German population grew by rapid natural increase as well as by immigration. In 1900 out of 114 Catholic parishes in Cincinnati, 23 were German, 2 were Negro, one Italian, one Polish; Lamott without counting all filial churches listed 17 German parishes in 1921 (L 140). About 1950, Protestant churches with German membership in Cincinnati numbered 27 without counting the churches which had formerly been German Methodist. The Germans in Cincinnati were active in politics; in 1834 a German Society was formed to support through common German unity causes to their advantage (K 135). An example of their power is an ordinance of 1840 requiring that German be taught to youths desiring it (FK 233). A quasi-political evidence of the Germanic enthusiasm of Cincinnati is this: while all the great cities important for Germans celebrated the defeat of France and the formation of the German Empire most brilliantly, Cincinnati was the first, fourth of February, 1871; over three months passed before Philadelphia and Chicago did their part.

In Cincinnati Engl-izing of many began early, but five new Catholic German parishes were formed after 1870. In certain Catholic families German remained the speech of the home at least till the Second World War.
Lutheran, Missouri Synod, churches, (four in number) one was in the "English District" in 1916 and another had admitted English to part of its services. Two were still having German services in 1948. Concordia, the older of these, was founded in 1849. In 1951 its English services were attended by 425 to 450 persons; its German service every Sunday by 60 to 70 including 25 to 30 of the 38 "displaced persons" who had immigrated since the Second World War and joined the congregation. There were also members who had come to America after the First World War. Besides the d.p.'s, about twenty of those attending the German services were immigrants and another score were of a later generation. This congregation was as linguistically conservative as any German group in Cincinnati.

Germans also settled in the district around Cincinnati. A group of Badenese established a settlement fifteen miles to the northeast in 1795 (Fa 426). A Lutheran church was organized in Butler County at Hamilton in 1837.

Northeast of Hamilton eight air miles at Trenton, Alsatian Amish arrived in 1819 and were joined by Hessians in 1832. The Alsatians here furnished the first settlers to the Amish colonies east of Peoria, Illinois (ME).

At Hamilton (62-280) the early comers were in large part "rationalistic" and churches did not prosper greatly. Later the town was more than one-half Catholic. The first Protestant Church was a Free Church. The Lutherans, who drew aside into Zion Lutheran Church, attained a building in 1858. In 1935 its German services were being attended by only six or seven persons, but with a change of pastor the number increased to forty or forty-five. In 1950 German services were abandoned except for two or three spe-
cial occasions; just before the change over 300 persons attended the English service every Sunday and a score the German service. There had been no immigration since 1913; and most of those who used German were of a later generation. The First Evangelical and Reformed Church dates its origin in the Free Church noted above. All its records were in German until 1922. Except for communion services and Good Friday, German was abandoned about 1916. In 1951 "on Thursdays the old ladies who quilt or make layettes get into arguments as to what kind of German they are speaking; they also argue about the meaning of words in the letters that thank them for what we send to Germany." German was evidently not on firm ground, but members of the third generation born as late as 1925 knew a little German.

In Cleveland consciousness of provincial origins was marked. Hanoverians and Rhinelanders in the same congregation were given to strife. As a whole the Germans of the west side were Hanoverians, those of the east side Pomeranians and East Prussians. Just west of Cleveland, German settlements were heavy by 1833 (K 229). Lorain has its name from Alsatians and Lorrainers who arrived somewhat earlier (Fa 422). At Elyria and Westlake Lutheran churches of the Missouri Synod were established in 1852 and 1858. Akron's church of the same denomination was organized in 1854.

Cleveland and the closely surrounding area because of its industrial development received late immigration and certain elements in the German population were faithful to German in 1918. In 1916 the use of English occurred in a larger proportion of Cleveland Missouri Lutheran churches than in some other large cities. Of some twenty congregations five were in the "English District"; another had English regularly, and three more had admitted English to some sort of status. There were in Cleveland in 1890 five German Methodist churches which necessarily gave up German after the
merger of 1926. In 1918 out of about 25 Lutheran churches, Missouri Synod, sixteen had German services as well as English. These included the four oldest of the churches founded between 1843 and 1858 and two churches founded in 1914 and 1928. But in general many born after 1905 were not true speakers of German; many of those born in 1910 have never attained even approximate proficiency. The industrial foreign colonies at Akron included late arriving Catholic Volgans. More truly northeast Ohio, like Cleveland and its neighborhood became so industrial, that it is hard to trace development of settlement. However, in 1817 Trumbull County (62-228), north of Columbiana on the east border, was one of the two counties receiving the largest number of copies of the Ohio Constitution in German in 1817.

An Ohio area furnishing many citizens to various settlements in Kansas was at the southern edge of the northeast section, a district that was early of importance for Germans. The counties in it are Stark (62-248) where Canton is, Tuscarawas just to the south, Wayne just to the west and Columbiana to the east. Penn-Germans moved early to this district and into the two counties to the west. There were Mennonite groups in the area as early as 1806 and specifically Amish in Tuscarawas County in 1808. The Mennonite sects became very strong in the area, and occupied rather solidly the eastern halves of Wayne County and of Holmes County just to the south. Among the Mennonites there was one group that came directly from Switzerland beginning in 1818. They developed two churches, the Sonnenberg Congregation, named for the place of origin of its members in the Jura Mountains, and the Crown Hill group, both in the eastern part of the county 12 air miles a part, the former to the south. Both have been linguistically conservative. At Crown Hill "the Sunday School, organized in 1874, at first met violent opposition from the old members because they felt it would mean
loss of the German language." At Sonnenberg "the transition from German to English was not begun until the third decade of the twentieth century and then only after a severe struggle" (ME). The struggle continued and in 1936 three-fourths of the members, the progressive section, withdrew to organize a new congregation. A German minister of the Reformed Church came into Columbiana County just east of Stark in 1811 (Bo 2). A German journal was founded in that County in 1808 (U 395). Stark and Columbiana Counties received a goodly number of the German edition of the Ohio constitution in 1817. At Osnaburg in Stark County a contract with a Reformed minister provided for preaching in German in 1834. Winesburg on the western edge of this district was founded by German Lutherans in 1827 (K 227); an Evangelical and Reformed Church also grew up there, where at least until 1948 there was preaching in German, attended by 50 to 100 persons every Sunday. The Zoar Society, a German communal and pietistic group that prospered, set up an establishment in Tuscarawas County in 1817 (W 160, K 177, B 155). In 1884 Korner wrote "Although the inhabitants with but few exceptions were born in the village, the German language is spoken there almost exclusively" (K 178). Other German place names in the same county are Strassburg, Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhutten. At Strassburg preaching in German at the E-R church had ceased by 1950. The two latter towns were originally Indian communities founded by the Moravian Germans. Gnadenhutten became important, settlers in their own right began to arrive in 1799 (Fa 42).

Canton (62-248) is the German metropolis of this area. A German newspaper was established there in 1821 (K 228). The Catholic bishop had visited it in 1822. Lutheran preaching began about 1827 (B 172).
In Canton the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, not founded till 1926, had German services in 1948 and one of the American Lutheran churches was having a German service twice a month in 1951. Apparently the Lutherans assimilated those other Protestants who thirsted for German and could no longer have their thirst satisfied at the four Evangelical and Reformed Churches. In the First Reformed Church there (membership in 1950 = 1,415), the constitution of 1897, written in German, had declared: "Both languages shall be used in this congregation. The sermon in morning shall be in German and in the evening in English." In 1907 by a greater than two-thirds majority German services were reduced to once every two weeks.

55.18 Below Wheeling while the Ohio River is still flowing nearly south in northeastern Monroe County (62-279) is the hamlet of Switzer, so named for the Swiss around it. In the neighborhood are four Evangelical and Reformed churches with a combined membership in 1950 of 487. In Monroe County there were in 1890 eight German Methodist churches with 565 members.

55.19 Zanesville (62-266), 50 miles directly east of Columbus, Lancaster (62-275), some thirty miles southeast of Columbus, and Somerset, about 15 miles from Lancaster and forty miles from Columbus, were the scenes of early German settlement. Zanesville was named for a Penn-German, Ebenezer Zahn, who founded it in 1796 (G 257) and Lancaster in 1797 (Fa 418). It and Lancaster were the scenes of preaching in German by Heinrich Boehm in 1808 (Fa 430). Zanesville's county was one of the two receiving the most copies of Ohio's Constitution in German in 1817 (U 395). Zanesville was an active German settlement in the 1820's and had a Lutheran Synodical meeting in 1830. There were then Lutheran and Reformed congregations in the neighborhood (B 172). The Missouri Synod church was founded in 1844; its Sunday school was "English" by 1916. The town was visited by the Catholic
bishop of Cincinnati in 1818 (Sh III, 336) and had 140 or 50 Catholic families in 1821. The Catholics at there seem to have been at first more Irish than German, but in 1812 the Germans secured a church for themselves (Sh III, 629).

As to Lancaster (31,000 inhabitants in 1950) "Early travelers invariably commented on the dominance of Germans in Lancaster" (W 395). Utter in making this statement in his volume of the History of the State of Ohio refers to an account of 1815, but he adds that there was a German newspaper, Der Adler in Lancaster in 1809; Faust assigns the first publication of Der Adler to 1807 (Fa 418). These people, as the name of the town suggests, were Germans from Pennsylvania in the main. Germans from Europe joined them (W 52). At Somerset and Lancaster there were certainly German Catholics in 1829 (Sh III; 355); probably they were an element in the 20 families who established a church at Lancaster in 1824 (Sh III; 347). The bishop had visited Somerset in 1818 (Sh III; 336). Lancaster's Catholic church in 1950 had three priests all with German names, and a school attended by 553 children. There were three German Protestant Churches in the town; the Missouri Lutheran founded in 1847 had 800 members, the American Lutheran 355, the Evangelical and Reformed 425; there were seven Protestant German churches in the adjoining country to the south and east. Somerset, which had only 1,383 inhabitants in 1950, had an Evangelical and Reformed church with 203 members and an American Lutheran with the same number. The American Lutheran church at Junction City eight miles south also had 203 and the one at New Lexington a few miles east of Junction City, 353. Near Lancaster there were points where German was still to heard in the 1960's (FK 216).

Columbus at the head of the southeast wedge became a rather important German center, beginning in the 1830's (W 52), or even the 1820's (K 225).
It had 25 Protestant German churches about 1950. At about the same time there were eight Catholic churches whose pastors bore German names and three where some of the serving clergy had similar names. One of the last three had been a national German parish in 1915; another German parish of that date was before 1950 provided with pastors bearing Irish names. In 1834 Columbus had 80 Catholics, not all Germans (SH III 620); they were organized into a parish in 1837. A Lutheran seminary was established there in 1830 (K 227). St. Paul's (American) Lutheran Church was founded then, and by 1834 there were two more Protestant German churches. "All these parishes had parochial schools in which the German language was excellently taught and preserved;" so Koerner said in 1884. In 1890 the German Methodist church had 246 members. Twenty-five miles northwest of Columbus in Union County, St. John's Lutheran Church was established in 1838. (There were not 300 German Fw.S. in the county in 1930, but the area was German enough in 1916 so that German and English both were the languages of sermons.)

In Columbus German had disappeared from the services of the Lutheran churches Missouri Synod by 1943. These congregations included four at or near the city. In 1916 one church at Columbus was already prevailingly "English" and two others used both languages.

Much of northwestern Ohio was settled late. The German element approached this area early from its southeast corner where Mansfield is located. Mansfield's County, Richland (62-245) together with Knox County (62-256) adjoining, was one of the counties receiving considerable numbers of Ohio's Constitution in German in 1817 (U 395). Johann Weiler from Switzerland was one of the residents in 1819 (B 174). The area was then on the frontier of settlement. To the northwest of Mansfield in the neighborhood
of Tiffin, there were in 1833 people who had been born in Germany (B 173); there were Maryland Germans there in the 1820's (Fa 429). Tiffin (62-233) became a Reformed Church center in 1850; Heidelberg College was founded there. Martin Henni planned a Catholic church there about 1830 (Sh III, 355); it was over a decade before it was built. Centered about 10 miles southwest of Tiffin is an area of Catholic German settlement. Luxemburgers began to arrive there by 1833; in part of the district conditions were still at the pioneer stage in 1857 (GL 245-7). Berwick, New Riegel and Alvada are the names of villages still existing in the twentieth century (populations in 1920 135 and 246 and 140). The people continued to be in great part Luxemburgers, Alvada most solidly with about fifty families in the late 1880's. Gonner remarked on abandonment of German in 1888 (GL 188). Southeast of Tiffin in Crawford County toward Mansfield five German Methodist congregations existed in 1890 with 315 members; there were two more with 240 members in Marion County, the next south.

Toledo, founded in 1817 by Martin Baum, born in Alsace, first required Catholic German care in the early 1840's (SH IV 183). About 1950 it had twenty German Protestant churches. In 1890 Toledo's two German Methodist churches had 440 members. In 1900 there were three Catholic national parishes for Germans. At the largest, where Jesuits were in charge, there was a school with 756 pupils. In 1916 at Toledo a Missouri Lutheran church had "English" services on Sunday, but in 1918 both churches existing in 1916 still had some German services. There was rural German settlement south of Toledo.

Settlement of the western band of counties and of the Black Swamp area at their northern end was greatly influenced by the construction of
the Maumee-Miami canal from Lake Erie to Cincinnati. The Maumee section was completed in 1843 and the Miami section in 1845; a southern leg of the latter was open as early as 1827 and a decade later there had been much speculation in the lands along the route. The German settlers came in greatest numbers after the canal had been extended into the region of their settlements. As an example of settlement along Ohio’s western band, Dayton (62-271) is salient where there were Germans by 1795 (Fa 428, Cr 257). About 1810 it had two German newspapers (K 229) and a German choral society. Teaching of German was required by law in 1841 (FK 233). Eventually in its population class it was one of the most important German cities. In 1950 it had 21 German Protestant churches and 13 Catholic churches with pastors whose names were German. The American Lutheran membership totaled over 5,000. Germantown in the same county, founded in 1814, had five churches in 1845, all served in German (Fa 428). Other examples of German settlements along the west border are: Ludwigsburg, now Lewisburg (62-270) fifty miles north of Cincinnati, founded in 1826 (K 235); Richmond in Indiana at the same latitude, where a Lutheran Church was organized in 1844. From Preble county between the see towns and Darke County (62-260) just to the north, Germans came to Kansas.

Along the western border of Ohio some settlements were quite tenacious of German. Not so much at Richmond, Indiana, however, where St. John’s American Lutheran was organized in 1844, and where preaching in German was abandoned in 1912, communion service in German in 1916. Here the congregation of 945 was almost all urban, the descendants of original settlers. Similarly at West Alexandria, Ohio, south of Lewisburg, where the congregation was more largely rural, there had been German preaching only once a year as early as 1935. There, however, a dialect locally devel-
oped among the Bavarians and Pomeranians had persisted as a Heimsprache.

In Auglaize County (62-251) in the next tier of counties north is New Bremen, founded in 1832 (K 235; see also Fa 429), in 1950 a town of 1,546 inhabitants with an Evangelical and Reformed Church with 1,360 members. Minster is three miles south, which had 1,728 inhabitants in 1950 and in 1915 had 420 families in its Catholic church. Minster, named for Münster in Westphalia, was founded in 1831 or 1832 (B 167). The founder and first settlers were Oldenburgers, Auglaize County was then on the frontier of settlement. Without mixing much with each other, the inhabitants of Minster and New Bremen were using German currently in 1951. For Minster in particular it was a common language at dances among young people and in any of the cafes (that is, saloons) with which the town was well provided. Children four years old knew enough so that German could not be used as the language of secrecy. Immigrants born about 1905, who had come to Minster as adults could not be distinguished linguistically from the older stock. Even the priest, who had arrived latest from Germany, was "just like any of the others". Though he preached only in English, he did much pastoral work in German. The district extended south through Fort Loramie, which is three miles away and some fifteen miles back west from the old canal route where such place names as Maria Stein and Saint Henry show the presence of German and Catholic population. To the north the dialect of New Bremen was different; the two towns, so close Geographically, are culturally separated by their religious affiliations. A little farther north at St. Marys founded about 1834 (K 235) and Celina, German had fallen into greater disuse in 1950, but not more than 8 miles east of St. Marys a Missouri Lutheran church was having German services in part. There it was usual in the 1930's for grandparents to talk Platt Deutsch to their grand-
children. The children of that period were so much affected in their Eng-
lish that cultured representatives of the group used the construction ex-
amplified in, "I am brought up in Ohio," without any consciousness of its
abnormality.

In Allen County, next north, Lima became a center to which those
coming to Kansas often repaired. The most interesting point in the county is
in its extreme northeastern corner at Bluffton (Ca. 2000 population); to
the west and northwest (Pandora extends into Putnam County). In 1833, re-
cent immigrants from Switzerland moved out into this area from the Schoen-
berg settlement (see #55.16). The immigration continued from the region
of France and Switzerland near Belfort. The Mennonite churches in the neigh-
borhood had 1670 members in 1954. There are also two Evangelical and Re-
formed Churches with Swiss membership, which numbered 529 in 1950. "The
language of the pulpit remained German well into the beginning of the pre-
sent century, though English is now used exclusively. But the Swiss dia-
lect is still commonly heard on the streets of Pandora and Bluffton in
everyday conversation by the middle-aged and older men and women." So says
the Mennonite Encyclopedia (I, 368); other testimony confirms this. There
are Penn-German Mennonites near Elida northwest of Lima. There are also
several hundred Dunkards in and northeast of Lima.

In far northwestern Ohio the Black Swamp region, unoccupied in 1820,
still lightly settled in 1850, was a center of German colonization; the
Germans helped drain the swamp and develop the area. Henry County (62-221),
the second county from both the Indiana and Michigan lines became largely
German. Deshler, Hamler and Napoleon were German towns, north German.
From the heart of the Black Swamp district people emigrated to Nebraska and
Kansas.
In the Black Swamp district in 1951 German was persisting except on its edges. German settlement stretched away from the Maumee River and its canal on both sides so as to overflow the edges of Henry County. At Ridgeville Corners there were two American Lutheran churches, one about 11 miles from the axis, the other 8. In 1951 one had German services once a month, the other every Sunday. Two Missouri Synod churches in the small Ridgeville Corners area also had German services in part. So did that Synod's churches in Napoleon on the river and northwest of it. Upstream 5 miles, the church on the left bank had German, the one on the right bank not; it was probably this last one which had admitted English by 1916. Deshler, 15 miles from the river on the eastern side also had German services. Dialects varied in the district, and even in one town the dialect of the membership of one church was different from that of another. Hanoverians and Mecklenburgers predominated in the district.

Archbold (62-211) to the north was also German but of different stock. In 1834 Amish began coming to this neighborhood and developed a settlement occupying a fourth of the county. Most of the congregations later became part of the Mennonite Church. Their baptized members number about 2600. "Coming from Alsace, Mulhouse and Montbeliard many of them spoke and wrote both French and German." In 1951 the old spoke "Dutch" with each other, but the children knew none. In the center of this county at Wauseon (population ca. 3000) just beyond the Amish, other Germans were joined by Volgans about 1912 and 1913. They were numerous, but many left when a foundry was closed. In 1951 the old women among them still spoke German together, but their children knew none. In August of that year eighteen attended the German communion service at the American Lutheran church. In Ohio's most northwestern county, Williams, there were in 1890 six German
Methodist churches with a total membership of 251; in Defiance County to the south two more with 150 members.

Considering Ohio as a whole the displacement of German has been greatest where the settlements are oldest, but since all settlements antedate 1850 in their beginnings all have seen more than three generations grow up since settlement. Urban settlements where late arrivals have been numerous, such as Cleveland, and solid rural districts like the Black Swamp and the New Bremen-Winster areas where comparative late arrivals have been supplemented by comparative isolation in the nuclei have been the most conservative.

Indiana was never as greatly favored by German settlement as Ohio. The inner core of the state except at Indianapolis has received few Germans as compared with the states to the east and west. However, five large sections of the state deserve our attention:

(1) The south along the Ohio River extending back into the hinterland, especially at the eastern and western extremities.
(2) The lower Wabash where the river flows south at or near the Illinois line from an approximate midpoint on that boundary.
(3) The upper Wabash which mounts mostly to the east but somewhat to the north after leaving Illinois behind.
(4) The Fort Wayne-Decatur region, through which runs the upper Maumee, a smaller area but, as we shall see, important.
(5) The counties adjoining Lake Michigan and the counties next to them, lacking one on the west adding one on the east along the Michigan line.

This last district began to be settled later than the south but received
German immigrants much longer. All told, the state north of Indianapolis represents different settlement currents from the southern half. The Lakes route brought people from the east to the northern half. The southern half received most of its inhabitants from the Ohio River.

The settlement of Indiana depended in part upon the removal of the Indians. In the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century, the territory was open along the Ohio River, the lower Wabash and the Whitewater, which flows south near the Ohio boundary. The Indians held two-thirds of the state when it was admitted to the Union, all the north and a blunted arrowhead extending down into the center of the state. Before the decade was ended they were moved out of the region south of the upper Wabash. The Indians also lost a strip north of the Wabash, but they were left the northwestern third of the state. They were not ejected completely (even then a few remained) until 1838, but settling in their territory was hardly briddled after Black Hawk's War in 1832. Settlement along the upper Wabash and beyond toward Lake Erie was advanced by the planning and then the construction of the Wabash-Erie canal, which in Ohio was the Maumee canal. Work began on it in 1832. The section west of Fort Wayne came into use in 1835; the project was completed in 1843 to the head of Wabash navigation at Lafayette. Fort Wayne was from early in the project a center for new settlers and for canal workers.

German settlement in the eastern part of the area along the Ohio River existed earlier but did not become important until after 1830. Next to the southwestern Ohio border extending south from Brooksville (62-77S) for some thirty miles till beyond Aurora (62-36) in a district perhaps twenty miles wide early German settlements were numerous. It was Protestant at its south-
ern end, Catholic at its northern. The names of at least two of the Catholic settlements, New Alsace and Oldenburg proclaiming the settlers provinces of origin. New Alsace where an Alsatian first settled in 1827 became a Catholic parish in 1833, Oldenburg was receiving priestly care in 1842. In the New Alsace Catholic cemetery, occasionally English inscriptions were carved in the 1850's; English became common in the 1880's and German disappeared about 1905. English preaching was introduced during the First World War. Confessions in German still took place in 1950, but nobody used German in conversation and had not for some time. The population here was made up of families long established. A period of commercial prosperity had weakened in 1868 and ended by 1890. A church membership of 1100 in 1868 had fallen to 835 in 1890. In 1950 it was half as large as in 1890. The linguistic situation in the other Catholic settlements thereabouts was reported to be similar to that at New Alsace.

The Protestant area described above, west and southwest of Cincinnati, contains no place names related to topography in Germany. At Farmer's Retreat and Cross Plains, Lutheran churches were organized in 1843 and 1851. None of the German churches in this area had services in German in 1950. Preaching in German is reported to have ceased with the First World War. Only the very old knew German, and even they were not using it in 1950. In the cemetery of St. John's (American) Lutheran church at Sunman at the north edge of the Protestant district, the oldest graves go back as far as 1859. Inscriptions on tombstones in English begin to appear about 1870 and almost drive out German in the 1890's. The last inscription in German is dated 1905. In that year, however, the cornerstone of the new church was labeled in German.
Some thirty air miles downstream from the nearest point in Ohio is the village of Vevay, named for the town of Vevay in French-speaking Switzerland. The first settlers were indeed French-speaking, but German-speaking Swiss soon joined them. For sometime there were hopes of a prosperous wine-making center here, but its fortunes soon declined (Fa I, 455).

Proceeding down the Ohio river we come to two counties opposite Louisville (62-105, 106) that in 1930 each contained more than 300 persons born in Germany and their children. At New Albany there was a German church in 1837 (Sch 189). There was in Floyd County also a German Methodist church with 130 members (in Louisville there were three with 595 members). At Lanesville just to the West a Catholic church was going up in 1836, a Missouri Lutheran church was organized in 1846. This neighborhood in 1950 was still predominantly German. Between it and Vevay there were other points that were the scene of early German activity, notably Madison. Downstream too before we come to a district of major interest there are on the river banks names that bespeak German background, Mauckport, Indiana, and Brandenberg, Kentucky, for instance.

Well to the north of the river, almost west from the southern tip of the Ohio border something over one hundred miles, we are in Jackson County (62-838). That county and the southern end of Bartholomew County to the north became heavily German and sent emigrants to Kansas. The area is preponderantly Protestant. There is only one Catholic church in it -- at Seymour, and sixteen German Protestant churches, not counting the Methodist church at Seymour which in early days was German; indeed, in 1890 there were five German Methodist churches in the county, membership, 170. Three of the Missouri Lutheran churches were organized in 1840, 1847, and 1850. A neigh-
boring area, a corner of Bartholomew County and of Shelby County to the north is occupied by Germans who had moved west from the Catholic New Alsace-Oldenburg area. German township in northern Bartholomew County is well named. Edinburg just north of Bartholomew County began to build its Catholic church in 1852.

55.36 The Germans in Jackson County (for location see above) were not particularly conservative of German. Only one Missouri Lutheran church, that at Jonesville founded in 1877, in the northeastern part of the district which was settled later than the others, conserved the use of German in services in 1918. The last sermons elsewhere in the region had occurred in 1911. Two of the churches were dividing sermons between English and German in 1916. There had been no immigration since about 1880 and original immigrants were few even in 1917 when most of the shift to English took place in the churches. The English of the people showed in 1951 that those born in the first decade of the century had been conversant with German.

55.37 Returning to the Ohio River and descending it till we are two-thirds of the way across the state, we come to an area that extends inland fifty or sixty miles in Perry, Spencer and Dubois Counties where Catholic Germans and Protestant Germans are both very numerous. It was already a German district when St. Meinrad's Benedictine Priory, later Abbey, was founded. The people here were mainly south Germans and Swiss (Fr 54). Catholic churches were under construction at Jasper at the northern extremity of the district and at Ferdinand in 1836 and 1843. A Protestant German missionary, Tolke, visited settlements in Dubois County in 1843 (Sch 188). Other Lutherans and the Evangelical Synod greatly surpassed in number the Missouri Lutherans here, but the latter organized a
church in 1851. German Methodists were important in the area; they estab-
ished a camp meeting at Santa Claus six or seven miles from St. Meinrad
Abbey. It flourished mightily. In this county, Spencer, it provided the
only church of its kind (225 members in 1890), but in Perry County there
were in 1890 four German Methodist congregations with 290 members and in
Marrick County just west three with 220 members. Abraham Lincoln's country
is found on the west edge of this district.

The Santa Claus-Saint Meinrad district was more conservative of Ger-
man than the Indiana district near Cincinnati. At the south end of the
district the Missouri Lutheran church at Evanston still had German services
in 1948. At Santa Claus the German Methodist cemetery contained a inscrip-
tion in German as late as 1921. To the north of this the population is
mostly Catholic and very nearly solidly German in origin to beyond Jasper
twenty miles to the north. In all this region German speech was fairly
well preserved. Jasper, Holland, Mariah Hill and Meinrad may be cited for 1951 as
places particular given to German speech. In 1892 political speeches were
made in German at St. Meinrad Abbey (Fr 54). In 1951 at Mariah Hill chil-
dren still played in German sometimes, it was frequently the language of
tavern conversation where men in their twenties as well as those older as-
sembled. The English of the area has a Germanic flavor. Men born about
1920, of the fourth generation since immigration, were able at the time of
the Second World War without further instruction to undertake interpreting
duties in Germany. There were dialectal differences particularly between
the Catholic and the Protestant area that hampered comprehension. The dia-
lects did not seem to be local developments but imports with immigration.
Still few people knew whence their great-grandfather -- who were the immi-
grants -- came. Engl-izing was, however, going on; principally through
marriages in which one spouse was not proficient in German. The German influence was not strong enough to make the non-proficient learn. They would not conform to others, and the others, all being bi-lingual, spoke English habitually with them.

Still farther westward with only a minor break is Evansville (62-111) where in 1849 out of a population of 7000, the Germans numbered 2500; mostly from Lippe and Westphalia (Sch 185). A Catholic church was being built there in 1836. In 1900 two of the Catholic parishes were German national. German Protestant preaching began in the city by 1839 (Sch 185). Just to the north at Darmstadt a Missouri Lutheran church was organized in 1847. Still nearer town and a little to the west Protestants from Lippe settled in 1836, and in 1840 organized what has become St. Paul's Church of German Township (E-R) (Sch 184). East of Darmstadt and southeast of Elberfeld another Missouri Lutheran church was established in 1859. The Evangelical Synod was here much stronger than the Lutherans. It founded seven churches in town and eleven more within an Indiana semicircle twenty miles in radius. Protestants and Catholics were both numerous. Place names like St. Philip and St. Wendells to the west and northwest indicate Catholic presence in the county. Haubstadt with 894 inhabitants in 1950 and 244 pupils in the parochial school is also a Catholic center. It is fifteen miles north of Evansville. The immigrants seem to have come from the south and west of Germany (Darmstadt, Hessians; Elberfeld, Rhinelanders, Wurtembergers by B 176).

Evansville and its area is not so conservative of German as the Santa Claus-Meinrad area, but here it persisted longer than at the eastern end of the Ohio River's Indiana section. W.A. Fritsch, a Pomeranian born in 1840 who had come to Indiana at the age of twenty-two years, has left a descrip-
tion of the situation as it existed in 1905 in his little book entitled *Aus Americka* published in Germany for consumption there. He stated that 22 teachers were assigned to teaching German in the public schools of Evansville, and later continues:

"The Germans in the city have been recruited from every part of Germany and compose about 1/3 of the population. Just as they represent the most varied parts of Germany and Switzerland, so also do they belong to the most varied religious faiths, which have their separate churches and facilities; Lutherans and Catholics have parochial school besides their churches. In the social realm also societies thrive among the Germans, Turners and singing societies serve to give opportunity for joyful activity and nourish German jolliness. A 'German Society' and a German 'Veterans Society' keep memories of Germany very especially active. The environs of the city contain many German settlers; one township bears the official name 'German Township' and has only German inhabitants. Moreover all southern Indiana is settled thickly by Germans, where they hold yet faster to the German language than many of their countrymen in the large towns, for in these the Germans are already mixing more with the Americans" (Fr 62).

The cornerstone inscriptions on the Emanuel (American) Lutheran establishment are eloquent of the progress of change. The church itself has a cornerstone in German saying that it was built in 1856, "restauriert" 1874 (the choice of this Germanized Latin word so like an English loan-word from Latin is already significant). The school's cornerstone is still in German, 1890. But the parish house was not "erbaut;" it was "erected" in 1927. The church had dropped German from its school curriculum in 1912, from its church services in 1938; but the congregation in 1951 still had a sense of superiority in being German. The German language was still useful in pas-
toral work; persons seventy or older were more at home in it. Here too the speakers of German were not immigrants, but this time they were of the second generation, not of the fourth. The Emanuel Lutheran church was less conservative than the Westside Evangelical church which was still having German services once a month, the only German Protestant church out of sixteen with services still in German, though a Missouri Lutheran church fifteen miles to the northeast still had German services. The situation in the Catholic churches was not greatly different but indicated perhaps more desire to cling to German. There were a few youths in the choir of St. Joseph's church (by no means the oldest; it was founded in 1831) who had learned German at home, but German preaching and instruction in school had disappeared in 1916 even before the war pressures became great. In 1951 those born at the beginning of the century could still understand, but only those who had learned to read could still speak. However, the older people were still confessing in German. And the Maennerchor still sang in German, and would not accept an Irishman with an excellent voice who had married into the congregation, because he knew no German.

On the western frontier of the state not far up the Wabash fourteen miles from the nearest point on the Ohio, New Harmony (62-110) was founded in 1815 by Johann Georg Rapp and his economically successful communal colonists of pietistic origin. Rapp left before ten years had passed (B 106, Fa 456), but some of his colonists remained. In 1950 the town of New Harmony had 1360 inhabitants. Posey County, where New Harmony is, received other German immigrants by 1836. In 1850 W. McCarer, a Presbyterian minister, maintained that "almost half of Posey County is German" (Sch 186). There were in the county in 1890 four German Methodist churches with 392 members.
Somewhat up the Wabash the country around Vincennes (62-90) and around Terre Haute (62-70) as well as the cities themselves came to have numerous Germans. The French names of the towns occur only because of their early origin. Vincennes probably was a post in 1722; the date of first permanent settlement at Terre Haute may be 1816 when American settlers arrived: Vincennes became the see of a Catholic diocese in 1834, the Terre Haute country was receiving Catholic attention in 1836, and there were Germans there (K 239). Twenty miles to the northwest of Vincennes is the town of Westphalia. There were Germans just to the west by 1847 (Sch 189). In 1900 one of the two Catholic churches in Vincennes was a German national parish; so was one of the three large parishes in Terre Haute, another had a pastor with a German name. The Missouri Lutheran churches were established in 1858 and 1859. The schools for these churches averaged over 200 pupils each. In 1890 the German Methodists had a congregation of 190 at Terre Haute.

Though the Germans at Vincennes had settled later, the state of their language was similar in 1951 to that in Jackson County. There were no more German services (indeed, in 1916, there had been regular English services), but the old, especially in the area of German rural settlement, spoke English that indicated that they had learned it after their habits of pronunciation had become well fixed.

Indianapolis was deliberately founded in 1821 as the state capital. German settlement in the neighborhood had begun before 1830 (3175). It had no Catholic church building till 1849. A Missouri Lutheran parish was organized in 1842. In 1890 in its county Marion, there were 2 German Methodist congregations with 305 members and four Evangelical Association churches
with 323 members. In 1900 the German Catholics had two national parishes in Indianapolis with 825 pupils. There were in 1950 over 20 German Protestant churches (Lutheran and E-R). In Indianapolis in 1948, two of the seven Missouri Lutheran churches of the city, those organized in 1842 and 1846, were still having German services.

German settlement of the northern part of Indiana proceeded in general from the northeastern entry that is, Fort Wayne (62-26S), and to a lesser extent, at least in early days, from the lake front. The country between Fort Wayne and Decatur (62-35) eastward to the Ohio border and less heavily for some distance to the west and north became definitely German; the two cities too were importantly German. The rural section particularly was in the mid-twentieth century the most German area in the state of Indiana; perhaps in part because of support from the Swiss settlement just to the south, the close connection with the Maumee River Germans in Ohio not far to the east, and the Penn-Germans located to the northwest. The rural areas are preponderantly Lutheran, Missouri Synod; and Lutherans are numerous in town. In and around Fort Wayne there were, about 1950, a score of Missouri Lutheran churches; with Decatur as their post office, there were half a dozen more. In the city of Fort Wayne leaving aside the cathedral, four of the five Catholic churches had in 1900 pastors with German names, their parochial schools contained more than a thousand pupils. Until well into the twentieth century the Bishop of Fort Wayne was always a German. The see at Fort Wayne was erected in 1857. In 1835 it was part of the diocese of Bishop Brute of Vincennes. On a visit of that year he found "six or seven hundred Catholics at Fort Wayne, and 1500 to 2000 including those employed at the canal. They had not heard mass for seven
The canal workers were almost all Irish, but not so the permanent population. The priest sent to them later that year was "able to speak the three languages, English, French, and German used by his flock." The earliest Lutheran congregation organized was that of 1837; a Lutheran church at Decatur came into being the next year. A Lutheran seminary was established at Fort Wayne in 1840 (K 237). Before 1860 nine more churches had been organized. The proliferation continued till 1900.

In the Fort Wayne-Decatur area linguistic conditions were conservative. Twenty Lutheran churches, Missouri Synod, were still having services in German in 1948. At St. John's church, 7 miles northwest of Decatur, organized in 1835, membership in 1948, 1970, the inscriptions in the cemetery were in German without exception till 1903, and they were in great preponderance until 1918. The switch in the language of record was sudden; all inscriptions after 1922 were in English. At this church in 1951, services in both languages occurred every Sunday, but German had the prime hour, 10:30. The attendance at the German service, about one hundred, was, however, at best only one-third of that at the 8:30 service. The pastor's teenage daughter did not attend the German service. Attendance at German had declined in the last three years; the linguistically faithful were of all ages, but most were past forty; after church they all talked German together. "The older folks have to take the younger to church;" a farmer born about 1897 said, "You can say things in German that you can't in English. English is just a made-up language. It's easy, that's the reason they made it up." The dialect here was the same as that of the church to the west, but beyond there was a High German dialect. To the east they spoke a Low German dialect. Conditions at the Salem Evangelical and Re-
formed church in the same neighborhood were quite similar. Reports from there were that there were many families unable to carry on a conversation in English.

In 1916 in town at both Decatur and Fort Wayne German was much weaker than later developments might indicate if "moving to town" from the farms were left out of consideration. There were then one Missouri Lutheran parish in Decatur and six in Fort Wayne. All these churches but two had admitted English for some purposes at least. One was in the "English District"; another had relegated German to weekday services and these churches were large; their membership totaled about 8000. Still, in Fort Wayne at Emmanuel Church, founded in 1867, membership in 1948, 1200, there were in 1951 services in both languages every Sunday; about 400 attended the German, 450-500 the English; but the German attenders were not all old, none really young though. The congregation was mostly of the third generation since immigration, only a few had been born in Germany. The most recent? "They are about twenty years here." (In German congregations, even when everybody has forgotten German, even from the most cultured element, including the pastors, this grammatical construction is common.) The members were not retired farmers; the parish was truly urban. Marriage outside German stock was common enough so that there were members with Irish names; one was even an officer. This congregation was Hanoverian; the one a block west was Swabian. The contrast between town and country may be illustrated by the H. family. The son grew up to manhood in town in the 1930's without attaining true proficiency in German. His father spoke German well and his mother understood it, but they talked it with each other only for secrecy. All cousins of the youth lived in the country and spoke German habitually. During the 1940's however, many abandoned the habit.
South of Decatur in the same county is Berne (2300 inhabitants). This county, besides containing as of 1890 seven Evangelical Association churches with 312 members, is the "seat of the largest Mennonite congregation in North America [1320 members in 1953] and center of the large Swiss Mennonite settlement" (ME). The Swiss began to arrive in 1838. They were almost all from "the Jura Mountains and the Emmental in the canton of Bern". The first comers were in the western part of the county but settlement in what became Berne became much greater. The Mennonite Encyclopedia recorded in 1956: "In Wayne and Putnam counties, Ohio, and in Berne, Indiana, services were conducted in Bernese Swiss until well toward the close of the past century. Most of the churches changed from the dialect to standard German before changing to English. Today...most persons over 30 years old can carry on at least a limited conversation in their Swiss dialect" (ME IV, 671). Again the same source states, "The Bernese Swiss dialect is still spoken in many homes. The church services are in English but there are three German Sunday School classes". Other testimony is that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were young adults born there unable to speak English, that services were in German until after 1930, and that families with growing children used the Swiss dialect habitually until about that time. Children born as late as 1925 learned to speak Swiss with their grandparents. Not all the Swiss were Mennonites. In 1950 the Reformed church [E-R] had 576 members. German had disappeared from services then. The same denomination at Bluffton in the next county west had 675 members and there is also an Apostolic Christian church (Swiss) with five ministers. In the Berne community there are also Amish, part of whom are Swiss who first settled in 1853; others are Penn-Germans who arrived from Ohio (Butler, Co.) in 1850. There is also an ele-
ment of South Germans. Penn-Germans and people from south Germany with
some Swiss, members of the same churches, also settled beyond the Luth­
erans and Fort Wayne to the north.

Westward along the Wabash beyond the counties containing Fort Wayne
and Decatur, that is, Allen and Adams, for some sixty miles the counties
through which the river and its southern tributaries flow, all held over
300 Germans, immigrants and their children, in 1930 and so, after one
county's gap, did Tippecanoe County (62-41) which contains LaFayette also
on the Wabash. None of these counties, however, shows a concentration of
German churches either Protestant or Catholic, but some of the German set-
tlements date back to canal building days. The Missouri Lutheran church
at Peru was organized in 1838, and those at South Whitley, Huntington and
Logansport were all established in the late 1840's; a church south of Logan-
sport but a little nearer Kokomo was operating by 1873. In 1916 the church
at Lafayette organized in 1850 had admitted English only to evening ser-
vices, but in 1918 none of the Missouri Lutheran churches of this area was
continuing services in German. The congregation at Lafayette then numbered
987. Two Evangelical and Reformed churches in the town together mustered
about as many. German Catholics at LaFayette received attention from the
clergy rather late; they were already numerous in 1859 when newly installed
Bishop Luers saw to it that they built a church of some size as compared
with others.

The largest German groups along Lake Michigan and the northern bor-
der are generally in the industrial towns. Rather than South Bend, Mishawaka (62-13) farther east was the center of German settlement. A Missouri
Lutheran church was organized there in 1847. The year before, another had
been established at Bremen: sixteen miles to the south, and half-way be-
tween at Woodland still another came into existence in 1851. Catholic activity at Notre Dame passed from work among the Indians to establishment of the school in 1842 (Sh III 655), but it was not until 1860 that either South Bend or Mishawaka had a separate Catholic church (Sh IV 602). Laporte County (62-12) and city are of particular interest to this study because here was a way station for immigrants coming to Kansas. The Missouri Lutheran church in the city was organized in 1857 and five other congregations had been established in the same county or just to the south by 1887. As Hammond and Gary (62-10) became centers, churches of importance grew up there by the 1830’s. East of Mishawaka in the city of Elkhart, a Missouri Lutheran Church was founded in 1874.

In the Lake Front-Michigan border area, certain Lutheran churches, Missouri Synod, at Laporte, Gary, and Hammond were still having German services in 1948, but a much greater number including those founded before 1883 along the south edge of the district had given them up. At Mishawaka services in English were "regular" in 1916. At St. John's Evangelical and Reformed church in Elkhart they were finally abandoned in 1947. At that time twelve to fifteen persons had been attending the German service which was held only twice a year. In 1934, when German was the language of worship twice a month, there had been an average of seventy-five attenders. Church records had been exclusively in German until 1929. The last confirmations in German had taken place in 1920. In 1951 some pastoral work in German was necessary. In conformity with a phenomenon observed elsewhere, some sons and daughters of the old who had been forced to use German to communicate with the preceding generation, had an antipathy for the language.
At Niles, Michigan, eleven miles north of South Bend the Evangelical and Reformed church had abandoned German services about 1930. Here immigration had gone on longer; some members had come after the First World War. One-fourth in 1951 were of the first or second generation; many of these spoke German, but the preponderance of older stock overwhelmed them. Many were Wurtembergers. In LaPorte in 1951 the German families were well scattered over the city. St. John's (Missouri) Lutheran church was able to carry on its German service because of its size, 2228 members in 1918.

Rural Elkhart County (62-14) as distinguished from the city, was a focus for Penn-German settlers. They began to arrive in 1841 on its eastern edge. Many were Amish still using German in their services in 1956 (ME III, 26). Mennonites, not Amish, settled west of Goshen in the center of the county in 1845. Brethren (Dunkards) also became plentiful. (River) Brethren in Christ centered at Nappanee on the southern edge. The Apostolic Christian Church at Bremen and Milford near Nappanee added presumably blood more recently immigrated. The Evangelical Association became strong in this region. In Elkhart County and those surrounding it possessed 34 congregations with 2363 members in 1890.

The German linguistic situation in Indiana shows that without a large solidly settled district, such as the Decatur-Fort Wayne area or the Santa Claus-Saint Meinrad area, German could not truly survive in that part of the United States. The decadence of German in the other large and solidly settled areas in the southern part of the state indicate that there have been at work important factors other than size and solidity.

The Germans from Michigan who came to Kansas were not numerous, and the treatment here will be brief. Along the water from the Ohio line up
to the outlet of Lake Huron, there were in the 1840's considerable German settlements. Detroit proper seems then to have been occupied by other stocks but East Detroit had a Lutheran Church by 1847. On Lake Erie there was one at Monroe in 1844, one on Lake St. Clair at Mount Clemens in 1852. In all these areas German settlement continued to grow. In 1910 there were 50,000 persons born Germany and resident in Wayne County, where Detroit is, -10% of the population. By 1915 there were in Detroit 23 Missouri Lutheran churches, about as many other Lutheran and ER churches, and 8 Catholic churches where the clergy bore German names. In 1918 some of the services were in German in 13 of the Missouri Lutheran churches. In Monroe and its neighborhood one church out of four, the oldest, was maintaining German. At Waltz, halfway to Detroit from there but inland somewhat, there was also German at a church of 825 souls established in 1857, also at Wyandotte and near by in churches of similar size established in 1861 and 1883. At Mount Clemens and its neighborhood including Fraser and New Haven, six of the thriving churches had some German in the services, so also at Port Huron where a congregation numbering 1246 souls in 1948 was established in 1871. Inland from Lake Erie at Adrian 35 miles northwest of Toledo there was an early Lutheran congregation. A most important German settlement grew up around Ann Arbor. Twelve miles southwest of there a Lutheran church was organized in 1842; it was still having German services in 1948 and so was the large Missouri Lutheran church in town founded in 1908. There grew up other German churches in the county at East Ann Arbor, at Dexter, at Chelsea and at Salina. In the two tiers of counties nearest the south border, which contain a number of important towns and cities, there were many Germans. Proceeding westward from Ann Arbor, we may mention (the dates are for the foundation of Missouri Lutheran churches): Jackson (1869),
Albion (1868), Marshall (1856), Kalamazoo (1868), St. Joseph on Lake Michigan (1867). The churches at Albion and St. Joseph were still having some German services in 1948. Farther south near the Indiana line Sturgis and its neighborhood deserve mention with Lutheran churches founded in 1863 and 1864, but especially Berrien County in the southwest corner of the state, which includes, in the north, St. Joseph. In this county in 1910 there were 3850 persons born in Germany, more Germans than in any other Michigan county except Wayne, Kent, Bay, and Saginaw. There were also 1586 persons born in Russia, who were nearly all Volga German. To the south and southeast of St. Joseph at Bridgman and Berrien Springs churches organized in 1896 and 1912 were still having German services in 1948. All along the Lake Michigan shore the principal towns up to Traverse City had German populations able to establish Lutheran congregations between 1865 and 1885. They prospered, and at Ludington and Manistee there were still some services in German in 1948. In general settlement seems to have been mainly near the lake shore. In Kent County with 5404 foreign born Germans in 1910, the oldest and largest Missouri Lutheran church, founded in 1856 at Grand Rapids, was still having German services in 1948. So was the church founded at Lansing in 1871. At Grand Rapids there was also a Catholic German church. In the western two-thirds of Michigan the Catholic Germans were not numerous, but a rural district was settled about Westphalia 23 road miles northwest of Lansing. There are three churches in this neighborhood. Outside of the district on the water at and near Detroit, Catholic German churches were not near each other and were not large.
German settlements at and near Saginaw and twelve or thirteen miles further north around Bay City on Saginaw Bay were important, and were usually the source of the German-born who were first in Michigan and then in Kansas. In 1910 there were in Saginaw County 8,080 persons born in Germany, that is, ten per cent of the total population. In Bay County there
were 1,665. Some ten miles southeast of Saginaw at Frankenmuth a Lutheran church was organized in 1845, another in Saginaw itself in 1849, at Richville to the east in 1851, and to the north near Bay City in 1852. All these churches were still having some German services in 1948, as was also the church at Hemlock to the west established in 1880. The churches at Frankenmuth, -lust, and -trost had in 1931 heard German every Sunday with an English service once a month in addition in the first two (FK 244). In Saginaw

Hofman's map of retentive churches in Michigan is in close agreement on the importance of the Saginaw area and in general for other locations set forth in this work for Michigan (FH 147).

and Bay City and in their very immediate neighborhoods there were 25 German Lutheran churches of various types, and also three E-R churches. To the northeast of this area the shores of the peninsula between Saginaw Bay and Lake Huron received numerous Germans. There was a Lutheran church at Sebewaing on the bay side in 1852; four other German churches were established there or within a few miles; on the lake side Missouri Lutheran churches were established at three point in the 1870's and 1880's and a Catholic German at Ruth, sufficiently flourishing in 1915 to have a school with 85 pupils. In Huron County, on this peninsula and water bound on three sides, in 1910 there lived 2801 persons born in Germany; percentage wise this number is comparable to that in Saginaw County. Some services in German were still taking place in Sebewaing and Unionville in 1948. On lake Huron farther north flourishing Lutheran churches were organized in the 1870's at the principal towns, Tawas City, Alphena, Rogers City and Cheboygan. German services existed here in 1948. As on the west shore German settlement does not seem to have penetrated far inland. At points in the northern part of Michigan's lower peninsula, German settlement was late enough so that in the 1960's German persists in active use.
German settlements are so numerous in Illinois as to make it easier to point out the areas where they are not very frequent than it is the districts of settlement. On the southern and eastern border a strip of territory usually two counties wide along the Ohio and Wabash Rivers as far as Terre Haute, that is to say, half way up the east border, did not have 300 Germans, immigrants and their children, in each county in 1930.*

* Penn Germans from North Carolina settled before 1836 near Jonesboro and Anna some 30 miles north of Cairo (Sch 24).

The same is true for a strip of counties containing at its northern end important Swedish colonies, and running from Rock Island almost to Alton. West of this there were only two counties with 300 Germans in 1930; Quincy is their most important town. The two lie behind the westernmost bend of the Mississippi River. There is another small area of counties lacking 300 Germans in 1930 just east of the center of the state. The distribution of German churches in Illinois reveals the same phenomena as those described above.

Early German settlements in Illinois radiated first from St. Louis and then from Chicago and grew numerous all along a broad path leading between the two cities, more or less following the Illinois River, stretching off to both sides in the north and, after that river turned south, delimited by it to the west and to the east by the "main line" of the Illinois Central
Railroad, which, in strict accordance with its name, ran north and south through the center of the state, terminating on the north at LaSalle; beyond was the "Galena Branch." A narrower line of German settlement followed the "Chicago branch" of the same railroad rather near the Indiana border until it joined the main line at Centralia, mid-state east of St. Louis. The northern part of the state was all covered by the radiation from Chicago, combined with movement east from the Mississippi. The areas most heavily settled by Germans were those near the two metropolises, but there grew up important settlements elsewhere in the state.

In 1818 when Illinois became a state, the number of Germans in it was negligible. However, "soon after the founding of Belleville in 1814, a number of American Germans came out from Virginia and Pennsylvania. The first German from abroad, Conrad Bornemann, arrived in 1816" (Sch 23). Settlement of all kinds was then approximately limited to the southern third of the state. By 1830 another third had been added to the settled area, and a few beginnings of German immigration had taken place. Indian occupation did not greatly delay settlement, and after the Black Hawk War of 1832 it was no consideration at all. In the next fifteen years at an undulantly increasing tempo the rest of the state was occupied, though not solidly. The eastern part of the state below the neighborhood of Lake Michigan was very lightly settled until some years after the Chicago Branch of the Illinois Central had been completed. The railroad was under construction from 1852 till 1856. Its land grant was of great importance in settlement.
An earlier path of settlement was furnished by the Illinois River and, above its navigation head, where the River definitely turned eastward, by the Illinois-Michigan Canal which was under construction from 1836 to 1841 and again more importantly from 1845 to 1848. This canal project was also given a federal land grant. By 1857 two east-west railroads along which German settlements were numerous, had been built. The important section of one, the Peoria and Oquawka, ran east from Peoria to Gilman. The western terminus of the other was at Naples, the earliest head of navigation on the Illinois River. It ran east through Springfield and Decatur to Danville on the Indiana border.

The first organized effort at settlement in Illinois by Germans from Germany was in 1820 at Vandalia (60-102), sixty-five miles into the hinterland from St. Louis. The colony failed as such (B 177), but certain Hanoverians settled permanently (K 245; see also Ma III: 1:9) —— there were 20 families in 1836 (Sch 24) —— and were perhaps a magnet that helped attract settlers to the area, for there are settlements to the east and southeast at Altamont (20 miles) and Saint Peter (18 miles), both of which organized Missouri Lutheran churches in 1869 and have remained quite German. Altamont too acquired a Catholic Church from which St. Elmo, some twelve miles from Vandalia, has been served. The names of Augsburg, a town situated even nearer to Vandalia, suggests that Germans were there when the town was founded. The Vandalia area was one of the more conservative districts. In the nest of Missouri Lutheran churches to the east of it six, that is nearly all, still had German ser-
vices in 1948 even though in town at Altamont English had already been introduced in 1916. At least until the time of the First World War, children often arrived at school age without knowing English. The pressures of that period were not enough to cause German preaching to be abandoned.

Effingham (60-103) is the next county seat east of Vandalia, and four miles further on, Teutopolis was settled by a company of Germans from Cincinnati in 1838 (P 496); there were ninety families there in 1840. The town became a Catholic center in 1849 which grew in importance with the coming of the Franciscans in 1858 and the establishment of their college three years later (now a novitiate) (Sh IV 627). A few miles to the southeast of Teutopolis at Dieterich a Lutheran center developed. Preservation of German among the Catholics centered at Teutopolis seems to have been weak. The Lutherans yielded too. There were no German services at Dieterich in 1948. Indeed, twelve children were confirmed in English there in 1916. The Effingham Missouri Lutheran Church was organized in 1866 (525 members in 1948). English and German shared the services there in 1916, and German ultimately yielded.

North of Effingham Shelby County for some time had a mining population that included Germans. In the part of that county nearest Effingham are two large Missouri Lutheran Churches. St. Paul's at Strasburg, the largest, founded in 1866, had 629 members in 1948, 901 in 1916; the other at Stewardson 402. There was also at Strasburg a Missouri Lutheran Church in the English District in 1916, organized in 1897, 346 members in 1940, 205 in 1916. The
Illinois Central land officials settled Germans in the area in 1860. It received intensive promotion when Franz Hoffman (see #55.85) was land agent for the Illinois Central, 1862-6. Germans moved in from other states including Missouri as well as from Germany. He founded a town at Sigel a few miles north of Teutopolis. It was established mainly as a distributing point for Teutopolis, Strassburg and Stewardson, and has the smallest of the three Shelby County Lutheran churches. The German church at Strasburg was still having German services in 1948 but not the one close by at Stewardson where English had been regular in 1916.

A German center that did not become very strong but furnished a few Kansans developed a county's breadth west of Strasburg, some 30 miles north of Vandalia at Pana, Ohlman, and Oconee. The churches are E-R found in 1865, 1877 and 1875. (Ma III:4:13)

To the southeast of Effingham along the Wabash River are four counties showing no high percentage of foreign white stock and no great number of persons born in Germany, but there were in 1890 in the four counties, Richland, Edwards, Wabash and White, 13 Evangelical Association congregations with 912 members. Presumably Penn-German stock is strong here. All Illinois areas so far treated are of minor importance in comparison with that about to be considered.

The Belleville area, so we shall call a district beginning opposite St. Louis, stretching 50 air miles downstream approximately to Chester (60-130), and, at the widest point back into the hinterland as far or farther, became solidly German except on the
fringes. In 1837 an Evangelical missionary stated that "in St. Clair County [where Belleville is (60-110)] there are more Germans than in any other on in the West" (Sch 476). There were in 1950 very nearly 100 Protestant German churches in the area, depending on the location of a boundary. There were something over half as many Catholic churches, ninety per cent with pastors with German names in 1915. These were two-thirds of the Catholic churches in the Belleville diocese. The other third was in general German too, but not geographically concentrated. Faust in 1909 reported an estimate that "three fourths of the population of the county [St. Clair] are German or of German descent" (Fa 459). German names occurred among the inhabitants of this district as early as 1792 (Fa 457), but these probably belonged to men born in America.

55.58 Early Belleville. A Swiss settlement was established about 25 miles southeast of St. Louis in 1818 (K 245; Fa 457 implies 1816), but the first settlement of Germans from Germany was that of a group from Hesse-Darmstadt (Po:495; see also Ma III:2:54). Other settlement followed quickly, even preceded, though not in group form. Near Belleville to the southwest there were Catholics at Millstadt in 1830, numerous enough for consistent attention in 1837. Belleville, after being the residence of a German missionary in 1836-7 (RoI 766), received a permanent resident Catholic pastor in 1842; his church was German. The city became the see of a diocese in 1858.

55.59 Main Rural Developments. The work of the Catholics began at Paderborn (earlier Teutonia) by 1837 (RoI 766); it is 5 or 6 miles from Belleville. There
were then other nascent Catholic parishes not far away. To the northwest and southeast of Belleville (at Centerville and Freeburg) an Evangelical minister was preaching in 1836 (Sch 51), also farther south near Waterloo and Red Bud (Sch 181, 2), and in 1839 at Mascoutah to the east (Sch 38). Lutheran churches were organized in 1841 at Millstadt, Columbia, and Waterloo which lie close together. Farther back country at quite separated points Lutheran churches had their start at Venedy and Red Bud in 1842. Not far from Venedy is Catholic St. Libory which furnished settlers to Kansas. It is thirty miles southeast of St. Louis and was at its start Irish, but the Germans appeared by 1838 (RoI 768), and ultimately displaced the Irish completely. These Germans were Westphalians from Paderborn. By 1849 their priest was German (Ma II: 2:20). Another obscure Catholic parish that provided Kansas with citizens is Lively Grove south of St. Libory in the southwest corner of Washington County.

The organization dates of the Missouri Lutheran churches in the Belleville area give an adequate idea of the progress of settlement along the fringes. Missouri Lutheran data are cited below because for all congregations they are available, but the Evangelical and Reformed church is much better represented in this region. The German Methodists also had a representation. In 1890 in St. Clair County and its neighbors to the east and west there were 11 of their congregations with 895 members. At the outer edge of the district beginning at the south, Missouri Lutheran churches were founded at Chester on the river in 1849, at Steel-
ville in 1853, at Campbell's Hill (farther from St. Louis, straight east of Chester) in 1877, at Nashville (42 miles south southeast of Belleville (60-121)) in 1858, (other Protestants organized in 1859, Sch 515, had preaching in 1848 (Ma III:4:5)), at New Minden north of Nashville in 1846, at Hoyleton, a little farther east in 1867, at Centralia sixty miles almost east of St. Louis in 1892. At Centralia, Evangelical churches were organized in 1864 and 1866 (Sch 514). The Missouri Lutheran church had 832 members in 1948, in a town of 13,000. The Germans from the west displaced others there.

55.61 The North Fringe: 45 miles straight east of St. Louis there is Carlyle. The Lutheran church in town was not established until 1934, but Saint Paul's in the country was organized in 1864. The highway east from St. Louis, Interstate 64, U.S. 50, may be regarded as the north boundary of the Belleville area. On it or close to the south of it on the way into St. Louis from Carlyle are a succession of German place names, Beckemeyer, Germantown, Albers, New Baden. Germantown, a Catholic settlement, received its name as a result of a compromise. The Westphalians had wanted to call it after their province and the Hanoverians after theirs. This was in 1836 or 1837 (RoI 772). East St. Louis should be included as an early German settlement. The Germans there have become lost among other foreign stocks, and we shall pass by their late development. They were numerous enough in 1855 to require a German assistant at St. Patrick's. Their own church, St. Henry's, was organized in 1866.
Belleville, though overshadowed by St. Louis, became a sort of cultural capital. It had a German newspaper in 1840, three in 1849. "In Belleville, with over 15,000 inhabitants, it happened that for years no native American sat in the city council" (Fa 459). Intellectual leadership for Germans not only in this area, but in surrounding regions, came from the "Latin farmers" who settled just east (Ma III:2:58) of Belleville. They were a group of educated men who worked farms or managed them in connection with professional activities, medicine, journalism, etc. They came mainly from the upper Rhine West and lower South beginning in 1832 and continuing on for a decade. They were an Englishing influence, for they were soon participating in the political, social, and economic life of the state and region.

The Belleville area, because of its size both geographically and in population, was the most conservative of German in the state. Shortly after foundation, that is in the 1830's, among German Lutherans along the Kaskaskia, "the men could talk some broken English, but the women seldom attempted to frame an English answer to the simplest question" (Sprague, quoted by Sch 42). Thirteen of the Missouri Lutheran churches still had German preaching in 1948, Millstadt was without it, but with a change of pastor regained it before 1951. Congregations sometimes abandoned German services only because of their pastor's inadequacy in the language. In the Evangelical and Reformed church at Waterloo in 1951 there were German services fifteen times a year; 75 attended the German, 400 the English. The pastor used German about half the time during his calls. There were certain children being taught German in the home,
but none of the young used German among themselves. In that year German was about as widespread among the Catholics. In Belleville Catholic churches, no English was preached until 1866 and then rarely until 1883 when a petition "stated the necessity of establishing a congregation in which the English language would be preached owing to the many who understood no other language" (from The Catholic Church of Belleville, Ill. - 1905). The answer was the founding of St. Luke's; its pastors were Irish, but it "grew by natural increase, by many conversions from Protestantism, and by the modern tendency of the German-Americans to prefer the English language, so that it is now among the largest" (Be 24). At the time this statement was written St. Luke's had 500 families. The school of the Cathedral, St. Peter's, which remained German, had nearly twice as many pupils as were in St. Luke's. Among the Protestants at Belleville the Missouri Lutherans had gone so far in 1916 as to allow preaching in English in the evenings. In general for the Belleville area about 1950 the farther from St. Louis, the more German until very near the edge of the area. Chester, on the river and a town of over 5,000, was not noticeably Germanic in speech. English was already being regularly preached there in 1916. At Red Bud too, much nearer the center of the district, in 1916 there had been some preaching in English in 1916, but the congregation was still hearing German services in 1948. Steelville and Campbell Hill, 12 or 15 miles inland, were much more conservative, but at Steelville English, though not yet fully
triumphant in 1948, had found its way into some Lutheran services in 1916. At New Minden on the eastern edge of the district Low German was the general speech on the streets, at least until 1925. The practice fell off later, but the Missouri Lutheran church had services in German in 1948.

Summerfield, on the highway 14 air miles northeast of Belleville, is different from most of the Belleville areas. It has a German name, Sommerfeld, translated into English. There were two Mennonite families in the neighborhood by 1842. Mennonites directly from the Palatinate and from true Bavaria arrived in the neighborhood about 1852 and organized a church in 1856, built in Summerfield in 1859. This settlement is of particular interest to Kansas because it furnished part of the population for Halstead and was of great help to the Blacksea Mennonites coming to Kansas. When a new church was dedicated in 1910, "Reverend Poth of the Evangelical church and Rev. Schutz of the Methodist Church both spoke in German at the morning and evening services and Rev. Van der Smissen [their own pastor] spoke in English." So says the history of their church. The Reverend Van der Smissen conducted a school in German until 1911, and those who attended it were still able to speak German in 1951 -- few others.

The Collinsville-Marine area immediately to the northeast of the center of St. Louis, is located along the north boundary of the Belleville area, though not running so far east. In 1809 Julius Barnback came to reside in Pin Oak Township of Madison County (Ma II: 3:55). In 1831 Dr. H. C. Gerke settled at Marine, twenty-five air miles northeast of St. Louis. Two years later he published in Hamburg, Germany, Der Nordamerikanische Ratgeber (The North Ameri-
can Adviser), the best manual of its kind that had yet appeared (K 272). It did not bring a mass of settlers to Marine, but a German element has continued there and in its valley. Swiss, both German and French, arrived in Highland a bit south of Marine in 1832, but Germans from Germany came to be a strong element in the community (Fa 460). They established a Turnverein and a Gesangverein in 1855 (Ei 322). Preaching in German was abandoned at Highland about 1938. Collinsville, not far from Belleville and so close to St. Louis as to have early become part of the urban complex, has a very large Missouri Lutheran church, founded in 1848, 1,691 members in 1948 when some of its members still worshipped in German. The town's Evangelical and Reformed church had nearly half as many members. Its Catholic church in 1948 had long had a mixed membership, partly Slav and Italian, but in 1900 when it was German, the parochial school taught 200 pupils.

Edwardsville (60-100) not far inland was flourishing by 1820. In 1950 its inhabitants numbered 8,776 and Eden Evangelical and Reformed church had 739 members; Evangelical preachers appeared there by 1837 (Sch 94). In the neighboring country there were two smaller churches of the same denomination. One was at Home, where the Missouri Lutherans organized in 1856. Ten miles north a German Presbyterian church originated in the 1850's (Sch 181). Madison County, of which Edwardsville is the county seat, in 1890 contained five German Methodist churches with 382 members. Lutheran preaching in English occurred every two weeks at Edwardsville in 1916; there was none in 1948.
Alton (60-100) had some German population, 60 persons (Sch 476) by 1836 (Sch 274). It was then a busy port on the Mississippi, and attracted many Germans (Fa 460). Protestant German Missionaries began to work among the Germans in 1836, but it was then richer in Catholics (Sch 93). A Catholic church was built there in 1844 (Sh IV 230). Its German Catholic church burned in 1860 (Sh IV 628). Alton was the see of a diocese from 1857 to 1923, when Springfield succeeded it. The first bishop was a German, H. D. Juncker, Its Evangelical and Reformed church had a membership of 1,050 in 1950; the two Missouri Lutheran churches 972 in 1948 with no German preaching. The atmosphere in the 1940's was still, however, quite German, and the English of many Lutherans had a marked accent. The country inland from Alton for 10 or 12 miles received many Germans, two Missouri Lutheran churches were built in 1859.

The Staunton-Mount Olive district is mainly known as a coal mining area (#49.35), but German settlement began before coal mining. A Missouri Lutheran church was established at Staunton (35 miles northeast of St. Louis) in 1847, the Evangelical in 1858. There had been settlement there by 1833. Coal mining began about 1865 (S 599). Germans were at first the chief mining element in the population, and so remained until after 1887. As farmers they also became stronger in numbers. There are from 12 to 15 German Protestant churches in the Cahokia Valley mining area (depending on boundaries fixed). There were also in 1890 seven German Methodist churches with 728 members. The growth in German immigration continued to be in large part rural. For instance, eight miles north of Staunton, Gillespie, where mines were not
opened until about 1908, was founded in 1853. German names appear in its population in 1858. Still farther north Carlinville had an Evangelical church in 1859 (411 members in 1950). The beginning of the main body of German settlement arrived in 1869; a Lutheran church, now "American", was organized in 1870. At Mount Olive, 6 miles northeast of Staunton, East Frisians (with a few Saxons) built a Lutheran church in 1866. It became "American"; a Missouri Synod group split off in 1882. About 1950 the two churches, equally large, had over 1,000 members in a town of 2,400 where a high proportion of the inhabitants were Slavs.

Groups from different regions in Germany clustered together. The Missouri Lutheran church founded four miles south of Staunton in 1899 was the Braunschweig Congregation (that is, from Brunswick), a name that its people later resented. In the 1930's, mining practically disappeared from the area. (In 1961 the only open mines were one north of Gillespie and another at Livingston a little south of Staunton.) The closures stopped all influx of population and at Staunton there developed much intermarriage between various immigrant stocks with consequent shifting of church memberships. In 1961 the Catholic church was the largest, the Missouri Lutheran next, and the Evangelical and Reformed third. Before the Italians and Slavs came, there were Catholic Germans in the mining area. In 1900 there was a church with an Irish pastor at Litchfield, a small church with a German pastor at Bunker Hill not far west of Staunton, and a church with a German pastor at Staunton. The latter had 110 pupils in his parochial school. At that time (1900) the Missouri Lutherans taught 160 in their school; their membership (760) was
nearly the same size as in 1948, when they had 94 pupils as against the Catholics' 130. The lower proportion of children after the lapse of 50 years is characteristic of the mining region; the old predominated soon after the mines closed.

The linguistic situation in the Staunton mining area was complicated. At Staunton itself the Missouri Lutheran Church, where services were partly in English in 1916, dropped German services completely in 1954. The Evangelical and Reformed Church abandoned them in the 1930's. Its German school had had 108 pupils in 1901 (Ma III:4:13). There were in 1961 a few persons able to speak German. The hysteria against German during the First World War was great here and in the area in general. In view of the pressures at that time and of the polyglot nature of the town (Italians and Slovaks are numerous) the persistence of German has been remarkable. The force working most actively against it has been the intermarriages which became especially common as the coal fields failed in the 1930's. At Gillespie to the north there were in 1961 still a very few persons, mostly immigrants, able to speak German. The Lutheran church (American) there recorded its minutes in German until 1918. At Carlinville to the north the language question was raging before 1901. The pastor then wrote, "The flooding by English has for the time being fortunately passed on, and my effort continues to be to keep the congregation as a German congregation. It requires tremendous energy, but I promise myself a blessed state as a result" (Ma III:4:12). At Mount Olive on the eastern edge of the district, the pressures of 1918 were very great, and Slavs were already numerous fellow citizens. However
in 1961 there were a half-dozen homes where German was sometimes still used, "carried on as a family tradition."

Central Illinois, as we may call a zone with a width of 1 \(\frac{1}{2}\) degrees of latitude extending from a line passing through the southern boundary of the neighborhood of Springfield north to the 41st parallel which runs along the northern side of the neighborhood of Peoria, possesses three areas of German settlement, the Quincy Area, covering the two counties already spoken of as isolated on the Mississippi's great bend westward, an inner and vaguer area bounded on the west by the valley of the Illinois River and containing both Peoria and Springfield, and an eastern one along the Chicago branch of the Illinois Central near but not against the Indiana line.

As a river port, Quincy (61-160) was founded early. There was a German there by 1822 (Pa 460; Ma III:4:31 says 1829). In the 1830's the town acquired a numerous German population, "about sixty families of European Germans, mostly Protestant," said a missionary in 1836 (Sch 476). A Missouri Lutheran congregation was organized in 1837. Other Protestant German ministers were also then at work there (Sch 93, 179, 476, Mu 94). A Catholic priest came for the Germans in the same year (Ma II:2:20). He brought coreligionaries with him. In 1844 "Quincy had its German [Catholic] congregation and priest" (Sh IV 230). There was a German military company in 1842, and a German newspaper in 1845. In 1900 the city had four Catholic churches with pastors who had German names; two with Irish. The German churches had 1,216 pupils in their schools, the Irish 260. In 1948 the Lutheran churches, Missouri Synod had 1,684 members. There were no American Lutheran or Evangelical and Reformed
churches there. The people were largely Westphalians. Quincy had no great German hinterland and the other river ports did not develop great colonies, though Warsaw and Nauvoo had their German element.

At Quincy no German services in churches existed as late as 1948. In the Evangelical (and Reformed) Church they were abandoned in 1920. The movement to give up German was however of earlier date. The last confirmations in German were in 1910; the class was made up of seven or eight children. That some of these boys and girls were of the third generation is testimony to faithfulness to German until the beginning of the twentieth century. In one of the two Missouri Lutheran churches English had been introduced into evening services by 1916. In 1951 there were still a few of the old requiring pastoral work among them in German.

In the eastern part of Quincy's county, Adams, where the drainage is already toward the Illinois River, a considerable settlement, consisting mainly of East Frisians, was established rather early to the west and north of Clayton; two Missouri Lutheran churches were organized in this rural area in 1852. In 1948 these churches had together 265 members, while the American Lutheran churches of Coatsburg and Golden also of this area had 733. The East Frisians had given up German church services by 1948 (probably much earlier) but the use of their dialect persisted and had not become really rare in 1960.

Along the Illinois River, Beardstown, some fifty miles east of Quincy, was receiving German settlers by 1829; in that year for the first time steamers came up the river past this point
on to Pekin; the next year they reached Peoria (Pe 191), but the sand bar at Beardstown was hard to pass. In 1836 Protestant German missionaries found 250 Germans there (Sch 476). Ten miles south of Beardstown, Franz Arenz founded Arenzville in 1837 (K 276), and was a diligent promoter of the whole district. A part of the company of Latin farmers who had settled at Belleville made their way to Beardstown in the early 1830's. Koerner maintained in 1884 that the area, which he makes include all Cass County, extending twenty miles to the east from Beardstown along the Sangamon River, and also including adjoining parts of Morgan County to the south was one-third German, immigrants and their children. Indeed in this area are to be found seven Missouri Lutheran churches (no "American" or E-R). The two oldest at Beardstown and Chapin, organized in 1848 and 1850, had together over a thousand members in 1948. The German Methodists and the Evangelical Association were active in this area. Together they had 17 churches along the river to Peoria in 1890; the membership was 1568. Catholic activity at Beardstown began by 1849. The church there and another at Arenzville had German pastors in 1900; both were small. Up the river from Beardstown, Missouri Lutheran churches were organized at Bath in 1849, at Havana (61-162) in 1850, at Pekin in 1852, at Peoria in 1858. Of the first two towns Havana was the more important German center with something of a hinterland. Its first Germans arrived in the late 1830's (Po 496). The settlement at Bath began a few years later. None of the towns on the south-flowing Illinois River preserved German in church services as late as 1948 except on rare occasions. At Arenzville English was preached on a
regular schedule in 1916.

Pekin (61-153) and Peoria (61-143) may be regarded as part of one complex. Koerner in 1884 said little of Peoria, except to indicate its importance, because he was dealing with developments that became major before 1848, and "the Germans there reached an advantageous position only after the period with which we are concerned" (K 277). Von Bosse in 1908 found it unnecessary to do more than repeat his predecessor. We may therefore conclude, since both these authors ordinarily emphasize the achievements of individuals, that early Germans, though numerous, remained an obscure element in the population, a part of the industrial proletariat until they were displaced by later comers. Germans had, however, appeared in Peoria by 1835 and upstream somewhat, in Woodford County, in 1833 (Po 496; see also Sch 475, Fa 460). A Catholic church was dedicated at Peoria in 1853 (Sh IV 614). It had been eight years in the building. Five or six miles to the northwest of Peoria is Kickapoo, 200 population in 1920. A Catholic church was built there in 1839-1840 (Sh II 693, Ro 717). The church was St. Patrick's; later St. Mary's was founded for Germans, who had a small school in 1900, while there was none at St. Patrick's. The Germans had become so dominant by 1915 that St. Patrick's was attended from St. Marys. The people were considered all Germans in 1965. Peoria became the see of a diocese in 1877. In 1900 of ten Catholic churches, seven had pastors with Irish names, three with German. Two bore the official label of German National parishes. At St. Joseph's school there were 420 pupils, at Sacred Heart 100. Until 1930 the bishops were Irish. The
German Protestant churches numbered a dozen in 1950. The Evangelical and Reformed church in Pekin had 1,251 members. The Christ and Trinity Missouri Lutheran churches in Peoria had nearly 1,400 each. Three American Lutheran congregations in Peoria were half as large. Pekin and Peoria were evidently settled by people of different stocks (Lutherans are few in Pekin, E-R in Peoria).

The Trinity Lutheran Church (Missouri) at Peoria persisted in complete faithfulness to German until 1919. This policy had been disastrous. Because of this conservatism at the installation service for the new pastor in that year not more than fifty were present. For three years thereafter there was preaching in both languages every Sunday; by 1925 German had been completely eliminated. However pastoral work in German remained necessary and the need was in its last days in 1950. The transition in other churches began a little earlier; for instance in the other Missouri Lutheran church English and German shared honors in 1916, but the transition period was longer in duration. In general in 1950 at Peoria only a few of the very old used German. The case was the same for the neighboring village of Kickapoo though two or three of the old German speakers were living in 1965.

Extending eastward, beginning a little north of Peoria is a band of German settlements. In the second county east of Peoria, McLean (65-154), an Alsatian who had been two years in southwestern Ohio (Butler County, 62-280), settled. He was Amish. His and other branches of the Mennonites and kindred groups soon furnished much population to the country between his farm and Peoria. An Amish congregation was organized in
1833 at Metamora, 15 air miles northeast of Peoria in Woodford County (61-144). Tazewell County (61-153), south of Woodford and west of McLean, received many congregations and the country farther east two. "Many of these immigrants came from Alsace," others from "Hesse, the Palatinate, Bavaria, Baden and Switzerland... Most of the Illinois Amish... arrived before 1850" (ME, III, 6). The Swiss element persisted later, and the Apostolic Christians, mainly Swiss in origin, flourished here. They established four churches in Tazewell County and four more eastward along the line of the Peoria and Oquawka railroad. Finally, some of them formed a settlement at Cissna Park on the Illinois Central Chicago branch somewhat south of the junction with the P. and O. (61-156). Many of the settlers in the Swiss Apostolic Christian settlements at Bern and Gridley, Kansas, came from this area. Indeed one of the denomination's churches is at Gridley, Illinois, in northern McLean County. The Mennonite churches in the same area are equally numerous; some of them are Penn-German in membership but not all; for instance, in McLean County near Danvers not far northwest of Bloomington, Hessian Mennonites who had first been in Ohio settled in the 1830's and 1840's. The few German churches of other denominations were not founded until the 1860's or the 1870's. No other German stock was able to occupy the land solidly along the railroad east from Peoria for almost one hundred miles.

At the eastern end of the Peoria and Oquawka line but before reaching the Indiana border the Germans were able to settle more closely together and formed the Iroquois County Area
(61-156). Here in 1850 the Catholic Bishop of Chicago, Van de Velde, "exhorted the German Catholics at Ridgeville to commence building" (Sh IV 239). Ridgeville did not become the center of settlement in the area. In this neighborhood Gilman, 75 miles south of Chicago, developed good railroad connections so as to become a center of population distribution. Within twelve or fifteen miles of that town are a score of Protestant German churches averaging three or four hundred members each. The Evangelical church at Gilman (198 members in 1950) was organized in 1874. The oldest Missouri Lutheran churches are those at Buckley, organized in 1870, 1,078 members in 1948, and 10 miles northwest of Milford, organized in 1872, 636 members in 1948. The Catholic church in this area and in the one to be considered next developed no great strength among the Germans. The Iroquois County area in 1948 was still having German services in its older congregations.

55.77 Proceeding southward along the Illinois Central line to Champaign-Urbana, (61-167), we find in that town and to the north and northeast of it a considerable German settlement. A country church (Missouri Synod) was founded in 1855. This congregation was near extinction in 1948, but the various Protestant churches, some ten in number, are in general thriving with several hundred members each. Three of them (American Lutheran) are East Frisian in membership. Farther east near the Indiana line, Danville developed a German settlement of importance.

55.78 In the Champaign area the old East Frisians clung to German in church services, but the young learned only the East Frisian dialect and were unable to understand preaching in Standard German. The chronology of displacement of German by English in the
Churches is therefore not quite as good an indication of the shift in usage as elsewhere, but here are its main lines. At Royal, 15 miles northeast of Champaign, the congregation numbered 575 in 1950 and at German services which then occurred once a month the attendance was from 100 to 200, a high proportion for the period. In 1941 German and English services had alternated. During the Second World War on the Sunday of German services an English service was added. The Missouri Lutheran church a few miles away and the same denomination's church in Champaign as well as its church in Danville farther east were having German services in 1948, even though in 1916 two English services a month in the evening had already been initiated at Danville, and English services at Champaign were a regular part of the program.

On the road from Chicago to Springfield, farther west, Bloomington (61-154) developed somewhat as a German center, with a national parish for the Catholics and two Protestant German churches. A German Jew settled permanently there in 1843; by 1852 there were five German families in Bloomington (Mk II:2:47-8). The Missouri Lutheran church was founded in 1858. In 1948, part of the Lutheran services were still in German. A German church at Kappa to the north was founded in 1860, but did not become permanent (G 233). There was in 1890 a German Methodist church with 214 members.

Proceeding from Bloomington toward the state capital, Lincoln (61-164), and the country about it, particularly to the northwest and southeast, had strong German settlements. The town itself had three Protestant German churches (originating
about 1871) with nearly 2,000 members about 1950 and a national German parish of the Catholic church in 1900. To the southeast the Missouri Lutheran church at Mount Pulaski was organized in 1851, fourteen years after the town was founded. 398 members in 1948. To the northwest of Lincoln, Emden and Hartsburg have American Lutheran churches with a total of over 1,000 members. The name Emden suggests that its people are East Frisians. Emden's church became American Lutheran and in 1950 (694 souls), its pastor had an East Frisian name, Detjen. At Mount Pulaski, the town of the Lincoln complex of settlement nearest Springfield, 26 miles distant, the transition was faster than in the capital. There were English services there at Zion Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, by 1916 even before the pressures of 1918 made them necessary. In 1928 German services were reduced to once a month; in 1930 the constitution was translated from German to English; in 1939 German services ceased.

Springfield (61-172) itself, though it had a land office by 1820 (Pe 5) and in 1839 became the state capital (Pe 204), did not attract German population at once. Lutheran services began by 1841, but European and American-born were mingled. Trinity, a truly German church (Missouri Lutheran), was founded in 1854. This branch of Lutheranism remained the only Protestant German denomination (2,500 members in the city in 1948). Trinity church became possible when many Westphalians who had earlier been in the Vandalia-Altamont area moved in. The Catholics had no church at Springfield until after 1866, but the see of its diocese was moved from Alton to Springfield in 1923. In 1900 S.S. Peter and
Paul's church, whose pastors were L. Riesen and J.C. Straub, had 350 pupils in its school; Sacred Heart, C.H. Krekenberg, pastor, had 150. (The Irish churches had nearly 800 pupils.)

Lutheran churches, Missouri Synod, in 1948, were still having German services at Springfield and at Chatham not far to the south. In Springfield at the Trinity Lutheran church there was an evening English service at the dedication of the church in 1889, but the shift to English was slow; in 1920 English services twice a month began. The services were "double-headers" till 1924. As late as 1951 a service in German was still carried on for a group of the very old every Sunday Afternoon. It ceased about 1952. In 1964 there were a few still living who required pastoral work in German, but in 1951 a young person able to speak German was a rarity.

Very near Springfield to the east Penn-Germans were numerous. Further on Decatur (61-173) in 1948 contained four Missouri Lutheran churches with 3483 members. Though the oldest, organized in 1864, no longer had German services, the church founded in 1891 did have them. In this county in 1890 the German Methodists and the Evangelical Association had five organizations with 392 members. At Decatur in both Missouri Lutheran churches in 1916 English had been accepted into part of the evening services.
The road directly east to Springfield from the most usual head of navigation on the Illinois River, Naples, was studded with German settlements; Bluffs, Chapin, Jacksonville (61-171), New Berlin. Protestant German missionaries were active at Jacksonville in 1837 (Sch 94). The Protestant churches all became Missouri Lutheran. The oldest was organized at Chapin in 1850, that at Jacksonville (608 members in 1948) in 1858. At Jacksonville for the Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, a singularly complete account of the shift from the use of German to the use of English exists thanks to Professor Arthur Hallerberg, son of H.H. Hallerberg, assistant pastor from 1901 to 1904 and pastor 1904-1909. The role of the pastor in these developments stands out. Edward C. Beck, pastor from 1877 to 1904, evidently felt unprepared to preach in English. Visiting pastors occasionally provided English services until Beck’s assistant came in 1901. Under Pastor Hallerberg the sharpest advances occurred. When he was succeeded in 1909 by Pastor J.G. Kuppler, the transfer of English services to the morning appears to have been the result of a congregational agreement of the time; otherwise the relationship of the two languages remained static until the events attending the First World War forced the progressive abandonment of German. The relationship of the use of English to congregational size is curious. From 1866 to 1880 the membership was practically static at 100; during the years of greatest immigration it grew to 200 by 1886; then gradually it rose to 255 in 1894 and began afterward to decline. From 1900 to 1903 it
stood at 200. In Hallerberg's last year it had risen to 280. By 1915 it stood at 335, and then during the years of German's greatest unpopularity it fell gradually to 307 in 1921. Growth in size thereafter was not uninterrupted, but knew no great setbacks. In 1948 there were 608 members, in 1957 there were 815.

Chronology of Language Usage at Salem Church, Jacksonville, Illinois

1858 Constitution adopted.
1859 Salem school organized. Salem school was originally dedicated to the teaching of the German language. At first all subjects were taught in German.
1889 The Illinois Legislature passed a law requiring the teaching of English in all schools. "The matter of teaching English in order to meet the school law was left to the pastor and elders."
1892 Permission granted to hold English services every two weeks from March until April.
1898 Easter Eve — a student for the pastorate, Mr. Wyneken, preached in English.
1901 "Young People's Society" succeeds Jugendbund. English services once a month regularly begin.
1902 First English hymnbooks purchased — 2 dozen.
1904 Resolved that all future religious instruction be in English. Confirmations in English the next year.
1909 English sermons in addition to German introduced in mornings.
1912 "Der Bote" later "The Messenger" published as a parish paper.
1916 Two English morning services a month introduced.
1918  English services exclusively for all evening services begin.
1929  German services reduced from weekly to 4 or 5 a year.
1937  English Constitution (third) adopted.
1938  Good Friday German services discontinued.
1958  Parochial printed calendar bears the notice: "Pastor Herbert C. Rose is serving since 1955."

By 1964 some of the Jacksonville women born at or before 1900 were ignorant of one another’s proficiency in German.

55.84  Halfway from Jacksonville to Springfield lies New Berlin.
There the Missouri Lutheran Church was organized in 1870. New Berlin was also a Catholic German center; the two confessions have been nearly equal in size. By 1914 although the priests had been Germans, preaching in German had been eliminated from the Catholic church. At the Lutheran church German services continued longer. By the time of the First World War among the families who had been there fifty years German was used only occasionally, to keep secrets from children.

55.85  Germans in Chicago and its suburbs were an element of great moment. Chicago, begun as Fort Dearborn in 1804, was of slight importance before the 1830’s. The first German arrived in 1831 or 1832 (Ma III:4:31 and 60). The Catholics gave the town a resident priest, a Frenchman, in 1833. He "was recalled in 1837 and Rev. Leander Schaffer came to attend the Germans, and Rev. Mr. O’Meara to take general charge" (Sh IV 227). The parish did not undertake a building until 1843. Protestant worship began in 1837 (Mu 190). When Franz Hoffmann arrived at Chicago in 1839 unable to speak English, his compatriots were so few that to earn a living he went to Dunkley’s Grove, west beyond the borders
of Cook County in Dupage County, where there was a settlement in need of a teacher. By about 1841 he became an itinerant Lutheran minister serving Cook, Dupage, and (to the south) Will County (K 279, B 185). The first Missouri Lutheran congregation in Chicago was organized in 1847 after existing for a year as a general Protestant church. The Unierten organized separately in 1848 (Mu 190). Koerner (K278 and Von Bosse copying him, B 184) says of Chicago, "the first token of life manifested by a German population conscious of its own existence may be found in the year 1843. A meeting of German citizens took place on the 18th of May." The meeting adopted a resolution praising a representative from southern Illinois (it was Koerner himself) "for his active support of the law whereby the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal was authorized." This canal from the Lake to the Illinois River did indeed add greatly to the prosperity of Chicago and lead to the founding of various German settlements in the towns along its route. Hoffmann became active in public life and in business. He was at one time Lieutenant governor of the state. Among other employments, he was superintendent of the Land Department of the Illinois Central Railway from 1862 to 1866, and thus he did much for the promotion of German settlements along that line. Chicago's German population grew as phenomenally as the city itself.

In 1844 the German Catholics were estimated to number 1,000. They were so numerous in 1848 that Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis advised appointing a German as the city's second bishop (the appointment then went to a Fleming and later to Irishmen till 1895).
In 1901 Mannhardt concluded from an examination of the marriage records that most Protestant Chicagoans were Hanoverians; the same thing showed in 1838-9 (Ma III:4:32).

586 The **social strength of Germans in Chicago proper** after the great immigration can be judged by the count on churches. In 1900, when the "old" immigration was already giving way to the "new", twenty of the 125 Catholic churches in the city of Chicago were German national parishes. About 1950 the protestant German churches in the city numbered 100 (55 of them Missouri Lutheran).*

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* As usual the term "Protestant German churches" includes only the two Lutheran churches and the E-R. The North American Baptists are more numerous in Chicago than in any other great city. In the city itself in 1953 they had five churches with 657 members; in the immediate environs two churches with 621 members. (New York City proper had four churches with 789 but with no church of appreciable size nearer than Newark, where there are three churches including the two largest which had 688 and 686 members.) The Chicago churches were organized between 1882 and 1902. The German Methodists in 1890 had 17 congregations within Chicago in 1890 but were rather weak in the rest of north Illinois, though the two west counties on the Wisconsin border had been an early point of activity (there were 5 churches with 325 members in these two counties in 1890). The Evangelical Association on the other hand was stronger in much of the area. There were 16 churches with 2438 members in Cook County and in the counties adjoining 16 with 1839 members.
In Kankakee County there were 4 with 432 members, in the counties near the road to Rock Island 18 with 1957 members and in Stephenson (Freeport's county) and the two counties on its southern border 14 with 849 members.

Eleven of the Missouri Lutheran churches had been organized since 1924. Of the others the earliest were organized in 1846, 1854, 1858; in the period 1874-5 -- 2; 1882 -- 1; 1884-9 -- 12; 1893-8 -- 5; 1906-17 -- 6.

55.87 For the developments in the use of German in Chicago the only attempt here is to convey sample information. A phenomenon observable in the other large cities is more marked in Chicago than elsewhere. The Germans have been displaced residentially by the succeeding immigrant stocks that have taken over the humble economic functions relegated to newcomers. In the newer German neighborhoods therefore the stock may be much older in America than the date of its entry into the neighborhood would indicate, and one may learn very little about traits of German development from the present inhabitants of an early German quarter, because few of the late residents are Germans. Perhaps the most significant thing that can be submitted is the count on the proportion of Missouri Lutheran churches still maintaining German services. In 1916 these churches numbered 44; 12 heard English sometimes; five were part of the "English District". In 1948 in the city proper there were 55 such churches; 34 of them still had German services. As examples of reported usage in 1951 two churches on the west side, St. Mark's (23rd and California) and St. Matthew's (21st and Hoyne),
and also St. Martin's on the south side (51st and Marshfield) may be cited. At St. Mark's, founded in 1887, building erected 1895, there were both German and English services every Sunday. From 50 to 60 attended the German service, 250 the English. Attendance at the German services had recently been increased 25% by the arrival of displaced persons from Europe. The congregation was scattered and the quarter was being abandoned by the Germans at that very period. At St. Matthew's, organized in 1889, in the neighborhood known as Pilsen, the attendance at the German sermon was 40% of that of the English. Attending it were three or four young mothers whose children were in the Sunday School which was going on at the same time; all others were past 35 years old. One-fourth of the people lived nearby, many at a great distance. On the board three of the 24 members lived close to the church. In 1886 this church had 5,500 members; in 1948, 762. At the death of the pastor in 1915, eulogies were given in both German and English. In 1912 when a parent-teachers association was founded, it was named the Schulverein. In the neighborhood of St. Martin's, founded in 1884, persons born in the 1890's were generally able to speak German in 1951. Disintegration of the neighborhood was not so far advanced. Among the Evangelical and Reformed churches a number retained German services in 1951; St. Paul's church, for instance, with 1644 members, had German services every Sunday. St. Paul's Catholic church, still labeled a German national parish in 1960, is a block away from St. Matthew's Lutheran. St. Paul's parochial school had 755 pupils in 1900, St. Matthew's 1,090 in 1887. St.
Paul's Germans had almost all been replaced by other stocks in 1951, but the Benedictines in charge had had use for their German as late as 1934. Kloss consecrates a page to a description of the situation of German in 1962 founded mainly "on communications from the Chicago Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany" (FK 245). This source was chiefly familiar with the Vereine. The president of that considered the most important could not speak German. "German worship is held regularly at least once a month in 45 churches of Greater Chicago, 36 of them Lutheran, 8 Protestant other than Lutheran, and 1 Roman Catholic." The daily Abendpost had a circulation of 26,000. Refugees accounted for a great many of the German speakers. Chicago was a favorite resort.

Sallet characterizes Chicago as "the strongest Volga-German settlement in America" (Sa 47). He specifies what were at the time of arrival suburbs; and then adds that there were others smaller on the south side. These settlements began between 1888 and 1894, but received most of their immigrants from Russia between 1903 and 1913. After the shop strike of 1923 on the railroads the Volgan population increased sharply with refugees from the strike centers including Herington, Kansas, for the Protestants, and Topeka, Kansas, for the Catholics. Catholic Volgans had not before been numerous in Chicago. The data on Lutheran churches above does not distinguish the Volgan congregations from others. The Volgans also had Congregational churches in Chicago.

Germans were numerous in what became the western and north-western-suburbs-of-Chicago very early. West of the city proper
within 25 miles of the lake there were in 1948 twenty-four Missouri Lutheran churches organized before 1895. In West Chicago about 35 miles inland a Missouri Lutheran church was founded in 1884, but the Catholics "had dedicated the German church of St. Francis of Assisi in West Chicago" in 1853 (Sh IV 614). The Missouri Lutheran church at Bensenville about twenty miles from the lake claims 1838 as its date of foundation. The Missouri Lutheran churches at Elk Grove and Schaumberg a few miles farther north were organized in 1847 and 1848. These were then farming communities. Shortly after the Civil War there were churches in true suburbs. In 1948 the Missouri Lutheran church at Bensenville had 261 members; the three Evangelical and Reformed churches had 1036 in 1950. The dominance of the E-R element is to be explained by the number of Swiss in the town and its neighborhood. Some of them reached Kansas. The Germans in some of the western suburbs that have now become really part of the city have been rather conservative of German. Addison was chosen by the Lutherans as the site of a Schullehrerseminar in 1854 (Ma II: 3:17). A child brought up there after the First World War learned German fairly well. Among Missouri Lutherans in the suburbs within the confines of Cook County in 1948, 39 churches out of 75 maintained German services; 13 had admitted some English by 1916; one, Oak Park, was in the "English District". The faithfulness to German of the people in Chicago and its immediate suburbs is largely to be explained by the fact that much late immigration was urban rather than rural and Chicago more often than Cincinnati or St. Louis was the city favored by the latecomers. Displaced persons
arriving after the Second World War were more of a preservative here than elsewhere. On the north edge of the present municipality at Niles there was a Missouri Lutheran church by 1859, but a Catholic German national parish also developed there. A little further on, at New Trier or Grosse Point (now part of Wilmette) a German Catholic church was dedicated in 1849 (Sh IV 239), replacing a log building of 1843. In this neighborhood Luxemburgers settled by 1845 and their settlement grew along the "ridge," a dune-like stretch now occupied by Ridge Avenue. Their separate church, St. Henry's, was given a pastor in 1863 (GL 258). Much farther out, near the northern border of the state there were other German national parishes in 1900 at McHenry and Waukegan. Though they were then rather small, the history of the settlement north of McHenry (61-109) as told by E. Mannhardt is of interest. In 1841, Rhinelanders from the hilly Eifel region west of Koblenz began settlement and continued to come until the 1860's. They built a chapel in 1842, a church in 1844, another in 1851 -- all Catholic. The Germans "gradually displaced the Americans and Irish who had occupied the land by virtue of purchases from the government so that today (1902) the whole part of McHenry County lying between McHenry and Spring Grove belongs to these Rhenish pioneers or more frequently to their descendants, since few of them are still living. The second generation in pleasing fashion have preserved the language of their parents and with it a German point of view and German customs, and in turn have passed it on to their children. The grandchildren still speak there the dialect of their grandfathers, while with
strangers they are capable of conversing in nearly pure Standard German -- fine testimony for their school... Until the 1880's our settlement remained almost undisturbed by the outer world [except for hunters and fishers. Then summer houses on the lake appeared and certain Germans became hotel keepers.] How long simple manners and the German language can hold out in the long run against this pre-occupation with the world of the great city, speaking and thinking in English, how long they can endure against these influences remains to be seen" (Ma II:4:58-60).

For fifty miles to the northwest of Chicago the population became almost solidly German. Marengo at that distance gained a Missouri Lutheran church in 1880, and from there into the city there was another church of that denomination every five or six miles by 1895. Elgin (pop. 48,000 in 1950) and farther south Aurora (pop. 60,000) were German centers (61-113) by 1850 (Po 407). Germans had been present in the area from 1832 on (Ma II:1:49). At Aurora in 1900 the parochial school of the German Catholic church taught 560 pupils. At Aurora in 1948 the number of Catholic German national parishes had become 4 and the enrollment of their parochial schools was 1,015. By 1960 the two last founded were no longer German. Elgin still had but one German church, 180 pupils (56 in 1900). At Aurora the Missouri Lutheran churches, one established in 1857, had 3,131 members in 1948. At Elgin the oldest was founded in 1859; two churches had 3,350 members in 1948. There were no American Lutheran churches; the Evangelical and Reformed church at Aurora had but 321 members in 1950; the one at Elgin, 1,215 members. Dun-
dee just north of Elgin with 1,948 inhabitants in 1950 was exclusively Missouri Lutheran, 2,078 members in 1948 in two churches, one organized in 1860. In Elgin, while two English services at St. John's (Missouri) Lutheran church were attended every Sunday in 1951 by eight or nine hundred persons, the German service drew only 50 old people; there was German preaching every Sunday too. The Reformed church had dropped German completely.

To the southwest there was not the same solidity as to the west, but near the Cook County line toward the city from Hinsdale there was a Missouri Lutheran Church in 1858; nine miles beyond that town one in 1868, and one in town in 1888. The Catholic church at Naperville was a German national Parish in 1900; in 1849 "Naperville had a flock of 600 Germans" (Sh IV 239). There were other German communities, too, farther south along the Illinois-Michigan canal, for instance, Willow Springs (Lutheran), Lemont (Catholic), and Lockport (both). At Naperville German was so strong during the first decade of this century that an Irish boy entering Catholic parochial school there in the fifth grade found it necessary to learn German both for his studies and his daily contacts. In 1948 there was no German at the Missouri Lutheran church, but it had not been founded until 1928.

Directly south from Chicago there was an area, primarily in Will County (61-135), smaller than the one to the west and northwest but still large, that became heavily German. It stretched to Kankakee fifty miles away and was unbroken until beyond Peotone, forty miles out. Crete in the center of this region had a Missouri
Lutheran church organized in 1849, another very close was founded in 1854. Crete is in eastern Will County. Settlement in the southwest corner of the county permitted organization of St. John's church in 1864 (Ma III:413). "The settlements in Will County date from 1846 and the success and growth of the communities seem due to the efforts of Conrad Tatge. During the years immediately following most of the government railroad lands were bought up by Germans and soon those lands held by speculators also came under their control" (Po 497, after the History of Will County). The Germans settled first near the road of early origin running south from Chicago through Monee and Peotonee. A colony of East Frisians (more specifically still Jeverlander) settled beginning in 1850 just west of Monee; the east half of Green Garden Township was all theirs and as much more land in adjoining townships including Monee. These people are of particular interest because they came, they or their sons and daughters, to found Lorraine in Green Garden Township of Ellsworth County, Kansas (Ma II:1:36)* They left Illinois in 1876.

*L. Mannhardt (p. 37) also speaks of emigrants from Will County to Marion County, Kansas.

Lorraine is a German Baptist settlement and so was the Jeverlander settlement in Illinois, though so many moved to Kansas that the church finally collapsed. The congregation in Kankakee, founded in 1864, (242 members in 1953) is probably much of the same stock. The Illinois Central line from Chicago ran along the old trail from Chicago and their land agents were distressed by this
exodus to Kansas. Gates writes: "When the Kansas Pacific and the Santa Fe Railroads began to make known the advantages of their lands, a number of these Germans were induced to leave Illinois and to commence farming anew in Kansas. Indeed in 1874 Illinois was furnishing almost four times as many purchasers of land for the Santa Fe road as any other state and more than all the foreign countries together" (G 309-10). Part of this promotion of Kansas came about because one of the Wills County East Frisians, Heinrich Stassen shifted allegiance as a land agent from the I.C. to, it seems, both the Santa Fe and the Kansas Pacific. All in all, however, the Illinois Central land department profited by the Will County settlement. On their lands to the west of the East Frisians settled Hessians and Hanoverians (MaII:1:38) in the 1860's and to the east five Missouri Lutheran churches became established. The settlement in overflowing furnished buyers for lands to the south beyond Kankakee County. Lutherans and Evangelicals prospered in this area. In 1873 there were in it at least five Evangelical congregations (Ma III:4:10). Six out of the eight Missouri Lutheran churches in it were still having German services in 1948, though one of the churches at Beecher had admitted English by 1916.

Kankakee (61-146) owed a great stimulus to the coming of the Illinois Central in 1853. A German Evangelical church was organized in 1854, another in 1870. By 1859 the town had a Missouri Lutheran church in competition with the German Baptist founded a year earlier. The Catholics, too, erected a German national
parish there in 1877. The Missouri Lutherans in 1948 (1680 souls) had some preaching in German. Southwest of Kankakee Germans established themselves. Chebanse had an Evangelical church in 1873 (Ma III:4:16). The Catholic cemetery also exhibits German names. A village near by is named Herscher. Rather isolated from other German settlements is Dwight, 30 miles west from Kankakee, 75 miles from Chicago on the Chicago and Alton Railroad (that is, now Highway I 55). Its German settlement was evidently stimulated by the building of the railroad, for one of its Missouri Lutheran churches was organized in 1854, the other in 1864. Bonfeld church, organized in 1859, lies between it and Kankakee. Neither Dwight nor Bonfeld had German services in 1948.

55.94 Without further remark concerning the cities which he lists, Koerner in 1884 (also Von Bosse in 1908), noted that "the large German settlements in Peru, Lasalle, Ottawa (61-133), and Joliet owe their origin to the completion of the Michigan-Illinois Canal" (K 277, B 184). The area of the first three was originally one of great Irish settlement. The coal mining which went on in that area and the industrial development that followed brought in many of the "new" immigration. Still Germans were sufficiently strong to have Catholic national parishes of their own in all these towns, Joliet included, and Protestant congregations as well. Germans were reported in the area of the first three towns in 1836 (Sch 475) by Protestant missionaries; these may have been "American Germans" in the main, but immigrants from abroad were there by 1834. Real activity did not begin till nearly twenty years later (on early
days see also Ma II:1:50-54 and II:2:51-61). At Peru an Evangelical church was organized in 1852 (Ma III:1:10). Another existed at Princeton to the west in 1856, a Missouri Lutheran to the east in Ottawa in 1860.

In the line of cities along the Michigan-Illinois Canal Germans were on the social ladder above later coming stocks and therefore, as in most smaller cities, tended to be absorbed into the English-speaking population rather rapidly. The forces of the First World War were potent among them. At Ottawa the last class confirmed in German in the Missouri Lutheran church was that of 1917; German was completely dropped from services at the beginning of the Second World War. Near the western edge of the canal region at Hollowayville between Lasalle and Princeton (61-132) the American Lutheran congregation is quite scattered, more so than it was originally, probably because of ancient origin; the first immigrant from Germany arrived in 1834 (Ma II:2:57). In 1950 it was not small for a country parish, 310 souls. German had disappeared from church services at least by the Second World War, probably by 1927. Inscriptions on the stones in the cemetery were partly in English in the earliest years beginning in 1853. During the 1870's and early 1880's they became exclusively German. During the 1890's the two languages competed; but except for the widows of two men who died early, German was not used after 1905. One of the women died in 1922, the other in 1941. Hollowayville also had an Evangelical church by 1873. Mendota, 16 miles north of LaSalle, began to hear German preaching in 1854 shortly after the Illinois Central went through (Sch 515). The church ultimately became American Lutheran, 1,187 members in 1950. The town also acquired a Catholic
German national parish.

55.95 About twenty miles south of Lasalle and the same distance northwest of Peoria a small area of German settlement developed, which can best be identified by Toluca, (61°144N), for immigrants to Kansas from that area most often spoke of that town. Five Protestant German churches, organized in 1868 and the years following, are closely grouped here. None of them had services in German in 1940. Across the river near where it turns south and a few miles to the west Amish from Bavaria settled near Tiskilwa. They were in Illinois beginning about 1835. Ultimately they joined other Mennonite groups (MC and GCM); they do not appear to have been as linguistically conservative as most Amish. At Kewanee still farther west (Mo. Luth. founded 1862; E-R 1876, ALC also there) conditions were similar, though to an informant German seemed more frequently used than in Dubuque where Lutheran services in German ceased in 1946.

55.96 At the farthest northwest point of Illinois, Galena (61°100), where lead was discovered early, began to have a motley foreign population by 1822. The town did not grow rapidly, but it became a river port and ultimately the terminus of its branch of the Illinois Central Railroad. Agricultural settlement was limited to squatters until 1846. Consequently permanent German settlement in the area comes after that date, though there were certainly Germans in Galena by 1833 (Ma II:1:53). Elizabeth, near neighbor to the town of Hanover, both located on the Apple River and more or less German centers, had 45 inhabitants in 1832 (Fo 467). Five
Lutheran churches (eventually ALC) were established in or near Elizabeth, and in 1900 its Catholic church was served by the Rev. E. Weber. At the same time Galena, which had a Catholic church by 1844, possessed a German national parish, as one of its churches. Another national parish developed at Menominee some six miles up the Mississippi, half way to Dubuque. There was also a Lutheran church (American) at Galena.

More than fifty miles back from Galena, Freeport came into being in 1837. There were Penn Germans in its county, Stephenson (61-101), very shortly; a congregation of Mennonites was founded in the 1840's at Freeport; Brethren have churches in the same town and at Lena to the west. County historians speak of Germans at Freeport before 1850 (Po 497). At Rock Run in this county Evangelical preaching took place by 1848 (Ma III:4:5). In 1850 out of Freeport's 1,324 inhabitants 352 were foreigners (Po 492). Immigration into this region received a great impetus with the construction of the Galena and Chicago Railroad and the Illinois Central Railroad in 1853 and 1854. Evangelical services began in Freeport in 1855 and just west at Eleroy (otherwise New Erin) in 1857 (Sch 512-3). At Freeport in 1950 there were three Evangelical and Reformed congregations; one was named the "First English," reminiscent of years when the language question was debated. Its membership was 357, that of the two others combined 1125. In 1916 the one Missouri Lutheran church at Freeport was in the "English District;" in 1948 the Missourians had two churches with 961 members. A little further away than Eleroy a Lutheran congregation
at Lena was established before 1860. None of these Missouri Lutheran churches had German services in 1948. To the south Evangelicals worshipped at Forreston and Adeline in 1862 (Sch 514-5). The German national parish of the Catholics at Freeport was flourishing in 1900; its school had 288 pupils; the Irish parochial school was slightly smaller. In the same year the Catholic parish at Lena was served by the Rev. J.C. Gieseler.

55.98 The Rock River, which empties into the Mississippi at Rock Island due west of Chicago and pursues an arked course to enter Wisconsin at the midpoint of its Illinois border, was an artery of settlement very soon after Black Hawk's War. "In 1836 a steamer ascended the Rock as far as Dixon and in 1838 as far as Rockford. In 1839 there was a St. Louis and Rock River packet" (Pe 192). Germans settled near the river's mouth rather early, but the Swedes obscured them by their preponderance. However, five miles into the country from East Moline a Missouri Lutheran church was organized in 1861 and in 1948 it and the church established later in town had 617 members. A Catholic German national parish developed at Rock Island (134 pupils in 1900 compared to the Irish 300). According to Pooley (Po 497) county historians acknowledged only two German settlements along the Rock before 1850, one at Dixon (61-121) and one at Oregon. They should probably have added Sterling (61-120) nearer the river's mouth. There and 8 miles to the northwest Missouri Lutheran churches were organized in 1875 which together had 1,107 members in 1948. The two American Lutheran churches there and at Rock Falls across the river in 1950 to-
taled 1,502 members. The Catholic German national parish there was small (78 pupils in 1900). Very near Sterling in the 1850's, Penn-Germans established three Mennonite churches beginning in the 1850's. Another group was at Morrison to the northwest. In the country broadly between Sterling and Freeport, a dozen Brethren churches sprang up in addition to those named above. Dixon gained additional prominence with the coming of the Illinois Central Railroad in 1854 and developed a Lutheran church (American) before 1860; in 1950 it had 388 members. The only Catholic church was St. Patrick's. The settlement to the northeast of Oregon remained small. At Rockford (61-102) the Catholic churches were both Irish in 1900. The Missouri Lutheran church established in 1888, St. Paul's, had 1,100 members in 1948 and another of later date (1931) 556. In 1916 St. Paul's had admitted English into evening services.

Conservation of German. Unless it be at certain points in the Belleville area, there is no district in Illinois where the use of German has been quite so well preserved as in the most conservative districts of Ohio and Indiana, though there are areas that are quite conservative. One reason for this state of affairs is that very little of Indiana and only about three-fourths of Ohio was settled earlier than most of Illinois. Even the earliest settlements received very little German immigration before the early settlements in Illinois. Another and more important reason is that very few of the German settlements in Illinois had as
static a population as those to the east. Cheap lands to the west were closer and the routes of access easier than from farther east. People moved on to Kansas among other places shortly after the sod in their Illinois settlements had been broken. In other words, the German population was more mobile in Illinois, and mobility is an enemy to conservation of minority characteristics.
Wisconsin has sometimes been called the "Germanest State;" treatment in the present work, however, will be restricted to that part of the state which furnished German population to Kansas. Its northern section and most of its western section developed contemporarily with Kansas, and emigration of Germans from it after 1870 or thereabouts tended to be toward the States to the north of Kansas. Before 1870 rather significant numbers came from Wisconsin to Kansas. The area from which these people came was in the southeastern fourth of the state, the section first and still by far the most heavily populated. We shall occupy ourselves little with people living north of a line from somewhat above the northeast corner of Iowa to the south corner of that part of Michigan on the upper Peninsula. The line from LaCrosse to Marinette is little different.

Well beyond this line there are many small settlements of Germans, and in the more populous parts of this great stretch of country there are two areas of great concentration, one in the center of the state at the latitude of Minneapolis on the Upper Wisconsin River mainly in Marathon County with a sort of center at Wausau, and the other farther west at the same latitude in the valley of the Chippewa River centered at Eau Claire and Chippewa Falls. The Wausau area, where there are many Germans from the Inner North and Northeast of Germany, received German settlers as early as 1855. The other, where the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, flourished, has no congregations of that denomination organized earlier than 1864.
The conservation of German in the Chippewa and particularly in the Wausau area and in general in northern Wisconsin was great in 1948 largely because of late arrival. In Wausau 5 out of 7 Missouri Lutheran churches were having services in German; in Merrill, the other important town, 6 out of 6. In smaller places, the proportions were nearly the same.

56.02 The more southern area of Wisconsin contains German settlements everywhere, often without interval, but they are rarer in the southern tier of counties except in or near the cities along Lake Michigan and the Rock River. For the rest, early settlement of all sorts, except for a spurt in the southwestern lead mining area district, radiated from the southern lake shore very largely from Milwaukee. Many of the settlers were German.

56.03 Between 1840 and 1850 the population of Wisconsin increased from 30,747 to 305,000. In rounded numbers the distribution of 1850 was as follows:

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<tr>
<td>born Wisconsin</td>
<td>63,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>born elsewhere in U.S.</td>
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<td>born Ireland</td>
<td>21,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>born England</td>
<td>19,000</td>
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<td>born Wales, Scotland, Canada</td>
<td>15,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>born Norway</td>
<td>8,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>born Germany &amp; Switzerland</td>
<td>40,000</td>
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<td>born elsewhere</td>
<td>3,400</td>
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305,000
Inasmuch as those born in Wisconsin were necessarily mostly chil-
dren -- children of foreign-born as well as of others -- the Ger-
mans made up at least one-sixth of the population then. Wilhelm
Hense-Jensen claimed that "already in the year 1850 more than a
half of all persons living in Wisconsin -- 53.89% -- had German
blood in their veins" (H151). The proportion is probably exagge-
rated, though the descendants of Pennsylvania and New York Germans
should be included in the estimate of "German blood," and the im-
migration from New York was considerable. In 1900 German immigrants
and their children made up something more than one third of the
population of the state.

Indian holdings in the part of Wisconsin of most interest to
us were extinguished in the early 1830's. Land offices were opened
in the lead region of the southwest and at Green Bay in 1834, but
1836 is usually regarded as the date of the opening of the territory. Milwaukee received its land office in 1838 and few foreign-
born Germans were in Wisconsin before that year. In 1839 they be-
gan settlement in earnest and in the next decade most of their
settlements within fifty miles of the lake shore had their origin,
also some beyond. By the time that the Civil War began, all the
region to receive more than passing notice here was well settled
with Germans.

Germans in City and Country. The cities that grew up along
the shore of Lake Michigan became quite cosmopolitan, and the in-
tricacies of German linguistic development, as affected by the
presence of Poles, Magyars, etc., will not concern us. But the Germans of Green Bay, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, Racine, and Kenosha must concern us, and above all Milwaukee. Outlying districts of German settlement shade into those in the immediate environs of Milwaukee. In the larger towns German stocks of various backgrounds are usually mingled together. Rurally Germans from various parts of the Waterland often live separately, though close together. The Germans of Wisconsin seem to have been more conscious of their provincial origins in Germany than in most other states (H, I, 55), perhaps not more than in Ohio, but rural German settlements there were less frequently in direct contact with one another.

56.06 Districts occupied by Germans may be classed as follows:

(a) the southern cities on Lake Michigan and their neighborhood.

(b) the Ozaukee (61-246) County area to the north of Milwaukee which, especially to the west and north, stretches well beyond that county into Washington County (61-245).

(c) the Sheboygan-Manitowoc area which includes almost all of the counties bearing these names (61-234-227) and containing the cities with the same names and the east edge of Calumet County (61-226).

(d) the Lake Winnebago East Shore Area -- part of the shore in Calumet County and more importantly, part of Fond du Lac County (61-212).

(e) the Watertown area to the west of Milwaukee originally
with a geographical gap between its Germans and those of the city environs. There is more or less of a center at Watertown. It covers much of Jefferson and Dodge Counties and part of Waukesha County (61-253-244-254).

(f) the Oshkosh area, largely that city.

(g) the north-of-Winnebago area, which may be divided into two portions, (1) the Lower Fox district, including the towns on this part of the Fox and neighboring country, that is Brown (61-24) and parts of the county to the east, and Kewaunee (61-212).

(2) the Wolf River district, that is, southern Outagamie County (61-210) and some of Waupaca County to the west.

(h) the Shawano County area to the north of Area G, with something of a gap between.

(i) the Dane County area, which besides Dane includes Rock and Green County to the south of it (61-252,262,261). This area has no unity, but contains several relatively small but interesting settlements.

(j) the Great Bend of the Wisconsin area; similar in character, Sauk and Columbia Counties (61-242,243) and the counties to the north of them.

(k) the Mississippi River area, not of great importance but most nearly so in northern Grant County (61-250) and in the LaCrosse area (61-230).

(l) The Chippewa and Wausau areas beyond our limit of primary interest have already been mentioned.
Milwaukee, as the year 1834 opened, was only a fur-trading post. Its county began to acquire foreign-born Germans the next year; they included merchants and mechanics by 1837 (H 20). The panic of that year hampered settlement, which, though, soon resumed with vigor. By March 1843, when Milwaukeeans celebrated Congress's voting them a harbor, the Germans were so numerous that their portion of the parade (people afoot, on horseback and in sleighs) stretched half a mile (K 282). The next year an educational society was founded and other specifically German societies in the years immediately following. A Catholic diocese was created at Milwaukee in 1843 and Bishop Henni came to reside there in 1844. At his arrival at Milwaukee, he found that "the little wooden church... required three masses to hold" the three congregations, French, English-speaking, and German (Sh IV 252). In April, 1846, the bishop laid the cornerstone of a German church in the city. In 1900 of the 28 Catholic churches in Milwaukee, eleven were German, 7 were Polish, 2 were Bohemian, and one was Italian. Lutheran services began in Milwaukee in 1839, but there was no resident pastor until 1847, when a Missouri Synod church was organized from a part of the group that had been worshipping together. The rest set up a Buffalo Synod church shortly afterward. The delay in organization was the result of poverty, the more well-to-do Lutherans had left town and acquired farms. In 1949 the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods had 70 churches in Milwaukee, the next year the American Lutheran had 10; the Evangelical and Reformed 14. In 1890 the Ger-
man Methodists had five congregations with 813 members, the Evangelical Association 9 with 1,050 members.

56.08 Even before 1848 the number of free-thinking political refugees in Milwaukee was noticeable. After that year the city was a favorite goal of the exiled Forty-eighters hostile to churches. They became the intellectual leaders of the Germans, and as long as they lived, the anti-religious element was of great influence in the city. Their enthusiasm for German mores was perhaps greater than that of their fellow countrymen, but their desire to influence the social and especially the political life of their new habitat made them speedily bi-lingual and in general a major force for change while still exalting their heritage from the fatherland. They were in control of the active German press of the city. The foundation and long prosperity of the school called "Deutsch-Englische Akademie" (Fa 471) may be attributed to them. They and more humble allies became the governing force in such organizations as the Turnverein so that in Milwaukee religious persons could not participate in them.

56.09 Turners began activity in 1850 and were organized in 1853. The Verein "made it its task not only to pay homage to bodily development, but also to contend with the weapons of the mind.... For many years [it] assumed the leadership of the German element in intellectual and political activities. A fresh joyous, free spirit reigned here and shed light and life upon a far-reaching circle.... The Turnvereins in short regarded it as their special duty to conserve the intellectual and spiritual treasures of the
old fatherland and dispense them upon their immediate environment" (H, I, 157). Not that the Turnverein became an exclusively intellectual body; in the late nineteenth century the characteristic members were lesser shopkeepers and their economic equals; their activities were often more rollicking than intellectual.

During the decline of the Forty-eighters a different economic and quasi-intellectual aristocracy developed. Among the masses the district of origin in Germany had more importance than in many other cities. All these factors of disunity could be afforded in a city where the German element was such a large proportion of the population. As time went on, the disunity that comes from the struggles between the generations also became marked, heightened by duration of the immigration which allowed the young to contrast their characteristics with the old-fashioned peculiarities of new-comers. In other words by the beginning of the twentieth century there were many of German stock far too nearly Americanized to suit the taste of others. Ernst Bruncken wrote in 1902, "The children of these immigrants, who had been born here or had come to America in their first youth, are seldom in a position to understand the fresh enthusiasm of German-American patriotism. It irritates them. It drives them to the conclusion that the old fellows are not real Americans. They begin to suspect that in case of a conflict with Germany in the end the sympathies of their parents would still be on the side of the national enemy. Then the additional fear arises lest, because they are children of Germans, they also might be con-
sidered capable of harboring un-American sympathies, and in order
to render such a reproach impossible, they diligently display their
nationality. This is probably the psychological process whereby a
high percentage of Germans born here are driven into extreme jingo­
ism. In the interest of things German, this fact is to be deplored.
It is, however, not to be denied and has already in the domain of
local politics, especially in Milwaukee, borne quite remarkable
fruit" (H,II, 240). Bruncken was referring to two successive de­
fears of German-born candidates for mayor after a period in which
Germans had ruled the city. German political activity in all Wis­
consin had been very great, sovereign in Milwaukee. The reaction
of the young was so much the more evident. Phenomena occurring
throughout the United States fifteen years later were here fore­
shadowed.

56.11  Despite the disaffected young people, German cultural life
was still rich at Milwaukee in 1902. Let us consider the theater
because its audiences had to understand German. A German stock
company, in its beginnings made up of amateurs, had come into
being in 1850 (H, I, 149). Its prosperity had not been uninter­
rupted but had become great. After a fire, Captain Fred Pabst
installed it in 1890 in "a splendid new building" (H,II 223) and
in 1902 Bruncken boasted that "of all the cities in the country,
New York excepted, Milwaukee is the only one maintaining still to­
day a permanent German theater" (H:II 222). "The productions of
the modern German theater, at this moment in such a highly flour­
ishing state, are known in Milwaukee almost as soon as in the cities of the old fatherland.... Furthermore classical plays are not neglected" (H, II, 233). Von Basse could still write in 1908, "One circumstance distinguishes Milwaukee from other metropolises, and that is its influential German element, which has impressed a characteristic stamp upon the city. Nowhere in the United States have the gifts of the American, his restless energy and his resourceful sagacity, so happily combined with the characteristics of the German, his persistent industry, his probity and his cheerfulness" (B 191). When, however, the First World War came to deal its crushing blows, most of the second and greater wave of immigrants were growing old and their sons behaved much like the young men of 1900. Even in 1950 Milwaukeeans of German stock tended to de-emphasize their origins in public though speaking on the subject quite goodnaturedly, for under normal circumstances cheerfulness still marks the Milwaukeean's public behavior.

56.12 Milwaukee's use of German in the nineteenth century was well set forth by Bruncken in 1902. "About the year 1870," he says, "even ten years later, there were certain wards of the city of Milwaukee, then not very large, in which scarcely an English word was heard on the streets, and the shops almost without exception had a German sign beside the one in English. Business firms of no little importance employed the German language in their correspondence for the most part. The peculiarities of 'Little Germany' have now almost completely disappeared. While in one of the German wards in Milwaukee, the sixth for example, in 1870 every grown
man and woman had been born in Germany, the majority of the residents now consists of the children born here, who may indeed betray their German origin clearly enough by their living habits, appearance, and frequently too by the accent with which they speak English, but who think and feel quite differently from their immigrant parents" (H II 254).

56.13 Use of German in Milwaukee churches is an index to the process of Engl-izing in the twentieth century, though in the Protestant churches a shift to English was often delayed by the pastor's inability to preach in English. Besides Milwaukeeans did not take kindly to the new religious vocabulary. A Wisconsin synod pastor proficient in English introduced one-a-month services in English about 1910, and only a few people attended at first. An Evangelical minister who made a similar change in 1914 found his whole adult congregation disapproving, but the children were playing together in English. By 1916 there was one Missouri Synod church (Ebenezer founded in 1894) which had admitted English into part of its services, and two more had allowed it to enter the Sunday School. However, in 1948 eighteen of the 31 Missouri Lutheran churches in Milwaukee were having some services in German, and included in the 18 were the three that were so liberal in 1916. One of these was the oldest, Trinity, organized in 1847, 1200 members in 1948. It was located in the center of the city across from the Pabst brewery. The cornerstone said in English that it was erected in 1878, but other carved letters of the same date identified it in German. Another of these churches was Holy Ghost, farther out on the north
side, but in an old section of the city settled by South Germans, 1839 members in 1948. In 1951 there were every Sunday one German service attended by 100 persons and two English services attended by 800. Two-thirds of those attending the German were quite old; some of the others were displaced persons from Europe, friends and relatives of earlier immigrants. Part of those attending the German services came from other congregations where German services had been dropped. Mostly the parishioners were of the third generation, some of the fourth. A few children were still learning to understand German, but in general those of the third generation had never acquired an understanding. In a large cemetery near by, German inscriptions were common till 1918, but disappeared about 1931.

In the Friedens Evangelical and Reformed church in a neighborhood no longer predominantly German in the center of the city, 742 members in 1950, from 50 to 75 persons there attended a German service every Sunday at 8:30 a.m. They were all old people, proficient in English, but religiously at home in German. About 400 persons attended the English services. Confirmation in German had gone on until the First World War; at that time no instruction was given in English. But children growing up in the years before the war were usually learning their standard German only in school. With the closing of the German school, no children learned German.

This church usage was linguistically as conservative a phenomenon as any to be found among the Germans of Milwaukee in 1951. Only one other E-R church (Immanuel) was having services in German in 1951; there they occurred once a month.
56.14 Outside of churches in the first decade after the conclusion of the "Great War" German adults past forty usually conversed with each other in German, and in the German neighborhoods children learned to understand German, and frequently to speak it with their grandparents. The English of people of German origin born in the first decades of the twentieth century often continued to be quite perceptibly accented forty or fifty years later. As in all great cities residential displacements have affected the areas speaking German, but in the mid-20th century, German speech had not been eradicated from the city. In 1950 rural neighborhoods close by the city people born about 1900 were still conversing with each other in German.

56.15 Kenosha County (61-2643) at the southern tip of Wisconsin's lake front welcomed Westphalians in the late 1830's (L 365). Racine close by became a German cultural center to such an extent that German Day was celebrated more vigorously there in 1900 than in Milwaukee. "In a small city like Racine it is naturally much easier than in the metropolis to unite the whole German element for social purposes. First the number is smaller and second, social division into classes is not so far advanced as in the great city" (H; II, 215). German churches of every type abounded in these towns. Back from Racine and Kenosha in the two counties bearing their names German population elements at points are concentrated.

56.16 At those points and at some in the two cities the people have sometimes been rather conservative of German. At Racine (61-264),
children of German parents growing up in the first decade of the twentieth century frequently did not learn to speak German, but their fathers and mothers had not abandoned the language, and it seems to have been held in somewhat higher respect than by the young generation in Milwaukee. In 1951 at St. Paul's American Lutheran church there were both German and English services every Sunday; less than 30 attended the German service (total membership, 639) including a few of the second generation. One of the Missouri Lutheran churches (one out of five) also had German services, but Trinity Church (Missouri) was already "English" in 1916, probably also at its origin in 1905. At Burlington somewhat inland, the American Lutheran church had given up German services shortly before 1951 on hiring a minister ignorant of German, but the Wisconsin Synod organization still heard German once a month. As usual, linguistic conservatism had been accompanied by other conservatism and this church had dwindled in membership. South of Burlington over the line into Kenosha County the New Muenster Catholic cemetery contained inscriptions in German very commonly until 1905. The latest inscription in German marked the grave of spouses, one of whom died in 1906; the other in 1931.

West and Northwest of Milwaukee in the part of Waukesha County that was early in some sense suburban, German settlements existed. At Pewaukee some 20 miles back from the lake there were in 1873 forty-two Luxemburger families; the first were there by 1848. They shared a Catholic church with the Irish (GL 269). The Salem church, Wisconsin Lutheran Synod, on the road from Milwaukee to Menomonee
Falls bears upon it carved in stone these words: Evangelisch Lutherische Deutsch und Englische Kirche, A.D. 1863. Clearly in 1863 English was considered minor. The church's cemetery is older, dating back at least to 1854, and there were inscriptions in it in English by 1859, but German was the commonest language till 1905. There are no inscriptions in German posterior to 1918. In Menomonee Falls (located a few miles northwest of Milwaukee) at St. Paul's Evangelical and Reformed church, in 1930 German was the language of the services on the first, third, and fifth Sunday of the month. At about the time of the Second World War the services in German were held only on Easter, but this annual service went on at least through 1951 when 44 persons attended it. Younger people were ignoring or showing impatience with this persistence. Some of them had a smattering of German.

The Ozaukee County (61-246) area to the north of Milwaukee received an organized colony of Lutheran Germans in 1839 (L 349, E 394). They were nearly all Pomeranians from Stettin and from Kammin directly north of it. The tradition is that the impulse for their emigration was in large part religious -- dissatisfaction with the State Church movement; at any rate there were in the group some men sufficiently well-to-do to help the poorer, and when all newcomers are forced to emigrate by economic considerations alone very little mutual financial aid is possible. Once rooted, the colony grew with recruits from the same general region. The population centers came to be Mequon and Cedarburg;* the original set-

* Thwaites (quoted by Fa 480) assigns Cedarburg to Oldenburgers.
tlement was Freistadt, all in southern Ozaukee County (61-246). Saxons arrived at Mequon practically as early (L 391). Washington County, to the west, was in part (that nearest Mequon) occupied by the people of northern stock arriving in 1843 (L 350, E 296) at Kirchhayn (between present Germantown and Jackson, it seems). Saxons in the north were flourishing by 1857 (L 391; see also Fa 480). A large part of this territory in Ozaukee and Washington Counties was occupied by south Germans, mostly Catholics. Also, just south of Milwaukee Catholic Rhinelanders began settlement in 1841 and soon increased to 50 families (L 370). In Ozaukee County Luxemburgers took over the country to the north of the first Pommeranians at Port Washington and beyond beginning in 1845 (GL 263, L 377). Port Washington had a German newspaper by 1855. "Town Belgium" just to the north takes its name from Belgian Luxemburgers.

In the Holy Cross parish here there were in Gonner's time 142 German families, 119 of which were Luxemburgers. The other 23, Rhinelanders, Bavarians, and Hessians, "all speak the Luxemburg dialect fluently" (GL 267). There were Swiss cheesemakers among the people at Hartford.

In the Ozaukee County area the earliest established centers were long conservative of German. At least until 1913 children, at Richfield for example, were playing in German, indeed resented English so much that when it was required on the playground they preferred remaining at their seats in the classroom during recess to accepting the new rule. The Missouri Lutheran churches in Cedarburg and Jackson were in 1948 all having some German services.
In Cedarburg in 1931 two-thirds of the services in 1931 had been in German (FK 244). At Hartford on the western edge of the district the German services about 1940 were limited to two communions a year at the Evangelical and Reformed church, but people of the third generation were conversant with German. The Swiss here were more linguistically conservative than the others. St. Peter's Missouri Lutheran church four miles north of Milwaukee had only German in 1948; it had fifty-five members.

56.19 Sheboygan (61-234, pop. 46,000 in 1960) is predominately German. Its history began toward 1845 with the arrival of German immigrants who kept coming from then until the First World War. The last segment to appear were the Volgans particularly in the years 1910-1914. "Representatives of all parts of the Homeland have settled in the city -- Low-Germans from Hanover, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, High-Germans from Hesse-Darmstadt, Rhenish Prussia, Saxony, and Lippe-Detmold, to name the most important. Dialectal differences between these groups, which settled in compact colonies in different sections of the city and county, are clearly recognizable even today. The English spoken in the country is richly flavored with phrases and mannerisms borrowed from the German dialects." So said the WPA writers of the Wisconsin Guide book (WW 284) in 1940. By 1850 there were Catholic and German Methodist churches in the town, Lutherans close outside. In the next decade in town Lutheran, German Baptist, and German Reformed Congregations were organized. The Turners had established a Verein by 1854. Other typical German societies and
German Newspapers were founded. Germans were dominant in business after 1880. "German drama was occasionally performed in the 1890's at the Turn-Halle and Opera House" (WW 287). In 1951 of the 13 Missouri Lutheran churches in Sheboygan and its immediate neighborhood, one had listened to English once every three weeks in 1916; 9 had services in German in 1948. One of these, the Trinity church, 2743 members, held German services every Sunday at 8:45 and English services at 10:15. Four hundred persons attended the German services, 800 the English. The preference of so many for German is explained by the large and late arriving settlement of Volgans from Russia in the city. By 1964 the quality of the German of young Volgans, those born after 1942, was deteriorating. Among them small children showed proficiency in German. In 1965 there were German services once a month in the Evangelical and Reformed Church. In 1967 in the family circle of older generations, German was still used; an informant of that year said that at one supermarket "the majority of the female customers at the huge meat counter were not only conversing in German but doing all their ordering in German."

The Sheboygan County rural districts, like the town itself, were occupied by a variety of German stocks, each of which in early times kept much to itself. A number of the Freistadt people moved north into southern Sheboygan County (L 350) and a Missouri Lutheran congregation originated there in 1855. In 1898 Mrs. Levi estimated the number of north Germans in the county at 15,000, chiefly found in a broad band of territory stretching southwestward from the area.
on the lake north of the city (L 355). The settlement of Brandenburgers not far northwest of town impressed her the most. In the north of the same county Rhinelanders settled in 1846 and 1847 (L 372); they named their township Rhine. In 1847 people from Lippe Detmold (69-21) came to both Sheboygan and Manitowoc Counties "through the influence of Herman Kemper, of Milwaukee, who was an agent for lands in those counties" (L 366). Principally the Lippers settled in the city of Sheboygan and to the northwest of it centered a little further on than Howard's Grove in the section on both sides of the line dividing Town (i.e. Township) Hermann, and Town Rhine. They were largely of the Reformed faith (church soon after 1847), but early much tormented by Freethinkers (Sch 196). Some eventually in 1855 formed St. John's congregation, the oldest church in Wisconsin of the Evangelical Synod (an antecedent to the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Sch 436). In the rural areas of Sheboygan County there were children speaking German in 1951, particularly among the Mecklenburgers near Plymouth where the Missouri Lutheran church with 2100 members in a town of less than 5000 population still had services in German in 1948, though English had been admitted in a secondary role by 1916. The knowledge of German was persisting here into the fourth and fifth generations. In the cemetery of St. John's Evangelical and Reformed church to the northwest of Sheboygan the Lippers used German for inscriptions almost always till 1918, very commonly till 1935. One stone bore an inscription of 1947. Random Lake at the south edge of the county was nearly as conservative.
In Manitowoc County there were people from Schleswig-Holstein in the southwestern corner and also the next township west, who named their townships for their native provinces and their towns Kiel and New Holstein. The Evangelical and Reformed churches in these towns are large, Wisconsin Synod Lutheran congregations flourish, and the Catholic church at Kiel has grown. They had their start in 1848 and 1849 (L 365). Here was a sort of cultural center, for the first comers were some-what of the "Latin farmer" type. "In the '80's most of the members of the [opera] company [of Milwaukee] were accustomed to spend their summer holiday in the little German village of New Holstein on Elkhart Lake not far away. At such times, they 'cut up' a little, to the delight of the natives and the summer visitors, and in a humorous holiday mood the band of artists was regularly accustomed to meet the train at the station with music and all sorts of antics so that the harmless little city soon became known to the astonished trainmen and commercial travelers as 'Crazy Town.'" (H:II, 223)

The Schleswig-Holstein people in the Kiel and New Holstein district (61-226, 227) have not clung strongly to Schrift-Deutsch, but practically all, children too, were speaking their dialect in 1951. The children, however, were using English to each other, Platt-deutsch to their parents. The Wisconsin Synod Lutheran church in Kiel then had no preaching in German but the members attempted high German in song without marked success. In the Protestant cemetery at Kiel English inscriptions became common about
1900 but examples of German persisted into the 1940's. Except among children the English of this group was usually highly accented.

56.23 Manitowoc (pop. 31,500 in 1960) and its county (61-227) have many Germans. The town has other elements also, but Germans were there in the 1840's. Indeed German amateur dramatics were born in Manitowoc in 1848 (H,I, 143). The WPA Wisconsin guide does not discourse on Germans there, but mentions as prominent in various respects: Carl von Brause and his wife, the Rahr Malting Company and Schuette's park. There were four Lutheran churches there in 1950. Both north and south of the town of Manitowoc Westphalians settled in the early 1840's. "They with people from the Rhine formed a large portion of the population of the county in 1848" (L 365). The Rhinelanders, centered just south of Manitowoc, had begun moving in two years before (L 372). There were also Mecklenburgers and Pomeranians by 1848. "There are said to be about 5,000 families of this class together with the Hanoverians and Oldenburgers, who are known as Mecklinburgers from the fact that the majority came from Mecklenburg-Schwerin. These people belong to eleven or more Lutheran congregations" (L 356). On the northern border of the county, there were Schleswigers by 1840 (L 356), Saxons by 1847 (L 391), Pomeranians by 1850 (L 350). Manitowoc County, north of Kiel, has been less conservative of German in general, probably because of the intrusion of other types of population.

56.24 The east shore of Lake Winnebago (61-226,233) is bordered in its northern part by Calumet County. In the county's northeastern corner the German Methodist congregation at Brillion was most con-
servative. Until 1950 its minister was always German in background. A few miles to the south, services were going on in 1948 in the Missouri Lutheran church in Chilton, founded in 1915. Chilton and Hilbert, north of New Holstein, are like the country to the east in being largely Protestant, though there are Catholic churches in them. The earliest and most conservative Lutheran congregation in the Hilbert area, the southeast church, was organized in 1858, the one in town twenty years later. The older church still heard German in 1948. There were five Evangelical Association churches with 435 members in the county in 1890. In 1900 the Catholic churches in Sherwood and Stockbridge were labeled as German parishes. According to Thwaites (quoted by Pa, 480) these people were from Luxemburg and Oldenburg. The southeast corner of the lake began to receive Rhineland families in 1841. "Dr. Carl de Haas, in a work written in 1848 stated that the Calumet settlement then numbered 1,500, of whom only about twenty members were Protestants; the rest were Catholics, mostly from the Rhine territory, mostly from Mosel" (L 371). These rural Catholics were conservative in the use of German. Until 1905 there were no English inscriptions in the Jericho cemetery (toward Lake Winnebago from Chilton). English received an impetus in 1918, but German was not uncommon through the 1920's and 1930's and exceptionally it appears at least until 1950.

At the lakehead itself (Fond du Lac was named for its location) there were many German Catholics, but as a Catholic center, Fond du Lac (61–233) did not become solidly German. In 1900 one Catholic church had a pastor with a French name, one with German, two with
Irish. By 1948, again judging by names, the hierarchy was endeavoring to erase nationalism from the consciousness of the churches. St. Mary's, the German church, was the largest but by no great margin. Part of Fond du Lac and the area to the northwest is Protestant. In Fond du Lac County and in Dodge County to the south there were 17 Evangelical Association churches with 1266 members in 1890. To the northwest Germans from Pomerania and Mecklenburg settled; "the majority came in in 1855" (L 355). When Mrs. Levi wrote in 1898, one Lutheran congregation in the town contained 250 families mostly from Brandenburg. In 1950 the American Lutheran, Immanuel-Trinity, church had 2,394 members. It bears the compound name because two churches were merged. Trinity, the "English church" was established as a mission in 1912; the merger took place in 1919 before the stresses of the First World War had subsided.

In the city of Fond du Lac the Protestants were divided but on the whole conservative linguistically. The German Methodist congregation had not lost its individuality in 1951. Until May of 1951 there was preaching in German every Sunday at Immanuel Trinity; then it was reduced to twice a month. Fifty-seven were then attending the German service, 500 the English services (2394 members). Among the 57 there were half a dozen who were not very old. Almost all persons born after 1910 lacked proficiency in German. Confirmations in German went on until 1923. The last marriage and the last baptism recorded in German took place in 1937 and 1938; so also for the death records, except that in 1932 one event, the death of a boy "accidentally shot by playmates in camp," was in
English; in this case no formula like the usual ones would suit.

56.26 The north half of Dodge County (61-244) east of its lakes contains a variety of German stocks. Nearest Pond du Lac, Rhinelanderers settled east of Lomira beginning in 1850. There also Luxemburgers in this neighborhood (GL 270). West of Lomira Bavarians came in 1861 (L 381). These Catholics were not intensely conservative linguistically; inscriptions in their cemetery after 1905 are rarely in German. "Lomira was settled almost entirely by Prussians from Brandenburg, who belonged to the Evangelical Association" (Fa 480, quoting Thwaites). This statement of 1890 may not be entirely trustworthy. The Evangelical Association was an American institution. Farther west at Beaver Dam, the German Methodist congregation was at one time much stronger than the English church, so that when they combined in 1933 the building chosen and occupied till shortly after 1951 was that of the Germans. Until 1933 the pastor had always been a speaker of German. Though united in name in 1935 the German and English speaking groups were separate entities for another fifteen years, and in 1951 young adults among the German group joked with each other in the ancestral language. The Catholic church at Beaver Dam, labeled "St. Peter's Kirche, A.D. 1900," has a cemetery wherein German inscriptions predominate until that year, but then disappear rapidly, though there is one as late as 1921.

A large part of eastern Dodge County containing the villages of Mayville and Theresa became the domain of people from Pomerania or close by. The Immanuel church at Theresa was organized in 1847;
the town was founded in the same year. At Theresa in St. Peter's Church its German services occur on the first, third, and fifth Sundays of the month in 1951. Inscriptions in its cemetery were sometimes in German, at least until 1950. One monument with an inscription in German for a son who lived from 1921 to 1947 had anticipatory inscriptions in German for his parents who were born in 1895 and 1899. The implication is of course that the parents used German habitually. Though St. Paul's Church, somewhat north of Theresa, announced itself to the public in English only and carried on its Sunday School in English, an informant of 1951 born about 1885 insisted that the German and English services, both of which took place every Sunday, were equally well attended and that his grandchildren spoke German with him. He himself was the son of immigrants, and had difficulty not only with the pronunciation but also with the vocabulary of English. Linguistic usage in St. Paul's cemetery was very similar to that at St. Peter's.

56.27 The Watertown area was first entered by Germans in 1843, part of the second group of Pomeranian Lutherans to arrive in Wisconsin. They settled on both sides of the Dodge-Jefferson County line (61-244, 253) a few miles east of Watertown (L 350, E 296). They began to prosper at once. Between 1850 and 1865, they spread into Watertown and into three-fourths of Jefferson County to the south of it, including the towns of Johnson Creek and Jefferson. The southern part of this district was shared with Lutheran Bavarians who arrived in 1847 (L 380). The Pomeranians of this area are of particular interest because some of them were the first arrivals among the
Lyon Creek Germans of Kansas.

The Watertown area exhibits much variety in its conservatism of German. In its southwestern part the city of Jefferson seems not to have been persistent in the use of German. The Catholic cemetery of rural St. Lawrence's to the east of Jefferson indicates a rapid shift. Inscriptions are all in German until well into the 1890's, and none appear after about 1905. At Johnson Creek, nine miles from Watertown, German inscriptions appear in the cemetery as late as 1936, but they never dominated. The heartland of the area, that which is east of Watertown, was so conservative that all the Missouri Lutheran churches (five including the one in town) had services in German in 1948. The district to the north in eastern Dodge County was equally, if not more conservative; five out of six Missouri Lutheran churches had services in German in that area. The Wisconsin Synod churches did likewise. An American Lutheran pastor qualified the district as "very German," and said that people who had spent all their long lives there were as "German" as immigrants.

Oshkosh (61-225) saw its first sawmill established in 1847. There were Germans working there at least by 1850. In 1898 Mrs. Levi reported over 1,000 North German families in Oshkosh, 700 of them Pomeranian, who had mostly come between 1854 and 1870. They belonged to four Lutheran and one German Methodist church (L 356). There were five Evangelical Association churches with 379 members in the county in 1890. She also said, "In the Catholic churches of Oshkosh there are 400 to 500 Bavarians and German Bohemians"
There were at that time three Catholic churches in Oshkosh, one Irish with 225 pupils in its school, one Polish with 57 and one German with 205. In 1960 the three had multiplied to six, all much larger; the biggest (591 pupils) not among the early three, was served by three priests, one with a Slavic name, one with a Netherlandish, and the senior among them with a German name.

At Oshkosh a part of the speakers of German, as at Sheboygan, immigrated from the Volga region. But unlike the Sheboygan people, the Oshkosh Reich Germans kept separate from the Volgans. A competent informant of 1951 who had been in Oshkosh for twenty-seven years maintained that no families were using German in the home. He probably meant by a family, a group composed of parents and growing children, for there were four Lutheran churches with more than 5,000 members having German services once a month and in the Martin Luther congregation (Wisconsin Synod) there were a few needing pastoral attentions in German. This congregation was organized in 1917 for doctrinal not linguistic reasons, and was German in language until 1923 or 1924 when the pastor suddenly decreed a shift to English. In 1916 both Missouri Lutheran congregations heard some preaching in English. In 1948 they were among those preserving German. English was not introduced into any Lutheran church of Oshkosh until some years after the beginning of the century.

The Lower Fox River District contains the towns and cities at the northern end of Lake Winnebago and along the Fox River emptying from it and flowing into the bay called Green. These towns, Neenah, Menasha, Appleton, Kaukana, DePere, Green Bay, all
have a population which, like Oshkosh's, is of complex origin. The more southern of these towns began real development in the late 1850's. Green Bay (61-211) and DePere date back to French times. In 1900 all these towns except Neenah contained flourishing German Catholic churches; Green Bay's Catholics numbered 1,000 in 1848 but the priest was French; the city became the see of a diocese in 1868 and the cathedral parish was in 1910 still a German national parish. The Bavarian Catholics at Menasha arrived in 1858 (L 381). Bavarians and Rhinelanders dominated the Catholic population of Appleton. There were in 1950 a dozen German Lutheran churches in Appleton, a half dozen in Neenah. In the development of final Wisconsin settlement, Green Bay figured in 1836 as the site of the first land office in the eastern part of the territory. The census of that year shows as resident in Brown County where Green Bay is situated seven man with German names (Hi19). The population grew through the arrival of individuals rather than groups.

In Green Bay in 1909 no preaching went on in English in the Lutheran churches or the Catholic cathedral. English was introduced very soon, however, and German preaching was greatly reduced under the pressures of the First World War. With the advent of the Second World War, the Lutherans gave up German completely; the Catholics had done so years before. Here the Germans had no real preponderance in a city of many nationalities, and English as the lingua franca was favorably situated.

The cities near the outlet from Lake Winnebago, Appleton included, more nearly resembled Oshkosh in the degree with which they
conserved German than Green Bay. In 1951 the English of those of German origin fifty or sixty years old was completely without differentiation between voiced and voiceless consonants. Those of the next generation still spoke with a noticeable accent.

The country east of Green Bay on to Lake Michigan contains a variety of German settlements. Seventeen miles east of the center of Green Bay is Luxemburg (61-212). This town owes its name to early settlers (1855). Luxemburgers did not, however, dominate by 1888; 10 out of 114 German Catholic families were Luxemburgers (GL 270). Algoma on the Lake Michigan shore was more German in blood. The same mixture of dialects and languages as in Green Bay was existent in the country to the east, but the various nationalities could live as separate entities and the rate of displacement of their language by English varied with the settlement. In the city of Algoma the situation was not dissimilar to that in Green Bay. In the public cemetery the inscriptions were in two-thirds of the cases for people with German names; during the last third of the nineteenth century they were frequently in German. The last German inscription was of 1925. At the St. John's Lutheran cemetery three miles west of town inscriptions in German ran at least until 1950. English began in 1891. At this church in 1951 there were both German and English services every Sunday, about 50 or 60 persons for the German. The membership was 403 in 1948. Halfway on to Green Bay at Luxemburg, no English inscriptions appear in the Catholic cemetery until 1907 and German goes on at least till 1950. Children here spoke Eng-
lish with a pronounced accent. Five miles south the cemetery of St. Paul's Missouri Lutheran church contains no inscriptions in English until about 1930. In 1951 new ones in German were only slightly more numerous than those in English.

56.31 The rural German settlements to the north and west of the outlet of Lake Winnebago were largely made up of Rhinelanders who appeared in the area as early as 1842 (L 372), attracted by a Catholic establishment, Little Chute. That town became Netherlandish, but an arc of German Catholic churches fifteen miles from Appleton (61-210) north and west, more or less define the outer edges of the territory, which merges on the west with the Protestants on Wolf River. The German settlements a trifle farther west on the Wolf River occupy almost all of 14 townships; the center is some twenty miles west of Appleton. The village of Fremont is not far from this point. The settlers were mostly North Germans particularly in the western two-thirds. The first arrivals, however, were Rhinelanders beginning in 1849. Another group of Rhinelanders who came to the region by way of eastern Pennsylvania and Ohio arrived in 1853 in Dale Township to the east of the center of the settlement. The Pomeranians began to appear in 1854. "The great mass of the North Germans came between 1857 and 1865" (L 358). The more inland towns of the Wolf River valley have sometimes succumbed entirely to English, but preaching in German went on in some of their churches in 1948.

56.32 The Shawano County area (north of 61-210), according to Mrs. Levi, was settled in the 1860's (L 357), but settlement apparently
began about 1855, for St. Martin's Missouri Lutheran church, five miles southwest of Shawano was organized in 1859. Mrs. Levi is doubtless reliable when she speaks of the population of the time at which she wrote, 1898. She says, "Over one-half of the population of Shawano County is German, of whom the most are from Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg" (L 357). The proportion of Germans has rather increased than decreased. In Shawano in 1950, when it was a town of about 6,000 St. James Missouri Lutheran Church had 3331 members, and there were numerous Lutheran churches in the neighborhood. The Shawano County area was very conservative of German. Though English had crept into the Lutheran services at Shawano by 1916, in 1948 in the cities of Shawano and Bonduel and in their immediate neighborhood, twelve out of thirteen Missouri Lutheran churches were maintaining services in German, including a congregation organized as recently as 1926.

Along the Rock River in southern Wisconsin Scandinavians predominated; but a Missouri Lutheran congregation at Janesville was organized in 1865. At Beloit the American Lutheran church was founded in 1874 and the Missouri Lutheran in 1897. Services in English began in the Missouri Lutheran Church by 1916, in the American Lutheran Church in 1909; the services in German had ended by the time of the Second World War. A decade later four persons required pastoral work in German. At the Missouri Lutheran church there was then a German service on Easter. The large Missouri Lutheran church (1381 members) at Janesville had services in German still, but English services had commenced by 1916. Germans as Na-
tionals made little impression on the population at mid-century and a country church at Hanover founded in 1880 close by to the west was partly English in 1916, completely so in 1948. In the northern part of the county, however, at Edgerton and south of it the Germans served by two Missouri Lutheran church which had services in German were proportionately to the population more numerous.

56.34 New Glarus is the most notable settlement in Green County (61-261) to the west of Rock County. The people of New Glarus arrived from Switzerland in 1845 after a year's preparation and journeying. There were at first 122 of them -- 26 men, 23 women, and 73 children (H II, 44). They were followed by others so that John Luchsinger said in 1878, "The number of Swiss and their descendants in Green County alone exceeds three thousand" (Lu, VII, 412). There were others in southern Dane County to the North. Hense-Jensen in 1900 raised the number in Green County to 8,000. New Glarus remained a cultural but hardly a population focus (population 200 in 1878, 1224 in 1950). It has developed touristic appeal. The original project was organized to relieve Glarus Canton of excess population in a period of economic distress. It was carefully directed, but the people were not all from one part of the canton and there was early clannish separation which later subsided. It resulted, however, in early spread into the townships to the south, thereby furnishing the seeds for growth throughout the county. Luchsinger described the linguistic situation thus in 1878: "The people of the village, as well as those of the surrounding country, speak among themselves almost exclusively the German-Swiss dialect, pe-
culiar to their native country. It is spoken on the streets and at home. All school and town meetings and elections, and even proceedings in the Justice's courts, are of necessity conducted in this language" (Lu, VIII, 412). Hense-Jensen assures us in 1900 that "they hold holy the sweet notes of the mother tongue" (Hj. 45). "The settlers of New Glarus founded their own church -- the Reformed Church -- and had their German school from the beginning as well as an English one" (Lu, VIII, 444). The first church was built in 1849, a replacement in 1858, and still another in 1900 which is labeled as dedicated, "gewidmet von Mat Schmid Monticelli." Monticello is the next village south of New Glarus. The original founders, though they came directly from Switzerland, were aided by a fellow countryman established in Allentown Pennsylvania. John Luchsinger came first to Syracuse, New York, in 1855 then went to Philadelphia; to New Glarus in 1856. The first World War made English dominant in the community. The children of those married just after it know no German. The Swiss population elsewhere in the county became considerable. Monroe, the county seat, 18 road miles to the south, became a cheese center, and many Swiss settled there. Penn-Germans also became numerous. In 1890 there were in the county 13 Evangelical Association churches with 909 members.

Dane County (61-252) which surrounds Madison, attracted settlements of many kinds, both German and of other stocks. None could therefore grow to any great size. What Mrs. Levi says of the people from Brunswick who began settling in 1846 about ten miles north and a little east of Madison is typical: "All were
originally Lutherans, but about half of them have become Methodists here, and all are rapidly becoming Americanized" (L 364). In 1890 there were in the county 4 German Methodist organizations with 234 members, but the Evangelical Association was stronger here and to the east 12 churches with 934 members. In Madison Bavarians began arriving in the 1840's (L 380); a separate German Catholic parish was created in 1853 (L 371). Although the Lutheran churches there are large, they are of comparatively late origin. A few miles east of Madison the cemetery of the rural Immanuel American Lutheran church contains inscriptions beginning with 1851; they are predominantly in German until the First World War, not later. In stained glass over the door the church is named in German; in paint on the lintel just below, its name is in English. In the northwestern part of the county Rhinelanders settled as early as 1840 spreading from Sauk City just across the Wisconsin River. There was a German Catholic mission near the river in 1845. "Large German settlements were soon formed, the majority of the settlers being Rhenish Prussians" (L 370). There were also Bavarians (L 380, for both stocks see also Thwaites quoted by Fa 481). Count Haraszthy, the Hungarian revolutionist, was the animating spirit in this region (H II 36).

The Great Bend of the Wisconsin area might well include the group last mentioned, for Count Haraszthy's colonies of South Germans grew up, too, on the other side of the river. He also brought in there, however, colonies of other nationalities so that Sauk County (61-242) is not as thickly German as other places. A colony of Swiss at Prairie du Sac on the river received an Evangelical
missionary in 1852; there was also a Reformed missionary working with this group in 1859 (Sch 435). There were Hanoverians in the center of the county (L 364); they came in the 1860's and 70's. Sauk County showed the most successful results for all the missionary work carried on by the Evangelical Association in the Great Bend country; that county in 1890 contained nine of its stations with 861 members. Columbia County (61-243), which contains the apex of the Great Bend, has various settlements of Germans from the Inner North. Mrs. Levi seems not to have known this county well; at least she confuses townships and villages. Her statements and Protestant church locations, however, indicate German settlements in the corners of the county. She says that arrivals of North Germans began in 1854 (L 354). A Lutheran missionary was at Columbus in the southeast in 1856 (Sch 435). The date of the foundation of the Missouri Lutheran church at Portage, 1859, also bears out her statement. The Portage church is large, 1,750 members in 1948; its backbone is Pomeranian. At Portage, the Missouri Lutheran church had by 1916 allowed its young to hear English twice a month -- along with German; in 1951 it held services five times a year in German at which 40 or 50 people attended. German had been the usual language of worship till 1928. By the time of the Second World War services in German had been reduced to twice a month; from 1945 to 1947 they occurred once a month. In all this region (as is usual) it was the Pomeranians who insisted longest on German. Some of these people near Baraboo where German was abandoned earlier than in Portage came in from the west to Portage to attend
the German services. But the Hanoverian group within the Bend at Reedsburg and Loganville was also maintaining services in German in 1948.

To the northeast of the Great Bend between it and the Lake Winnebago country, Marquette and Green Lake Counties (61-231,232) have noteworthy settlements of Germans. Mrs. Levi says that the German population of Green Lake County (61-232), 25% of the total in her day, were mainly North German. "In 1848, the year that the first steamboat passed up the Fox River [from Lake Winnebago] to Princeton, the first Germans, six in number, settled in the country between Princeton and Berlin" (L 354). The main influx was from 1856 to 1866, largely from Pomerania and Posen. The Pomeranians, Lutherans and Methodists, settled east of Princeton. The people from Posen were to the west of town; the Catholic church at Princeton was Polish. The Catholics from Posen were then presumably Poles. Farther west, in Marquette County, Pomeranians prevailed again (unmentioned by Mrs. Levi) with centers at Germania, Westfield, Neshkoro, and Montello. They arrived during the influx spoken of above, for several of their Lutheran churches were founded in 1859. The German Presbyterians began work there at about that time (Sch 435). Six out of eight of the Missouri Lutheran churches in Neshkoro, Westfield, Montello and their immediate neighborhood still had services in German in 1948. At Neshkoro there was preaching in German every Sunday. The public cemetery at Montello contains many inscriptions under non-German names, but inscriptions in German are common almost to 1930. The town is less
German than the country here. At Wautoma, farther north, a family aged in the forties in 1951 still knew German but used it only a little at a reunion.

56.38 The Wisconsin German colonies near the Mississippi River in spite of the very early settlement of certain areas were not among the settlements made before 1850, and in the southwest corner of the state did not become numerous or strong. Between 1851 and 1854 a settlement of Badenese established themselves on the lower Wisconsin River near Boscobel (L 384). They were mostly Lutherans near the river. The American Lutheran Church at Boscobel (61-250) had 652 members in 1950. There were 211 more in the church at Fennimore to the south. A Catholic parish with consistently German pastors (122 pupils in its school in 1960) was established at Fennimore and maintained what was long a mission at Boscobel. The use of the German language here has attracted little attention.

56.39 La Crosse (61-220) has been quite cosmopolitan. "Germans, the first and largest group to arrive (including 48ers), in 1855 organized their Turnverein.... The following year the La Crosse Maennerchor... was organized" (WW 207). The singing society enjoyed some celebrity. For LaCrosse Mrs. Levi mentions particularly West Prussians who arrived between 1875 and 1885. The town developed as a railroad and industrial center, and the Germans came from many parts of Germany, including Luxemburg (GL 271). St. Joseph's Cathedral, labeled German in 1915, was founded in 1863 (GL 271). There were two other German Catholic parishes in 1915. There came into being four Wisconsin Synod Lutheran churches and an Evangelical and
Reformed church. Though not notably successful in LaCrosse the Evangelical Association had numerous organizations in its neighborhood -- most successful upstream. LaCrosse's five Lutheran churches are all members of the Wisconsin Synod. In 1951 in at least two of these, services in German were occurring. At the smaller of the two, Immanuel, which was not small, 1200 communicant members, there had been German services twice a month until a shift to once a month in January 1951; 25 to 40 persons attended the services. People born between 1910 and 1920 were able to speak German, but few of their children knew any. The linguistic abilities of Catholic families were similar.

56.40 Organized German action in Wisconsin was of great moment and important for a longer period than in any other state. The influence was great upon politics, upon religious development, and upon cultural manifestations. Because Milwaukee was the focal point of these developments some of them have been considered in speaking of that city, but it seems necessary to treat of others for the state as a whole. They affected conservation of the German language favorably by creating a spirit of solidarity, and unfavorably by emphasizing a distinction between Germans and other people that sometimes drew hostility and very frequently created a desire among the young to lose the tag of Germanness, particularly when the young did not sympathize with the goals envisaged by the older.

56.41 Politics was one of the domains into which the Germans entered fervidly in Wisconsin. As in other states they were in complete unity against all prohibitionist movements, but their clamor was
louder and more effective in Wisconsin than in almost any other region. Here we need consider, however, only their fight against the Bennett law of 1889, which contained provisions on the use of language in schools. Whether "the whole was designed simply as a forward step in the interests of youth," as Wm F. Raney maintains (Ra 272) or was the outcome of nefarious scheming, as the Germans claimed throughout the campaign of 1890 and in the succeeding years (Hi144-147), the facts are that the provisions arousing the opponents of the law were part of a bill intended to prevent exploitation of children, and that these particular provisions, or at least recognition of their real purport, escaped the attention of Germans, vigilant until the last hours of the legislative session. They had successfully defeated a much more forthright bill designed to accomplish the same aim. In the ensuing tumult the leaders were frequently the men who had been lobbying during the legislative session, and so did not publicly reproach themselves for their own blindness, but emphasized the insidious procedures of their opponents, who were more skillful in bringing about a triumph of the moment than they were in foreseeing that they were preparing defeat in coming state elections. The two clauses in the law most objectionable to the Germans were: (1) parents must send their children to schools in the district of their residence, and (2) no institution could be considered a school unless the language of elementary instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic and history was English. The second provision clearly reduced languages other than English to the status of subjects of study rather
than instruments of learning. The first clause was regarded with
equal abhorrence and tended to make the Irish allies of the Germans,
for it was a blow at all parochial schools; such institutions were
not likely to draw their pupils from a single school district. Not
only were boarding schools practically eliminated, but parochial
day schools were put beyond the territorial limits of a great num-
ber of children.

56.42 Obviously the free-thinking German element could find delight
in this blow to organized religion. Though they recognized that
education in German was chiefly through these schools, there were
among them the only Germans supporting the law. But they were not
unanimous (H, II, 150), and the free-thinkers were in general now
old men still perhaps in charge of newspapers and officials in the
Turnvereins (H,II, 154), but no longer a strong element. They had
been the political leaders, but now they had to yield their leader­
ship to representatives of the churches. Catholics and Protestants
joined forces. The Catholics carried on an effective campaign. Be­
cause Catholics were of numerous nationalities their insistence in
public utterances was upon the right of parents to choose such re­
ligious instruction as they liked (H, II, 157). They dealt with
the attack on non-English languages quietly through other channels.

56.43 The Lutheran campaign was equally effective, but it was at
once a first venture into politics and a first opportunity for ma­
nipulating the organs forming public opinion. Their arguments and
refutations of their opponents were vigorously expounded on plat­
form and in print. Their most widely appealing contention was that
the law was an invasion of parental rights, but their answers to accusations are of greater interest to us. Similar laws were being or had been proposed at the same period in 10 states.* The law pro-

* Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.

posed in Nebraska, though not adopted, forbade all instruction other than in English in all elementary schools. The campaigners in Wisconsin declared that "with this right granted to the state practically all instruction in German and religion was forbidden and thereby the principal aim of most of our private schools is obviously defeated" (H, II, 150). In other words a linguistic law was an attack on religion. The opposition claimed that the Lutherans were enemies of the public school, in fact made a campaign slogan of the defense of "the little red schoolhouse." The Lutherans in response recalled that C. F. M. Walther, as president of the Missouri Synod, had said in 1871, "Public schools are a political necessity and of greater importance in a republic than in a monarchy. If the welfare of our adopted country lies close to our hearts, our Christian duty requires us to uphold the public schools" (H 151).

56.44 The Lutherans also maintained that it was absurd to claim that the parochial and private schools gave insufficient instruction in English. "Isolated exceptions, as for example that a 26-year-old man had been found in Jefferson County [the Watertown area], born there and educated in a Lutheran parochial school, but without mastery of English, or that in many out-of-the-way rural districts the
German language predominated in education, did not in any way alter the general situation. Besides, the accusation of ignorance of the language of the land among the rising generation could seem only a lame excuse, if not an insult, since German parents complain rightfully and almost without exception that they can no longer keep their children to speaking German. No, 'the little red schoolhouse' is in no danger, but the German parochial school is" (H, II, 152). It wasn't fair, so the allegation ran, that these people should have doubly taxed themselves to provide religious instruction for their children and at the same time maintain the public schools, and then be accused of disloyalty.

The danger to the continued existence of the language could be a campaign argument only within the German community, but it was passionately voiced there. "Maintenance of the German language was a major aim and goal of the parochial school. Nobody has accomplished more in this respect in Wisconsin. It is the spring that has watered the German plant and kept it alive. Before it, the other organizations which are so proud of upholding the German way of life -- the German Clubs, the Singers and the Turners, even the German press -- must modestly step aside. The German parochial school, especially the Lutheran, is and remains, if the truth be told, the mighty fortress of German speech and German mores" (H, II, 154).

56.45 The Republican Party was in power when the Bennett law was passed in 1889. The state went Democratic the next year. Though Raney expresses doubt that the Germans were the cause of the overturn, the Germans themselves were without skepticism. The Lutheran-
ans after victory kept the leadership in the effort to maintain the German language and mores. But these leaders too were growing old when the First World War overwhelmed them.

56.46 The Catholic church in Wisconsin was practically in the hands of the Germans until after the opening of the twentieth century. The first bishop of Milwaukee, John M. Henni (1805-1881) who became archbishop in 1875, was by all accounts, Catholic and Protestant, a man of singular energy and ability. His preliminary pioneer service in Ohio prepared him to face similar conditions in 1844 when he came to his new diocese. He was highly influential in building up Catholic German settlements. The number of his priests multiplied from 4 to 50 in six years and similar growth in every department continued or was exceeded. Green Bay and LaCrosse became the sees of separate dioceses in 1868 and their connection with the metropolitan see soon to be created remained very close.

56.47 The German bishops from LaCrosse and Green Bay succeeded him in Milwaukee and ruled until 1930. As Henni grew old he himself evoked the question of his successor by petitioning in 1878 for a coadjutor with rights of succession. His nominees were the Germans who later actually succeeded him. A controversy arose at once, for the "English-speaking" priests, most of whose names were Irish, formed a committee, and either as individuals or as a body began to campaign. Of the Catholics of Wisconsin they said, "About 120,000 were Irish and of Irish descent, about 117,000 were German and of German descent, and the remaining 50,000 were of French, Polish, and other national descents" (Ba 47). One of them wrote, "These
German priests have frequent meetings, the principal and ulterior object of which is to perpetuate a young Germany here... to perpetuate the curse of Babel in Language" (Ba 46). Speaking of the archepiscopal candidates they said, "The whole province seems to be pretty well germanized.... The appointment of either would confirm, perpetuate, and intensify the germanizing process." Thomas Fagan in the public press "asserted that Heiss [who became archbishop first] could not write grammatical English and that he blundered in public addresses.... The two local Catholic weeklies, the English language Catholic Citizen and the German language Columbia, clashed in editorial battle over nationalistic attitudes toward the succession" (Ba 49). Henni finally silenced everybody, and 1880 saw Heiss transferred from La Crosse to Milwaukee. This struggle was but a preliminary skirmish to the great battles treated elsewhere (#49.60) over foreign language among the Catholics in the 1880's. The most influential voice from Milwaukee was that of the Pastoral Blatt, established by Heiss for a priestly clientele in 1866 while he was still with Bishop Henni before the creation of the La Crosse diocese. A significant sentence published in 1884 is probably founded upon observation of conditions in Wisconsin: "Even now, to many a German priest brought up in this country the giving of instructions and of preaching is easier in English than in German" (Ba 53).

The weakening of the German spirit in Wisconsin in the years preceding the turn of the century was manifest even to those most reluctant to admit it. The 1880's were the golden age. Older
immigrants had grown rich enough to lead a leisurely life and promote common enterprises; newcomers were numerous. But this flourishing period was of short duration. "The older generation soon fell off in numbers; the recent immigrants quickly became assimilated in a much larger proportion than their predecessors" (H, II, 253). The American-born became leaders. The Germans lost part of their clannish tendencies. "In earlier years it was something quite rare to find Germans in a society where only English was spoken. This was true in all domains of life, not only in social gatherings but likewise in the field of politics, yes, even to a certain extent in purely business organizations, Germans and Anglo-Americans remained separated even when pursuing the same goals... It used to be that the great secret societies -- insofar as they were not completely German, like the Hermannssöhne -- created lodges with a German language ritual. Now that happens only rarely. For example, the lodges of the Knights of Pythias using a German ritual were abolished about ten years ago [about 1892], though after a bitter struggle. The oldest of such organizations, the Free Masons, today has in Wisconsin one German lodge" (H, II, 256). Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner concludes its 1902 survey sadly; "The German element as something separate in the body of the American population has greatly fallen into decay. The ranks of the 'Old Men' have grown thin -- very thin; only rarely does one see a lance broken to champion the earlier, specifically German views... The whole spirit of the age has been altered, and the German Americans of Wisconsin have not gone untouched by this change" (H, II, 259).
That the general use of German in Wisconsin was threatened even in the 1880's is manifest from several quotations above. By the end of the century the defections were rather the rule than the exception. Presumably Ernest Bruncken, who took over and completed Hensi-Jensen's Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner, is the writer of this comment on events in the 1890's. "The younger element studiously withdrew from the influence of the specifically German cultural accomplishments and only unwillingly tolerated German remaining the uniformly employed language of business and debate in the Turnvereins" (H, II, 167). "Anyone not speaking English fluently was no true American" (H, II, 247). And Bruncken concludes for 1902 that the younger generation is American "in spirit, word, and deed.... The German language is still heard in very widely distributed circles... but still we are no longer Germans" (H, II, 260).

The use of the German language in that part of Wisconsin de­

56.49 fined above as of most interest to us has been best conserved in
the Sheboygan-Manitowoc area and in part of the Watertown area. It was in 1951 nowhere the language of children talking among themselves, but in the areas mentioned it was, in some places and in part of the population, the language of children addressing parents. The recrudescence of pride in using the language was then apparent in only a few places.
Germans in Iowa are numerous enough so that in 1930 there were 300 or more in every county except in a triangle based against the center of the Missouri border. However, in much of the state there were no concentrations stretching over several continuous counties, and no attempt will be made here to account for a great many small settlements, particularly in the north. Aside from minor activity along the Missouri River, settlement was from east to west or, in the portion settled early from the Mississippi River front, north-westward along the streams. On the Mississippi, the towns of Burlington, Davenport and Dubuque were the principal radial points. In the early days Burlington was the most important as a way station for German immigrants, but ultimately Davenport became dominant. Keokuk, Muscatine and Clinton were also of some significance. These towns were places of temporary residence, not only for people settling farther west in Iowa but also for those in states beyond, including Kansas. Each of these towns had an immediate neighborhood containing German settlements, largest for Dubuque.

In the eastern half of Iowa areas of German settlement other than those near the cities on the Mississippi include: (a) the Bremer County area centered north of Waterloo (which is some 90 miles directly west of Dubuque, 61-24); (b) the Behind-the-Big-Bend area centered halfway between Clinton and Cedar Rapids (approximately at the junction of 61-36, 37, 46, 47); (c) the Amana area, including settlements in a district 30 miles west of a line running approximately from Cedar Rapids to Iowa City and on farther south
(Counties 61-34, 35, 44, 45); (d) the Ottumwa (in 61-63) Area, of no
great importance; (e) the North-of-State-Center Area (the village
of State Center is about 15 miles west of Marshalltown in 61-32;
22 and 23 are other important counties). In the western part
of the state the cities of Des Moines, Council Bluffs and Sioux City
need some small consideration but particularly the Iowan Inner
West, an area of varied settlement based on three counties along
the western part of a line from Des Moines to Council Bluffs and
extending northward some four counties for a total of about ten
or twelve counties. This area was settled primarily in the 1870's.
A few settlements not far from the Minnesota border merit our at-
tention, particularly those in Kossuth County.

56.52 The history of German settlement on the Iowa side of the
Mississippi River began as soon as that on the eastern bank. In
the decade before Black Hawk's War in 1832 there were beginnings
in the southeast, but growth in earnest began only after that
event. A census of Iowa taken in 1838, reduced here to rounded
thousands, showed 23,000 inhabitants; 13,000 of these were in the
four southeastern counties. The next three counties upstream in-
cluding Scott County where Davenport is situated, each contained
some 1,200 inhabitants. All other counties had less than 1,000
inhabitants except Dubuque where there were 2,400 people. Another
census in 1844 showed a total of 75,000; 45,000 of these were in
the two tiers of counties above the Missouri border. The three
counties upstream were still very nearly equal to each other in
size, Scott, the smallest, averaging just under 3,000 inhabitants.
Dubuque had 4,000, and the other river counties had from one to
three thousand. The territory of Iowa was organized in 1838 with its first capital at Burlington, displaced in 1841 by Iowa City. After the state's admission to the Union in 1846, the capital was not moved west to Des Moines until eleven years later. In general the settlement of the state west of Des Moines was contemporary with the settlement of Kansas. The occupation of the land in both states was completed in the late 1880's. Compared with Kansas, Iowa was more securely held by then, and the hard times of the nineties seem to have weighed less upon it. Still, Iowa took sixty years for a process that occupied thirty years in Kansas, and therefore we find in it a greater variety in the age of foreign settlements. Developments in the eastern part of the state resemble those in Indiana, Illinois, and that part of Wisconsin which has interested us; settlement in the west has closer parallels to settlement in Kansas.

Upstream in Iowa along the Mississippi River, the first town is Keokuk on the Missouri border, founded in 1820. The town flourished in the 1850's and 1860's and contained no small proportion of Germans. It maintained a Turnverein that collapsed before 1900 and a Gesangverein which lasted longer (El 315), possessed a German newspaper till after 1900, two between 1867 and 1899. Its Evangelical and Reformed church counted 462 members in 1950. Similar conditions reigned in the next town along the Mississippi, Fort Madison (founded 1805), but the German element was somewhat weaker. An Evangelical Missionary was working there in 1850 (Sch 434), 305 members in 1950. Lutherans did not prosper in this area. The Harmonie-Verein founded in 1858 at Fort Madison had dissolved by 1900 (El 326). Conservation of German in the two towns was inhibited by the floating nature of the population.
Back country in the county of these two centers, Lee County (61-75) there were also German settlements. Both German Catholic pastors and Evangelicals were at work in the county in 1838; eventually both had churches in the two large towns and three more apiece inland, the Catholics stronger at West Point and St. Paul, and the Evangelicals at Franklin and Donelson. In 1838 the Catholic Germans at Sugar Creek near Fort Madison numbered 38 (Ei 180). The Evangelicals built a church at Franklin in 1849 (Sch 191). In this same area at Franklin and Donnelson and earliest of all a little farther north at West Point, beginning in 1839 a Mennonite settlement grew up consisting of people directly from the Palatinate. Only the congregation at Donnellson persisted into the twentieth century. The others dissolved largely because many members in the 1870's moved to Kansas, notably to Mound Ridge (West Zion Church).

Burlington, Iowa, in Des Moines County (61-66), was founded in 1833. In 1900 Elboeck estimated that 12,000 of its 27,000 inhabitants were German (Ei 331). Germans began coming very early, for the First Evangelical Church had its beginning in 1841 (Ei 337), and in 1843 the Low Germans and High Germans split over a question of doctrine (Sch 189). The unbelievers were also troublesome then. "As in all western cities then there were many among the Germans who flamed into wrath against any believing preacher, because they saw in him a 'Jesuit', who strove to bring folk back under 'the old yoke' and into 'stupidity'... [Such a party] consisted mostly
of brethren from the saloons" (Mu 103). All Iowa, that is, all the river counties, were prosperous during the 1840's and boomed in the 1850's before the panic of '57, and Burlington in those years was in the forefront of prosperity. In all the river towns the '48ers flocked in, and the pious were nearly swarmed under by the rationalists and the enemies of religion. Therefore, while churches furnish a guide to German activity, they represented a smaller proportion of the Germans than in many sections of the country. Still they were numerous, the Evangelical churches increased from one to three in Burlington; the later ones were organized in 1864 and 1877. The Iowa Synod Lutherans (later American) achieved a church in the near neighborhood before 1900. A German Lutheran church of the Wartburg Synod, eventually part of the Lutheran Church of America, was organized in 1887. There were two German Methodist churches, one dating back to 1845 and the other to 1871. Other German Methodist churches grew up in the country so that in 1890 there were seven with 409 members. A separate German Catholic parish, St. John's, was established in 1855 (Ei 336ff.). In 1948 its school (296 pupils) was larger than those in the other two parishes combined. The Turnverein was organized in 1853 and prospered for many years as did other German societies and lodge chapters. However, from 1899 to 1900 the Turners lost half of their membership. Eiboeck felt at that time that German enthusiasm was low; at least he says, "Formerly there was here an intellectually strong and cultured German element," and refers sadly to the "ever-decreasing band of German pioneers" (Ei 331). He includes as pioneers those
who arrived in the 1850's.

In Burlington at the Bethany Church of the Wartburg Synod of the Lutheran Church of America, German preaching occurred twice a month from 1929 to 1942, and then once a month until 1948. German speech had been common enough after the First World War so that for some years it was an advantage in certain parts of the city to have a German speaking clerk. By 1966 German in town had become merely a tool for expressing joking comradeship for those born before 1914.

In Des Moines County outside of Burlington, Eiboeck says, "you can find whole districts inhabited by Germans, as for example around Latly and Franklin Mills and other places, where they have formed their congregations and have their own churches and schools. Around Danville, New London, Pleasant Grove and in the southern and northern part of the county, in Burlington and Union Townships the German element is strong and many old settlers are to be found" (Ei 348). The county averaged about 30% of foreign white stock in 1930; just west of Burlington 39%. In the rural areas of the county there were in 1966 individuals who expected those born before 1930 to be able to speak German with them.

56.56 In the country upstream as far as Muscatine, in the county of the same name (61-56N), the proportion was less. In Muscatine the percentage of f.w.s. again rose to 30, but was below 25% in surrounding townships. Muscatine possessed 50 inhabitants in 1837, and, though a county seat, achieved incorporation only in 1851. Eiboeck boasted that "In the upbuilding and development of the city, the Germans have done many times more than the old Anglo-
Americans who arrived before them. Thus it was exclusively the Germans who organized the first chemical fire-fighting company."

The Evangelicals began work in Muscatine in 1848. In July of that year their minister, Konrad Riess, found that "A large German immigration from Württemberg had just arrived, and with 18 families Riess finally effected the organization of the German Evangelical Protestant Church" (Sch 190). In 1855 a German Congregational Church was founded; it and the Evangelical combined in 1884 and from then till the end of the century Pastor Paeth served them. In 1863 the Germans were first able to elect a mayor. In 1897 seven of the eight city councilmen were Germans. The year 1865 seems to have been particularly prosperous, for in that year a German workmen's mutual aid society was established, and also the Turnverein, which however collapsed in 1896 (Ei 488). There were other exclusively German societies, but German members were numerous in several "American" lodges. There were six German churches: Evangelical (E-R), Iowa Lutheran (American), Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, and Catholic. The German Anzeiger flourished as a newspaper from 1874 until after 1900, and there were other German papers. Still it is clear that by 1900 the German population was turning away from German institutions; the form of the name of the mayor, who had been born in Hesse-Cassel in 1845, is some indication -- officially Mr. Schmidt called himself Barney. In Muscatine the American Lutheran church in 1966 was having German services three or four times a year. On Good Friday of that year 53 persons attended. English services were attended regularly by four to five
hundred. Only late arriving immigrants still spoke German. If the next generation had learned the language it had forgotten it.

The German characteristics of Davenport (61-478) awakened the greatest enthusiasm in Herr Eiboeck in 1900. As a headline for his section on the city he declared, "The mighty protector of the German Way of Life in Iowa is Davenport" (Ei 385). He says further, "The young German-Americans have now grown up and occupy a place as good as youth enjoys anywhere in the world. The young men have followed in the footsteps of their fathers whose industry and frugality they still possess -- if possible, more initiative," and he expatiates on the prosperity of the city, whose inhabitants then numbered 45,000. The area around Davenport was Indian land until after the Black Hawk War of 1832. The town of Davenport was laid out in 1836. The first German also arrived in 1836. In speaking of conditions twenty years later Eiboeck characterized it as "then a small country town, where true, hearty German life and activity had developed" (Ei 456). The proportion of Germans became very high, especially about 1845 when many Germans came, ultimately to attain prosperity, some with money on arrival (SB 196). In 1930 in Davenport and the townships in its neighborhood the percentage of f.w.s., nearly all German despite the Swedes and Irish, was from forty to fifty percent. F.w.s. includes only immigrants and their children, and by 1930 there were very many of later generations. Kœrner fixes the beginning of a significant German element in Iowa with "the suppression of the Schleswig-Holstein movement in 1851. Some of the distinguished men who were involved in this movement
settled in Davenport and the neighborhood, and drew after them
doneous and extraordinarily able men from the duchy" (K 294,
cf. B 194). Eiboeck attributes the strength of German culture in
Davenport in large part to the strength of the German schools.
One was established in 1847, and another, founded in 1852, flour-
ished until the 1870's. There were still others, but when about
1875 German was introduced into the public schools, the private
schools, parochial establishments excepted, closed. The prepon-
derance of the influence of the Schleswig-Holstein revolutionists
and of Forty-Eighters among the early settlers is suggested by the
late dates of the foundation of the German churches. The first
Protestant congregation was a German Methodist church organized in
1856 (Ei 477). Though a Catholic parish was created in Davenport
in 1839, a separate German parish was not undertaken until 1853.
With the panic of 1857 it practically ceased to exist but was re-
vived in 1859 and prospered ultimately. Davenport became the see
of a Catholic diocese in 1883. In 1900 the school of the German
church was attended by 135 pupils. Three Irish parishes were some-
what smaller; only the cathedral school was better attended. The
first two bishops were Irish. One of the Lutheran churches, Mis-
souri Synod, leaves its date of organization a question mark but
it was before 1900; the other congregation of the 19th century,
Trinity, was founded in 1870. It is the larger -- 895 members in
1948 (500 in 1900). The single Iowa Synod church (American) also
of the nineteenth century, is of about the same size. However it
might be with the churches, German societies were numerous; a
singing club was founded in 1848 (Ei 392), a Turnverein in 1852 (Ei 426). The Turners were more vigorous than anywhere else in Iowa. In 1900 there were 654 members in the main chapter and 98 in another. The only other chapter claiming more than 80 members then was at Des Moines and it had but 145. Furthermore Davenport's membership had increased by a hundred in the year preceding and most other towns had a declining membership. People from Schleswig-Holstein were dominant in most societies, but not content with that, they founded a Low German Guild in 1889. Further we need not follow social organizations, but they supported theater and opera. There was also an active German journalism beginning in 1850 -- a daily appeared in 1856. Ultimately the exuberantly German character of Davenport disappeared, partly because of the pressures of the First World War, but largely because the city grew with population from many places and became cognizant that it was a tri-city with Rock Island and Moline across the river where the Germans were a minor element, secondary to the Swedes.

The rural district surrounding Davenport in Scott County (61-478) has remained more German than the city but it has acquired no Lutheran churches, nor Evangelical (and Reformed), nor German Catholic parishes, perhaps because the early people from Schleswig and Holstein (especially strong at Walcott -- B 194) were disinclined to ecclesiastic activity. Buffalo, downstream toward Muscatine, was once something of a German center, but by 1900 Elboeck was lamenting "The old are still German to the core, but the young do not
have the right drive; they no longer speak, think and feel German" (Ei 481). The Turnverein was still alive then -- but with only eleven members.

56.58 The contrast between the linguistic situation about 1947 and that of 1900, is, as already hinted, great for Davenport. There, says Eiboeck," the children of German parents are brought up as Germans in the best sense; they not only speak German in the family, but live, think, and behave as their good parents have taught them" (Ei 385). Even the "Anglo-Amerikaner" brought their children up thus. Eiboeck felt that the German schools there were of the greatest importance, and he praises their schoolmasters not forgetting either the zeal of the pastors of Holy Trinity Lutheran Church and St. Joseph's Catholic Church for instruction in German (Ei 391). In 1947 at the Holy Trinity Missouri Lutheran Church German was dropped from services. About 40 out of a congregation of 900 had been listening to preaching in German once a month. The accelerated shift in linguistic development is to be explained not only by the pressures of the First World War, but also by the moving in and out of population. Even before the war in 1916 the Missouri Lutheran Sunday School of Davenport was English, and twice a month English and German were both heard at services in the church. Sixteen out of 22 confirmations were in English. The greater faithfulness to German of Davenport in the early years was probably because the immigrants were not so great a mixture of people from all parts of Germany as in other towns. Northwest Germans predominated, and therefore the language used had more
unity than in Burlington and Dubuque where many provinces contributed to the settlement.

56.59 Clinton, Iowa, in the county of the same name (61-47), was itself not founded until 1855 (Ei 496) in the mudflats as a sawmill center, but, so close by as to be incorporated with it soon, was Lyons, which was established somewhat earlier, and Comanche, six miles downstream, was a town by 1840. Clinton became a railroad hub as well as a lumber center. Germans came in at once and the foreign white stock of the city and its neighborhood was nearly 50% in 1930, and the Germans were the only important stock to be considered. Eiboeck was dissatisfied with the neglect of things German in 1900 (population then 22,000): "German societies have not gained the footing in Clinton that they have in other large river towns and this is a source of wonder in view of the numerically great German population. It seems that the lack of German unity and the Americanization of the majority of the Germans here has done away with the jovial public life and the celebrations of of the Germans" (Ei 492). He was unduly perturbed; Clinton was quite German for at least another quarter of a century. The source of his error was probably that here a religious spirit was more important to the Germans than gemütlichkeit. The Missouri Lutheran St. John's Church was organized in 1855. Though the Iowa Synod Zion Church (American) was not organized until 1883, Clinton became a stronghold of the synod. In the middle of the twentieth century the Missouri Lutherans numbered 1,285, the American Lutherans 2,009. The Iowa Synod moved their Wartburg College there
(it was in Galena, Illinois, in 1868) and kept an establishment in Clinton until after 1930 (it is now in Waverly, Iowa). The institution was quite German in character even after the First World War. Nor was Clinton without German societies. In 1866 when the population was some 500, forty Germans organized. In 1877 this verein combined with the Turners. To be sure, the Turners numbered only 30 in 1900 and had lost 8 members in the preceding year. A German newspaper, first undertaken in 1867, flourished eventually. Clinton, which Eiboeck thought so decadent, clung to German speech. Not until 1920 did the American Lutheran parochial school yield to the pressures for instruction in English, and children were still confirmed in German in 1922. Wartburg Academy continued to use German as the basic language for some years still and the students spoke it with each other. People of their age who lived on in the town continued to be able to speak the language. The Missouri Lutheran church still had some services in German in 1948.

Practically every village in Clinton County is mentioned by Eiboeck as being a significant German settlement (Ei 496) and in 1930 all but one township had a concentration of f.w.s. ranging between 35% and 60%. The Missouri Lutheran churches at Grand Mound and Charlotte, one north, the other south in the county, had in 1948 some 500 members each; the churches were organized in 1871 and 1873, the church at Dewitt, established in 1925 likely split off from Grand Mound, served 675 souls. None had any German services in 1948. The people at Dewitt and at Wheatland farther
west were from Schleswig-Holstein (B 194). Beyond Charlotte and the northern county line there was a tier of townships which, especially at its eastern end, became heavily German (ca. 40% f.w.s.). Sabula was the river town here, but it never grew large, and the Lutheran churches (American) 12 or 15 miles inland were more important than that at Sabula. Farther west Eiboeck mentions Maquoketa as being a center for many rural Germans (Ei 503). Indeed it was able to maintain a German newspaper, and to the north there were two Lutheran churches. Sabula and Maquoketa are in the south part of Jackson County (61-37). Its northern townships may be assigned to the Dubuque area.

56.61 Dubuque (its county bears the same name, 61-27) was part of the lead mining district, also a trading post, and has a history stretching back into time, but its first Germans appeared in 1833 (Ei 505), and that was the year it attained municipal status. Eiboeck says that there were as many Germans in the town and county here as in Davenport and its county; but not so many from a given area in the old country. "The Germans of Dubuque are gathered from all sorts of regions. The best represented are the Luxemburgers and Swiss, the Badenese, the Wurtembergers and people from Mecklenburg. Just as Germany was split before 1870 into numerous little 'fatherlands,' so are the Germans of Dubuque still distributed" (Ei 504). At this time, 1900, the manufacturing establishments of the city were the most numerous: in Iowa and very often owned by Germans. "Almost every employee in the various factories has, besides a good salary, a share in the business" (Ei 507). But socially Eiboeck found that the city had deteriorated. "The Germans
in Dubuque have remained German, to be sure, and have reared their children in true German fashion, but have nonetheless somewhat neglected German social life.... In the 50's and 60's, while the Turnverein was still in full bloom, when Tivoli Garden on fine summer Sundays had thousands of guests, when German festivities were still held, in which Germans of all denominations and from all provinces took part, then all the 'old Germans' were still young. The old people still alive are too old, and the young people are now more or less Americanized. The old joyous German life and the former closeness of the Germans is for the most part only a sweet memory" (Ei 508). The Turnverein expired in 1897 and its hall was taken over by the newly organized German Society. Other German societies went back to as early as 1846. The importance of churches at Dubuque began early. The town became the see of a Catholic diocese in 1837 (Sh 702), but progress was slow for some time. The Cathedral was not completed until 1861 (Sh 645). Still the diocese became an archdiocese in 1893, and in 1880 there were in Dubuque two German Catholic churches (Fa I, 462); in 1900 they numbered three, St. Mary's, with 484 pupils in its school, Sacred Heart with 620 and Holy Ghost with 160. The cathedral and two Irish churches mustered 765 pupils together. The first bishop (Loras) was German. He died in 1858, and the diocese then fell into Irish hands, where it remained until 1929. The Germans were not always satisfied with this situation. An Evangelical congregation was being served in 1847 (Sch 434). Faust mentions for 1880 one Lutheran, one German Presbyterian, and three or four small Protestant organiza-
tions; Eiboeck in 1900 could list only one German Lutheran and one German Congregational (Ei 509). Apparently the Iowa Synod concentrated all its members into one congregation which had multiplied into five by 1950 with a total of 1,972 members. St. John's, listed as the Lutheran church by Eiboeck, had 494 members in 1950. Wartburg Seminary of the Iowa Synod was established in 1854 (Ei 188). Eiboeck failed to list St. Paul's Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) which was organized by Pomeranians in 1865. Though it fared well in the long run, St. Paul's, with its congregation of Pomeranian origin had a tradition of linguistic conservatism and at one time it lost to Saint Mark's (United Lutheran) many members who were unable to understand German, but the language was discontinued from services in 1946. The pastor continued its use in work with the old for some years. Something similar was true in the other cities. The German population of all had thus arrived at nearly the same stage linguistically.

The German rural area dependent upon Dubuque may be regarded as the river townships for fifteen miles in each direction and the two northern tiers of townships in Dubuque County. Downstream both Bellevue and St. Donatus had German Catholic and Lutheran churches by 1900. The Catholics were Luxemburgers, the Lutherans Hanoverians. To be more exact at St. Donatus in 1888 out of 100 families in the parish 85 were Luxemburgers (GL 288), and just to the north Saint Catherine's parish had 70 families, 58 Luxemburgers, 4 other German, 8 Irish. Immigration began in 1846 and there was a church by 1850. At Bellevue only half of the 120 German Catholic families
were Luxemburgers; there were 30 Irish families besides. The town was founded in 1837 and the first Luxemburger came in 1853. Eight miles south southwest of Bellevue, the parish at Springbrook had 109 German and 6 Irish families in 1888; 80 families were Luxemburgers, and they began coming in 1856. There were also German Catholics in the southwestern part of the county at Cascade (78 out of 112 families were Luxemburgers, GL 291) and at Worthington. The linguistic situation with Luxemburgers and Hanoverians was curious. Until the First World War each group communicated internally in its own dialect. With the other group immigrants spoke in Standard German and persons of the second generation used English. Children arrived at school with no knowledge of English but that language quickly became a lingua franca. However, dialect was common enough so that children learned something of the dialect different from that of their parents. After the war the developments were rapid in Engl-izing. Inland a few miles the place name Zwingle and a church that was Evangelical and Reformed in 1950 suggests that there was a colony of Swiss there.

The Germans north of Dubuque had one center at Sherrill's Mound 15 miles from Dubuque near the river and another, territorially larger, in the northwestern part of the county some twenty-five miles from the city. At the former there were Germans by 1837, Catholic services by 1846; in 1888 the parish contained 210 German families, half from Luxemburg or Trier near by (GL 294). In the latter Dyersville, larger than the others but younger, and Holy Cross, Luxemburg and New Vienna have Catholic churches, as does Petersburg just beyond in the next county, all but Holy Cross with
German pastors in 1900. "In 1846 Bishop Loras [of Dubuque] visited New Vienna, where he found 250 Germans, all Catholics" (Sh IV, 246; cf. Ei 308). These people were primarily Luxemburgers. In the same year the first founders gave the name of their province to the neighboring village, but people from Oldenburg arrived the next year. In 1900 says Eiboeck, copying Gonner (GL 293) "the parish [of Luxemburg] consists of Luxemburgers, Westphalians, Hanoverians, and Oldenburgers" (Ei 309). The people at Luxemburg feuded with the bishop in the 1860's, and here is what Gonner says of the situation at Holy Cross. "The parish counts 130 families, of which 82 are German and 16 Luxemburgers. In spite of the preponderant number of German Catholics it unfortunately has had for a long time an Irish priest" (GL 294). It continued to have an Irish priest until after 1900. The district lost part of its Luxemburgers by emigration, and part of that was to Tipton, Kansas (GL 314).

Clayton County (61-13), next upstream from Dubuque, is qualified by Eiboeck as "the Germanest County in northern Iowa" (Ei 697). There were pioneers there by the late 1830's, but German colonization gained no headway for some time. Of the situation in 1900 Eiboeck says: "On account of its great German population the county officials are mainly German; the richest farmers are German and the most outstanding businessmen are German. You find Germans everywhere" (Ei 528). Eiboeck could have added that they are much less numerous along the south border of the county, so that they are separate from the Dubuque Germans. He mentions as German, Guttenberg and five towns in the central part of the county. Of these, the county seat, Elkader, had a Turnverein and a
German newspaper. There are German protestant churches (Lutheran and E-R) in the area, two Catholic. One of the Catholic churches and one of the oldest Protestant (Lutheran-American) are at Garnavillo. A Presbyterian missionary was working with the Germans there in 1848 (Sch 434). A Turnverein seems to have just expired there in 1900 (El 533, 292). Eiboeck does not mention the Germans along the northern border of the county, though at Monona is found the largest Lutheran church of the county, 1087 members in 1950, established before 1900. Two other churches nearby are also large. Saint Sebald in this county was the scene of the organization of the Iowa Synod in 1854 (El 186). Just beyond this county to the west is Elgin where German Baptists became strong and organized a church in 1879. Postville just over the county line to the north at its western end possessed a German newspaper and a Turnverein. Farther north, the county seat of Allamakee County (61-11), Waukon, was 25% German in 1900; two Evangelical and Reformed churches with a combined membership of 893 in 1950 are the German churches of the town.

56.64 The Western Settlement Association of Cincinnati (all German), organized in 1852 (B 194), bought the site of Guttenberg, determining immediately that "only Germans should be tolerated" (El 530) there. The proportion of educated settlers was high. Until 1885 only one Anglo-American family had penetrated the barrier. By 1900 fifteen per cent of the inhabitants were no longer German (El 529). The town then maintained a Turnverein. The spirit of the Forty-eighters was evidently strong, for in 1900 no German Lutheran church had yet been established in the town, and St.
Mary's Catholic Church was not extraordinarily large. Its school had 164 pupils, 28 in 1948. However, in 1950 the American Lutheran Church, founded after 1900, had 712 members. Guttenberg never became large. It made only a feeble effort to become a railhead in Iowa. Perhaps the desire to maintain the wholly German character of the town hampered effort, but the resulting quiet in business did not keep enterprising men in the town, and so the Anglo element entered. The population in 1950 was 1,912. Guttenberg just after the Second World War had not quite reached the same level of language usage as the communities that had grown faster. This town was forced to use English exclusively in its schools after the First World War, but for years the English of the pupils reflected German use at home. By 1951 those born before 1911 were still able to speak German, but did not usually do so even at home, and no children were acquainted with it. Certain new citizens who had spent their lives in or near Chicago, so immured among fellow countrymen that their English was imperfect, were the object of criticism by those born in Guttenberg.

Bremer County (61-north of 24) is the center and concentration point of the area which we have christened with its name, but the area should be conceived of as occupying all adjoining counties and even territory beyond to the northwest. Scandinavian (especially Norwegian) and Czech settlements are important in much of the northern part of this area but the German enclaves among them are not negligible. The most northwestern of these centers, not ten miles from the Minnesota border and nearly seventy from
Waterloo at the area's south edge, is St. Ansgar. In 1874 there were organized there Immanuel and, about 10 miles to the south, St. John's Lutheran Churches (Missouri). Immanuel had nearly 600 members in 1950, and the Iowa Synod Church at Grafton about 10 miles to the southwest 871. North of Bremer County in the area that has been defined, there are some two score German Lutheran, Evangelical and Reformed, and Catholic churches having German pastors in 1900, but they will not occupy our attention further; except to say that a German settled some fifteen miles above the Bremer County northern border by 1854 (Ei 696).

In Bremer County itself there are twenty-four German churches (none Catholic) with concentrations of them in various parts of the county at Sumner, Waverly, Denver and Readlyne. Only the western townships are relatively free of people of German origin, mostly northwest German origin. Eboeck declared Bremer County the "most German" after Clayton in northern Iowa (Ei 697); he evidently meant to except only the Davenport area for all Iowa, and probably accorded the palm for the north to Clayton County because of Guttenberg. He further adds: "German social organization, such as is found in the Mississippi River towns, does not exist here; the ecclesiastical overshadows the worldly, although there is no trace of bigotry" (Ei 698). There were then a German newspaper in Waverly and Wartburg College which ultimately absorbed four other Iowa Synod institutions including the college at Clinton. Bremer County was organized in 1851, was reported to be "settling up rapidly" in January 1854 by the Dubuque Daily Herald, had its first Lutheran organization in 1856. It does not, however, seem to have ad-
vanced with any great speed until after the railroad from Dubuque to Sioux City went through; the line reached its western destination in 1869. This land grant railroad was leased to the Illinois Central. At very nearly the same time the Missouri Synod entered the territory and became prosperous though not serving as many churches as the Iowa Synod. German settlement seems to have had its first focus in the southeast corner of the county. A Missouri Lutheran church at Fairbank (membership in 1900, 350), just beyond this part of the county was organized in 1868, another at Klinger a few miles to the west in 1873. A rural church very nearly in the middle of the county began operation in 1871. Immigration continued rather late. Over the county line to the east of Bremer County the people in Westgate are essentially similar to their neighbors to the west; their Missouri Lutheran church, organized in 1885, had 202 members in 1900, 520 in 1948. In more populous Oelwein, a few miles to the southeast, while the German element is large, it has insisted less on its origins.

To the west of Bremer County the Germans seem to have come in rather late, for all the Lutheran churches there were founded after 1900 and there were not 300 German f.w.s. in the county in 1930. The county seat of Black Hawk County (61-24) south of Bremer is Waterloo (population, ca. 78,000 in 1960). This city contained one Missouri Lutheran and one Synod church in 1900 when it numbered 12,000 inhabitants. In 1890 there were in the county ten Evangelical Association churches with 724 members. The Missouri Lutheran church, organized in 1878, had 270 members in 1900. By 1950 each branch of German Lutheranism listed four congregations in Waterloo,
some very large — between 1,500 and 2,000 members. Bremer County was evidently sending its sons and daughters to build up the city. In 1900 there was a German newspaper (founded in 1872) and a Turnverein there. There were less important German groups in Black Hawk County at Cedar Falls (near Bremer County) and to the northwest of Hudson — both Protestant, and at Gilbertville, Catholic. This Catholic center, some ten air miles southeast of Waterloo, had in 1888 a parish population of 9 Irish, 3 French, 58 Luxemburger, and 62 other German families, the French were there first. A church had been erected in 1857 (GL 295).

Bremer County was in 1950 generally regarded as the district most conservative of German in Iowa. In the central district in 1948 in eight Missouri Lutheran churches out of some twelve (depending on the boundaries of the district) German services were still being held. The dates of organization included, along with three in the 1870's, one in 1885, four in the twentieth century, the latest 1922. These church foundation dates indicate late immigration, which in turn partially explains the persistence of German. In one of the congregations of this area where the people had all lived close to the North Sea in East Frisia, Hanover, and Schleswig, there is another example of a phenomenon found elsewhere. The second and third generations remained familiar with dialect but were unable to deal with standard German. This situation was of particular importance because the pastor, according to custom, could not be addressed in dialect and must always use Standard German himself. In this congregation, the "language question" was at its hottest in 1934. At the advent of a new minister he was
requested to preach German at all but one Sunday a month. Everybody could speak English, but many thought that sermons in English would have no meaning. The pastor encouraged agitation for more English, and meetings were held. At one, speaking in German, a pillar of the church argued for English; three other heavy contributors threatened to resign, but when the vote went against them, "after prayerful consideration" they remained. By 1942 there was only one sermon a month in German. In the northern extension of the Bremer area near Minnesota, the Missouri Lutheran church at St. Ansgar had some German services in 1948, but at Graffton nearby the Iowa Synod folk had fallen away so far that one of their number born about 1914 and educated for the ministry was unable to speak German. Still, the older people were talking together in dialect in 1951. At Westgate, over the county line to the east of Bremer County in Fayette County (61-12), there was one of the churches still having preaching in German in 1948; English was not introduced into services until after 1930. But Oelwein was looking down about 1900 on the countrified Germans in Bremer County who kept on speaking German. Fairbank, between Oelwein and the core of the Bremer County settlement, was in 1916 listening to English services in addition to German twice a month.

The Behind-the-Big-Bend area may be treated as having three German centers, a northern at Monticello (61-36), a central at Lowden (61-46), and a southern at Wilton. The township in which Monticello is located contained 44% foreign white stock in 1930, the one to the west 47%, and the one to the south 56%. St. John's
Missouri Lutheran Church three miles to the southeast of Monticello was founded in 1864 and had 408 members in 1948. In 1950 St. Matthew's American Lutheran served 528 souls and Zion 956, Saints Peter and Paul's, seven miles west, 266. The Evangelical and Reformed Church counted 207. In 1950 there were 2,888 citizens in the town, in 1900 about two-thirds as many. Yet Eiboeck was unimpressed by the proportion of Germans (Ei 665); presumably his compatriots there in 1900 were nearly all rural inhabitants. He was much more impressed by Lowden; it was "stark deutsch" and its German military company competed with that at Clinton in a truly "major affair" (Ei 564). Lowden had 642 inhabitants in 1950, 655 in 1920. Its Evangelical (and Reformed) Church claimed 460 members in 1950. The church at Clarence, the next town west, eight miles away, with nearly the same number of inhabitants, was of the same size. There were three other E-R churches in the neighborhood. Evangelical work began at Lowden in 1864. The town also has a Missouri Lutheran church which had 691 members in 1948. It was organized in 1871. The church at Stanwood, somewhat over half as large, was founded in 1875. The town, a little smaller, is twelve miles west. The people in this area are largely from northwest Germany. Wilton, farther south, was a town of 1800 in 1900; it has shrunk a little because of a loss of railroad employees. The speakers of German were in part Swiss, in part Schleswigers with some Danes also. Eiboeck said it was 10% German, and that Germans were not numerous in the neighborhood (Ei 490). Though he was rather modest in his estimates this time, the town never was as German in reputation as Lowden. Still, the town had
three German churches, an Iowa and a Missouri Lutheran and a Congregational (Ei 195). The Congregational church was Reformed in background. Each Lutheran church had a school and the Congregationalists a college. In Moscow Township, just west, if not in town, the Evangelical Synod also had a church. The Missouri Lutheran church, founded in 1856, had 416 members in 1948. The Iowa Lutheran had succumbed by then. Durant, six miles to the east, 1075 inhabitants in 1950, 775 in 1920, has no German churches (a Swedish Lutheran instead) but German societies flourished there amidst a "gutes Deutsohtum" (Ei 564). The Turnverein had 31 members in 1900 (Ei 292).

In the area Behind-the-Big-Bend at Monticello and Lowden preaching in German was still going on in 1948 and at Lowden continued till 1964; but the Missouri Lutheran churches in the Wilton district abandoned German during the Second World War. The linguistic shift at Wilton was the easier because of the dialect situation. Schleswigers and Swiss found English as handy as Standard German. The mobility of the population of a railroad town was also a factor. In 1916 Wilton, as well as Durant to the east, were already having "double-header" services.

56.68 As a social and economic institution the Amana society has been so thoroughly treated elsewhere (as for example in Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, Amana: The Community of True Inspiration and Amana that was and Amana that is, State Historical Society, Iowa City) that no attempt will be made here to repeat its full history. The German inspirationists began the Iowa colonies in Iowa County
in 1855 and continued to expand them for ten years to 26,000 acres. The villages are at the farthest five miles apart east-west and two miles north-south. The eastern end of the strip is 17 miles northwest of Iowa City. The members of this communal society were and have continued to be deeply religious. Until 1932 ecclesiastical primacy and economic authority were vested in the same men. The reorganization of that year, which strengthened the economic structure, separating it from religion, resulted in swifter recovery from the depression than for the American economy as a whole. The founders numbered some 800. By 1900 the society had increased to 2,000, but was losing many of its sons and daughters to the world. At seasonal high points of farm work outside workers were being hired despite the "danger to children from this close contact with the outside world." The practice continued and outsiders were employed in the several factories. Curious visitors were also a source of invasion of worldliness. The people have retained, however, a goodly number of their original traits. The Amana colonists were largely of Palatine origin and this section of Iowa, particularly to the south and east, received many more of similar background, Penn-Germans. Of Amana Eiboeck remarked in 1900, "German is the language of the Amana colonists, and its use has no little contributed to the cohesion of their society, for by mixture of tongues not only societies, but also families, are disrupted and broken up" (Ei 111). "German and English are taught in the schools, but of course German is the language of instruction" (Ei 113). In 1951 German remained in a respected position.
In the case of this community outside public support existed for the teaching of German. Authorities felt that "this unique and venerable settlement might become less colorful (and attractive to tourists) if it were to shed that German language" (FK 241). Worship in German went on every Sunday, and in Sunday School children received instruction in it. In 1966 worship in German still took place every Sunday in the seven villages, but an English service in the principal village was more attractive. Services in English had begun in 1961 (FK 248). The English of people born in the 1920's remained notably accented, and they were able to speak German, but they used it infrequently enough so that none of their children became truly proficient without academic training. However, children born as late as 1960 had some understanding of German. Those born about 1950 had no noticeable accent in English. Here the persistence of German was aided by "separateness" and by a feeling of superiority over English-speaking hirelings, not members of the community.

56.69 Still in Iowa County immediately to the south of Amana villages and stretching westward to Marengo, a district of four townships was heavily settled by Germans with other origins. Eventually Williamsburg became regarded as the center. Kehlenbeck in 1932 says that the four townships (Troy, York, Iowa and Hilton) in 1930 "had 4,184 inhabitants of which 1,491 were members of the four German [Missouri] Lutheran churches" (Ke 6). In 1948 the four
churches (Williamsburg 2, Conroy, Homestead) had 1,727 members. Doubtless it was true in 1932 and 1948 that most of the membership of the church at Marengo (345 in 1948) originated in this area. There were also two small Reformed churches (now E-R) in the neighborhood so that roughly one-half of the population of the townships was of German origin. The percentages of foreign white stock for 1930 indicate the same thing. The northern part of the area was that first settled; the church 4½ miles southwest of Homestead (one of the Amana villages) was organized in 1864, that in Marengo in 1885, the rural church near Williamsburg in 1898 (373 members in 1900), the others, 1904, 1906. The settlement could not spread north because of the Amana holdings, and to the south it ultimately ran into Amish and Old Mennonites. Less valuable land lay east and west. The manner of spreading is accounted for by Kehlenbeck: "It was customary for the father to buy a farm of 160 acres for each son... Moving to town by retired farmers changed completely the racial character of my home town, Williamsburg. When I was a child [ca. 1912] there were, if I remember correctly, only three German families in a community of about 1,000 people. Some twenty years later the majority of the inhabitants were German. In my youth the business and professional men were non-Germans.... Now this has changed considerably.... [A similar phenomenon began earlier at Marengo as shown by the dates of the churches, 1885 and 1904.] Because of their conservative religion, language, and customs, these people do not mix readily with people outside the church.... In my youth it was un-
usual for anyone to go on to public school and high school, and even rarer for anyone to go on to college. Bright boys were encouraged wherever possible to become ministers or parochial school teachers. This is now [1948] rapidly changing" (Ke 7-8). The majority of the families came from Hanover near Bremen; a male Swiss element was absorbed by marriage. The grooms were presumably from the families forming the membership of the Reformed churches. The Swiss seem to have lived on the western border of the district rather to the north.

Services in German in this area were still going on in 1948 at two of the four Missouri Lutheran churches which Kehlenbeck mentions, in the oldest one at Homestead and in the town church at Williamsburg, where many retired. Kehlenbeck's description of linguistic conditions about 1928 (article of 1948) runs thus: "Linguistically the people are trilingual. High German was the only language used in church until World War I. In the parochial schools, the Catechism, Bible History, reading and writing were given in High German, while mathematics, geography, American history, reading, writing and spelling were given in English. The language of the playground was a marvelous combination of Low German and English. In my day one always spoke High German to the pastor and his wife while at the same time speaking Low German to others in the same conversational group" (Ke 8). The Low German of which he spoke was divided into three dialects, but one had become a lingua franca, a Gemeinsprache. His fellow citizens found that Kehlenbeck was somewhat conservative in his analysis, partic-
ularly as to what was true at the time of the publication of his article. An informant living elsewhere who had worked in a clothing store in 1927 said that the only occasion on which he used German in trading was in dealing with an Amish woman from the settlements to the south. A pastor stationed at Williamsburg at the same period, but consulted while residing at some distance remarked that the first informant may not have served trade in German, but that he must have heard his customers conversing in German. Certainly those born about 1920 learned to speak German, and were using German at home so frequently that their English was highly accented.

Just to the east of the four townships which Kehlenbeck describes is Oxford, in 1900 with twenty German families out of population of 900 (down to 663 in 1950) (Ei 565). An Iowa Synod pastor was working among them then, but the Lutheran church established there in 1933 was Missouri Synod. The retired Hanoverians evidently won out, but they had no German services in 1948.

In the south of Benton County (61-34) to the north of the Williamsburg district there were many Germans, and in the western part of the same county (Iowa) a noteworthy number. Eiboeck treats Benton County with little attention because of the Bohemians, but German activity was considerable in its two southern tiers of townships. Except in the corner townships this was Missouri Lutheran country. By 1895 six of their churches had been organized including one over the border to the south. The first radiating point seems to have been Luzerne in the southwest. Its church was organized in 1859. When the railroad was built through west from Cedar Rapids, however, the points of distribution became Atkins where the church was founded in 1869 and Newhall, 1871. Keystone and the western section along the railroad line seems to have
received a different type of population in part, for the churches there and at Van Horne were not organized till 1895, though they became prosperous. The churches on the railroad, all nearly the same size, averaged 500 members apiece in 1948, total 2,027; the four towns in 1929 had 1,577 inhabitants, less later. Keystone was the largest (538 in 1920) and had a Turnverein with twenty members in 1900. Its township possessed 53% f.w.s. in 1930. The others average 40%. Only one church in Benton County, that at Atkins, out of the six early Lutheran churches retained any German in church services in 1948. Even it had heard announcements in English in 1916.

Marengo in the pocket between the Benton County settlement and the Williamsburg settlement began to receive farmers of retirement age rather early. Its Lutheran church was founded in 1885. It had 361 members and no German services in 1948. As the county seat, it was never overtly German. To the southwest of this town and in the second township west of Williamsburg another group organized a Missouri Lutheran church 10 miles southeast of Victor in 1868. Victor was apparently its retirement center, for another church was established in town in 1910. There was also a small German Baptist church and a German Methodist. The Lutheran yearbook of 1916 noted that there was division here. Before retirement set in, Germans were few in the village of Victor. "You can count off the Germans in Victor on the fingers of both hands and still have fingers left. On the other hand the surroundings, specifically in a southern direction from the town, is quite richly sown with Ger-
mans" (E1 566). In the settlement south of Victor German was spoken frequently enough through the 1920's so that children learned to understand, the older ones better than the younger. In the small cemetery of the Immanuel German Methodist church, three inscriptions are in German, one of 1895, two of 1904. In the St. John's Missouri Lutheran cemetery the shift to English began about 1905 with scattered examples earlier. The shift was completed by 1918 except for a few spouses whose mates already had German inscriptions. The latest pair noted deaths of 1924 and 1943.

For Iowa City (ca. 30,000 inhabitants in 1960), a county's breadth to the east of Marengo, Eiboeck maintained that, of its 10,000 inhabitants in 1900, one-third were German and one-third Bohemian (E1 565). The city's history goes back to 1839 when it became the territorial capital. Its Germans were strong enough in 1857 to establish a mutual aid society that had one hundred members in 1900. There was then in the town an Iowa Synod Lutheran church and a German Catholic. The Catholics had three churches—one Irish, one German, and one Bohemian. Only the first two had schools and the German was much the larger, by 273 pupils to 80—in 1948 they were running even 208 to 225; in 1960 the Irish had triumphed, the proportion was 305 to 430. The Lutheran church had about 500 members in 1950. The rural element was to the southwest of town. The Iowa City Post, a German paper, was founded in 1875; in 1900 it was struggling (E1 248). In Iowa City the Lutheran church (until 1942 the Iowa Synod church was the only German congregation there) dropped German completely in 1926 after a period of preaching in that language once a month; pastoral work in German
was needed but little longer, but still in 1951 there were bi-
lingual members among the people. Twenty-four road miles to the
north of Iowa City is Cedar Rapids. Though that city since 1870
had had a German paper publishing county legal notices and a Mis-
souri Lutheran church since 1884, and though its county in 1890
possessed 15 Evangelical Association churches with 742 members,
Eiboeck in 1900 was inclined to assign it to the Bohemians, and
appears to have been correct.

56.72 The Penn German settlement southwest of Iowa City centered at
Kalona was fully as conservative linguistically as the people at
Amana. In 1966 the Amish of the group were still having services
in German, and their children were learning German. Mennonite
children brought up on farms were also learning to speak German,
but not those in town. At Kalona a boy born in 1952 learned the
rudiments of the language, but as soon as he reached school age
he abandoned it and the family made no effort to teach younger
children. The local comment of 1966 was, "The trend is away from
German all the time, because it is all English in school." People
of local origin of all ages were using English exclusively in the
restaurant.

56.73 The Germans of the Ottumwa area inhabited chiefly the county
containing the town Wapello (61-63) and the two counties to the
east (on Sigourney to the north, see Ei 253, 563). The immigration
was early and in 1930 only one township which the Germans shared
with the Swedes showed as much foreign white stock in 1930 as 35%.
A few remarks on Ottumwa itself will suffice. The first Germans
were there by 1845 (Ei 543). In 1900 the German newspaper, founded
in 1871, was still maintained. Since 1883 it had been edited by
a German born in the county in 1861. Its Turnverein had 29 members and had lost 13 in the course of the preceding year. There was an Iowa Lutheran church, membership in 1950 -- 242.

South of State Center, which is on the western side of Marshall County (61-32), there are a number of small German settlements which we shall pass over. The village, population through the twentieth century ca. 1,000, has in it or close by three German Lutheran churches with a total of over 1600 members, the oldest organized in 1865. None of the three were having any German services in 1948. In Marshalltown which grew from 15 to 20 thousand inhabitants between 1920 and 1960, Lutherans did not gain a foothold till 1926. The Evangelical Synod was building a church in 1900 (Ei 670), but its membership remained small (135 in 1950). Still the Germans were strong enough there to form a German Odd Fellows lodge in 1870 and a Germania Society in 1894. The German element evidently grew from people moving into town, not only from State Center, but from a smaller settlement with a Missouri Lutheran church 9 miles to the southeast organized in 1870 -- also from settlements farther north. The Marshall County settlements were made by people from Northwest Germany.

People from Lippe-Detmold are the great majority of the settlement at Hubbard in Hardin County (61-22) to the northwest of Marshall County and State Center. The first of the Lippers arrived in 1876, but the main immigration occurred in the 1880's (Ei 310). The germ of the Missouri Lutheran church which was organized in 1879 was probably planted by another stock, for the
Lippers were Reformed in the old country and tended to the Evangelical Synod in Iowa. The Evangelicals built up a strong church at Hubbard (555 members in 1950; population of town 836); the Lutheran was almost as large (473). In the eastern part of the county no farther north, at Eldora, the Missouri Lutheran church founded in 1882 was somewhat larger, 645 members in 1948 (450 in 1900). The town, which is the county seat (population about 3,000), was larger than Hubbard but the membership doubtless came of rural stock from the north and northeast of town. Though German was not used in 1948 in the small Missouri Synod church at Hubbard, in the larger church at Eldora it was. Hubbard, the settlement from Lippe-Detmold, despite the usage in the Missouri church, was quite German. People born as late as 1920 customarily used their dialect with contemporaries for at least another decade after 1948. Eiboeck says that few Germans were to be found in Eldora in 1900. On the other hand he says that "Ackley [in the northeast corner of the county] counts more Germans than any other place in the county. Once a German newspaper appeared here" (El 704). For a town of 1500 this proof of Germanness is weighty. But in 1950 neither of the German Lutheran national organizations had a congregation at Ackley, though the Evangelical and Reformed church had 557 members. The German Baptists (North American) are stronger through this area than anywhere else in Iowa. In 1900 they had a congregation at Hubbard which has since disappeared. A few miles north of Eldora their church numbered 209 in 1953; it was founded in 1876. East of Ackley (7 and 12 miles respectively) there are Baptist churches at Aplington and Parkersburg founded in 1874 and 1895 with some
400 members together. In the general area there are other German groups -- the 8 Evangelical Association churches with 354 members in Hardin county and the 9 with 387 in Story County to the southwest are testimony to the fact-- but Scandinavian and Dutch settlements are more important.

Des Moines and the Missouri River cities, Council Bluffs and Sioux City, never possessed a German element as important as that in ports on the Mississippi. Des Moines which became the state capital in 1857 had received its first German in 1848 (Ei 569), and in 1900 there were 7,000 Germans there, 10% of the population. Joseph Eiboeck, so frequently quoted above, chose in 1872 to take over the 3-year-old Iowa Staats-Anzeiger at Des Moines and continued to be the editor and proprietor of the paper beyond the end of the century. By the time of his arrival in 1872 all the characteristic German institutions had come into being, a Turnverein in 1857, a singing society soon afterward, a Lutheran congregation in 1858, a German Catholic parish in 1869, an Odd Fellows lodge in 1865, a school society (which lasted till 1880) in 1867. The Turnverein in 1900 had 145 members, an increase of 65 in the year, explained by a new building. The German churches then included, besides the Catholic parish which enrolled only 77 pupils in its school, an Iowa Lutheran and an Ohio Lutheran (both now American), and a Congregational; in 1890 there were six Evangelical Association churches with 529 members. The Missouri Lutherans entered the field in 1901 -- none of these churches had reached a thousand members in 1950, but the Lutheran churches were prosperous. St. Mary's,
the Catholic parish, was then without a school.

In 1900 while Eiboeck lamented that the percentage of Germans was low in Des Moines, he still rejoiced that German societies, churches included, offered "much that makes life beautiful for the Germans -- the use of the German language, German mores and German society" (Ei 569). In the mid-twentieth century, there were in Des Moines at least some people that liked their pastor to speak in German when he called.

56.77 Council Bluffs, secondary to Omaha across the river, was for its German life as well as otherwise more or less bound up with its larger neighbor, but in the late 1860's German organizations began to thrive. German journalistic activities began then (Ei 238), though an enduring German paper was not founded until 1875 (Ei 248). There were a German singing society, a German Odd Fellows lodge, and a German military company (Ei 549), all early.

For Council Bluffs Eiboeck lamented in 1900 that German societies, churches excluded this time, had become anglicized, their language in business meetings "gechanged." "All the same, it is not to be thought that the German language in Council Bluffs has completely collapsed, for there are there four German churches which exhibit good efforts and uphold the language" (Ei 548). The four churches included a Missouri Lutheran, 1881, a German Catholic, separated from the Irish in 1886, and a German Methodist, 1894. In 1890 there were in the county (Pottawatomie) seven Evangelical Association churches with 446 members.

56.78 Sioux City was surveyed in 1854; the first Germans arrived in
1856, and a special addition to the city was laid out by a German company from Des Moines. Development was not so swift as expected because the railroad which had been granted land in 1856 arrived only at the end of the sixties. Its advent was followed in 1870 by the establishment of a German newspaper (Ei 238). Protestant German religious activity did not become serious till 1874. A Missouri Lutheran church was organized in 1878 or 1879 (Ei 713) which prospered (1200 members in 1948) and in the 1930's established three filials with as many more members. The Catholics set up a separate German parish in 1885 and a German Methodist church was established in the same year. Turnvereins enjoyed only a short life; one was founded in 1882 and a successor in 1889 which had succumbed by 1900. The Germans here were mostly from the Northwestern provinces. Eiboeck says much of Sioux City, but except as implied in his account of the existence of German societies and churches finds nothing to say of language. The competition with Scandinavians made for Engl-izing.

56.79 The southern part of the Iowan Inner West, territory dependent upon the Rock Island Railroad, which was built through from Des Moines in 1869, attracted Germans first in or near the towns built along the right of way, but for some distance west from the capital these towns were not very heavily German. For example Dexter (61-40), at the southeastern corner of the Iowan Inner West, 36 miles from Des Moines, received its first Germans from Ohio and very soon direct from Germany, particularly the northwest in 1869 (Ei 661). A Missouri Lutheran church was or-
ganized in 1871 which served 144 souls in 1900 and 187 in 1948. The same minister was pastor at the church established in 1885 some fifteen miles to the east by people from Clayton County (see above, Section 56.63). This church had 157 members in 1900 and 275 in 1948. Atlantic will serve as an example of a larger town, 5300 in 1900, more growth later, and also of a settlement farther from Des Moines. Here, too, Germans appeared by 1869. "Before prohibition cast its dark shadow over Iowa," says Elboeck -- the expression of his judgment of prohibition, almost universally shared by Germans in all the states that will be analyzed in this work, recurs on many pages of his book; this one example will suffice -- "Atlantic was one of the liveliest towns in the west, and progress, tolerance, and the German way of life ruled; all have flown with prohibition. The destruction of earlier social activity has driven the German residents out into the country at Marne and to other freer towns.... Two German churches, one Evangelical [166 members in 1950] and one Lutheran [386 members in 1948] and a German mutual aid society with 50 members keep German culture on its feet." He estimated 100 German families in the city, that is about 10% of the population.

The settlers along the Rock Island lands between Des Moines and Council Bluffs had no Lutheran churches with services in German in 1948. The invasion of English had begun by 1916. At the eastern end of the series services in Van Meter were regularly English in 1916; in Dexter they were mixed; in Casey, English.

56.80 Foreign settlers, Germans and Danes, had less competition from other newcomers as the railroad approached Council Bluffs
beyond Atlantic. The towns with German colonies are more purely German. The people are mostly, except for the Catholics, from the German Northwest. The northern townships of Pottawatomie County (Council Bluffs is in its southern part) in 1930 had from 40% to 50% of foreign white stock. Here are situated Avoca and Minden (population 1482 and 381 in 1920; 25% larger in 1900 says Eiboeck). The Germans here were preponderantly from Schleswig-Holstein (B 194), though near Minden there were also Rhinelanders. Eiboeck calls Minden "so to speak all German [with] rich farmers mostly German in the neighborhood" who found in the village "German Ge-
mütlichkeit and a good glass of beer" (Ei 562). A German church (it was Congregational), the Germania Society (100 members), the German city officials all were to Herr Eiboeck's taste. The next village west, Neola, almost as German, possessed a Catholic church with a German pastor. Avoca is to the east. There were Germans in these two towns by 1870. Avoca, like Minden, awakened Eiboeck's enthusiasm. A traveler, he says, "is no little surprised to come upon such blooming and vigorous German activity; it is, one may well say, 'just like being in Germany.'" and he has "the highest hopes for the future." (Ei 559). Here, too, there was a Congregational German church, a German singing society, a German mutual aid society, and a Catholic church with a German pastor. After 1900 the principal Protestant German church was Lutheran (ALC) 682 members in 1950. Informants in 1951 living half way between Avoca and Minden, that is, not more than seven miles from either, referred to the population as "pretty much of a mixture" and were impressed only by the Danishness of Harlan farther away. In 1966 the Danes
were established in Avoca but they said, "There are lots around that can speak German." The "lots" were all older people, and few of them really enjoyed speaking German. Persons born before the first World War still spoke together in German sometimes but not so much as in former years. The Lutheran church gave up services in German in 1942, and, though the pastor was capable of it, there was no more pastoral work in German in 1966.

North of Avoca some twenty miles into Shelby County lies the village of Westphalia which has a very definite relationship with Westphalia, Kansas. The Flusche family and the Catholic church were influential in establishing both settlements (and also the Olpe settlement in Kansas). "Westphalia is, so to speak, all German," says Eiboeck (Ei 561), but adds no more, presumably because he knew only towns on railways and Westphalia had not that advantage. Fortunately in 1904 John J. Louis published "Shelby County—a Sociological Study." Danes preoccupy Louis most, but he does not slight the Germans. He assigns to them Westphalia and its township, the townships west and southwest and parts of townships adjacent to these. In fact there was only a minor thinning of Germans by Danes until the Neola-to-Avoca settlement area was reached. The foreign white stock in Westphalia Township in 1930 was 48% of the population, and in the two other principal townships it was over 50%. In each of these three townships there are Catholic Churches (Westphalia, Panama, Portsmouth) which have always had German pastors, all three with parochial schools in 1900 (108, 25, 100 pupils), high schools too in 1960 (134-61,
175-79, 155-44 pupils). Inscriptions in the Westphalia cemetery indicate there were Germans in the neighborhood by 1866, but Louis is doubtless essentially correct in saying: "The German colony in Westphalia township owes its origin to an advertisement in a newspaper. Emil Flusche came from Grand Rapids, Michigan, in September 1872, and undertook the task of selling railroad land in this township. The railroad company [the Rock Island] contracted to pay a commission of one dollar per acre on all land sold to German Catholics who became actual settlers..., to be shared equally by the promoters and the church; and so from the beginning of the enterprise the church has played an important part" (Lo 86). Another Flusche came at once from Minnesota, another besides Emil from Grand Rapids, still another in 1873 with two companions from Westphalia, Germany. The population was not, eventually, dominated by Westphalians. The method of recruitment brought settlers from every Catholic district of Germany, particularly Luxemburg and Bavaria, also the Catholic Low Countries. By 1874 there were 207 people in the township. Louis remarked in 1904, "In the heart of the German settlement is maintained a little Germany where the manners and customs of the fatherland flourish unmolested among the older people. The young generation is American." Tradition was strong in the village, however, partly because of long priestly tenures. Father Brommenschenkel was there from 1889 to 1925, Father Duren, an Alsatian, from 1925 until after 1960.

The settlement at Westphalia to the north has developed linguistically as implied by Louis's reference in 1904 to the Ameri-
canization of the younger generation. Father Brommenschenkel was evidently a stay to German usage; his tombstone inscription of 1925 was partly in German. There are also other German inscriptions in the cemetery up until 1927, but English was the more common language on the tombstones after 1900. The loss of German after the first generation is in great part to be ascribed the confusion of dialects. Father Duren when he came in 1925 spoke to his parishioners in each of their half-dozen dialects, but with the passing of the immigrants the very earnest Americanism of the community abolished German by 1951 except for some six old people. Father Duren threw his influence to the winning tendency.

56.82 To the north of Shelby County we are in another land grant area, that, ultimately, of the "Northwestern." We are at the same latitude as State Center and the Germans were mostly from the German Northwest. In Carroll County, the third county east from the Missouri River, Eiboeck says, "The majority of the Germans... acknowledge the Roman Catholic faith. The Catholics form seven strong parishes there, and each parish has a fine church as well as a large parochial school" (Ei 681). He names the parishes and indeed they all had German pastors in 1900 and except for Carroll, the county seat, also in 1960. Four churches were established in 1874-5 (Ei 330). They are distributed over a diagonal band of territory occupying at least half the county, widest to the northwest and extending nearly to the southeast corner. On the eastern and western edges of this district there are German Protestant settlements. There was a German in the southeast corner of the county
by 1856, but the first significant settlement was near the northern county line. Here "Mr. Lambert Kniest [who came from Dubuque] founded in 1868 a German settlement of 50 families in Kniest Township. The stream of immigration to this township was decisive for Carroll County, for the settlement quickly spread" (Ei 681). Eiboeck names as recipients of the expansion the northwestern township and then the two just south of the first two, two more including Roselle. There are German Catholic churches still farther south and southeast. In 1900 the attendance at the Catholic schools varied between 146 and 213. These included schools at Carroll, the county seat, and Arcadia, both on the railroad. In these towns, besides the Catholics and non-Germans there were Missouri Lutherans sufficient in number to found congregations in 1886 and 1879, both with more than 400 members in 1948. Carroll was laid out in 1867 and began to have German societies in 1876 when the population was about 800 (4254 in 1920), among these societies a Turnverein founded as late as 1897. The German newspaper had its beginnings in 1874 and seemed in no danger of collapsing in 1900 (Ei 252). Apropos of the Catholic German parochial schools Eiboeck expands: "That the beautiful and resonant German mother tongue has been maintained is mainly thanks to German parochial schools, the most important treasure of Germans in America; second comes the German press. Therefore we cannot sufficiently impress upon Americans of German speech the need strongly to support the German parochial schools and the German press as the protectors and champions of German ways, German
manners and the German language" (Ei 681).

56.83 In the northeast part of Carroll County three Lutheran congregations grew up, two Missouri Synod, the oldest organized in 1872 and one Iowa Synod -- total membership, 1948, ca. 900. The Missouri Synod church organized at Carroll in 1886 (415 souls in 1948) by 1916 regularly had English services, and the church at Lidderdale listened to double headers twice a month. The Iowa Synod church is in Grant Township (240 members in 1950). Its post office is now Glidden to the south, but it seems to be referred to more often as at Breda. East Frisians are its mainstay, and it is reported to be the scene of an East Frisian festival to which people have come from far away. Preaching in Low German was a feature about 1950 and dialect was current then.

Manning in the southwestern corner of the county is qualified by Eiboeck as a "blooming German small town" (about 1500 population in 1900), where a German newspaper was founded in 1894 and German introduced into the public schools in 1900 (Ei 251). German societies existed by 1882. The Missouri Lutheran church, just organized in 1900 with preaching every two weeks, possessed 990 members in 1948. The implication of the statistics is that German immigration began and continued late there, rather as an offshoot of the Protestant settlements in the next county to the west, Crawford, than as properly of the Carroll County complex.

56.84 Crawford County was occupied by Northwest Germans, particularly people from Schleswig, all Protestants, but with variations in religious zeal. The German churches are all Lutheran, Missouri Synod. The oldest, that at Denison, organized in 1872, is large,
1896 members in 1948 (population of town, 4554 in 1950). We may assume from the date of congregational origin that German settlement began in 1868 with the building of the Northwestern Railroad which makes a horseshoe around Crawford County to the north. There were in 1900 a German Methodist church and several German societies in Denison, including one organized in 1879. "The fact that two German newspapers exist and flourish here proves that city and county are heavily settled with Germans" (Ei 690). The papers dated back at least till 1880 (Ei 251). To the south and southeast of Denison, German Lutheran churches number three (not counting Manning). Charter Oak, to the northwest of Denison 14 miles, population in 1950, 710, possesses in it or to the north three Lutheran churches, total membership 1592 in 1948. They were founded in 1877, 1881, and 1889. The townships to the north of Charter Oak on the county line showed from 53% to 58% f.w.s. in 1930. In them is situated the village of Schleswig of the same size as Charter Oak. Though its name plainly describes the origins of its population, its Lutheran church was not established till 1912 (membership 520 in 1948). There is also an Evangelical and Reformed church (membership 412 in 1950). At mid-century in Schleswig the Missouri Synod pastor was a Norwegian who knew no German. To the south German held on better. At Denison the last German service took place in 1962 or 1963. German was common in the families with growing children there until about the time of the Second World War. In 1948 the church at Charter Oak and the one to the southwest still had services in German, but the one to the northeast toward Schleswig had none.
The German towns on the "Northwestern" Railroad in Ida County, next north of Crawford County are Ida Grove and Battle Creek. They are in the southern part. Besides chronicling that in his day, 1900, the county as a whole was one-third German, that Ida Grove had 2,100 inhabitants and a Turnverein founded in 1890, that Battle Creek had 700 people, Eiboeck has little to say of these two towns nor of the county as a whole except that it was settled by Germans between 1877 and 1882 (Ei 706). His dating seems accurate because the Lutheran churches in the towns and the neighborhood were founded in 1880, 1883, 1888 and 1889. The territorial progression of these datings is from south to north, indicating that the Missouri Lutherans took over when others sold out their first holdings. By 1916 Battle Creek parishioners were already listening to English services sometimes, and so were those east of Ida Grove near Odebolt. The most impressive settlement is in the northern part of the county, centered at Holstein, where the foreign white stock was 58% of the population in 1930. In 1900 the town had 1200 inhabitants and Eiboeck describes it as "the Davenport of interior Iowa. Here the Germans are dominant, particularly the sons of the North, the Low Germans.... The greatest possible tolerance reigns here. The Turnverein and churches thrive side by side,... comfortable well being has united with orderliness and moral behavior" (Ei 707). The Turnverein organized in 1886 had 78 members, an increase of 13 over the preceding year. It was well enough supported by the community to put on regional Turn festivals several times. The Lutheran church here was Iowa Synod and so were the churches in the
towns along the railroad toward Sioux City to the west. In Holstein the choice between English and German as the language for tombstone inscriptions favored English slightly until 1917 and after that year only spouses surviving a husband or wife whose grave was already marked with German followed the early model. The main monument of Garsten and Louise Rolfs, 1842-1917, 1849-1928 respectively, is all in German. The markers are labeled "Vater" and "Mother." The loyalty to dialect rather than to Standard German is the probable explanation for conditions in communities like Schleswig and Holstein that Eiboeck thought were so sturdily German in 1900.

To the east and northeast of Holstein there were found people from Lippe Detmold who came on from the Wisconsin settlement discussed elsewhere (Section 56.20). They occupied Schaller, 12 miles to the east, and Storm Lake, 20 air miles to the northeast. Between Holstein and Storm Lake is a hamlet with the eloquent name of Hanover. The churches in this district are Missouri Lutheran organized about 1880, plus one Evangelical and Reformed church. At Storm Lake we reach the last of the land grant railroads to concern us, the line leased to the Illinois Central. At Storm Lake and Newell there were half-English services by 1916, but in the country to the northeast of Storm Lake German was still preached in 1948. Among the German Schleswigers Danes are to be found and at Newell they are dominant. English as a lingua franca is clearly indicated.

Pomeroy, and a few miles to the northeast Palmer, and to the east on the railroad Manson lie some twenty-five miles east from
Storm Lake. Here in Pocahontas and Calhoun Counties there are settlements of Swedes and Czechs too. The Germans are in large part from East Germany (Posen), and their settlement seems limited to the neighborhood of the three villages mentioned (population in 1950: Pomeroy 868, Manson 1622, Palmer, less than 300). There is also an East Frisian settlement east of Palmer. Except for an Evangelical and Reformed church at Pomeroy, 175 members in 1950, the churches are Lutheran. In 1900 there were Ohio Synod churches at Manson and Pomeroy, a Missouri Synod church at Pomeroy (founded in 1879), and an Iowa Synod church at Palmer for the East Frisians. In the mid-twentieth century, the church at Manson was the largest, 879 members; Pomeroy's Missouri Synod church had 347 members, the other 691; Palmer's church had become two, the one in town with 432 members, and the original rural church, very near the center of the triangle of settlement, with 656, a total of well over 2,000 members. This district was in 1951 reputed to be quite German. Eiboeck mentions the two towns on the railroad and remarks only, "In the last few years many farmers from Illinois have moved out here" (Ei 706). The East Frisian congregation at St. John's Church (American Lutheran) east of town still had preaching in German once a month in 1951 attended by 50 to 60 out of a congregation ten times as large. The American Lutheran Church at Pomeroy (originally Ohio Synod) was also then keeping to German once a month, but the Missouri Lutheran church had abandoned it. Farther east still Missouri Lutheran churches held half their services in English in 1916 (Knierim, Fort Dodge, Webster City).
In the rest of northern and northwestern Iowa there are many German settlements some of which have preserved German characteristics. Let us consider only Kossuth County, at the center of the Minnesota border, and extending southward the distance of two ordinary counties. Eiboeck mentions only the county seat Algona and two neighbors to the east and west, Wesley and Whittemore. In 1930 Algona's foreign white stock was 35% of the population, and in the townships adjoining the other two towns it was 46 and 50% respectively. In the east it was largely a Catholic population with three churches whose pupils totaled 285 in 1900, 429 in 1948. In the west it was Lutheran. The Missouri Synod church in Whittemore, organized in 1885, had 549 members in 1948; another at Fenton, 10 miles to the north, organized 1901, 419 members, and that at Algona, founded in 1904 had 593. The Catholic church at Algona has had Irish pastors, but by 1948 the assistant was German. A school was not established until after 1915; it has 262 pupils in 1948.

The northeastern part of the county was the most heavily German in 1930; the percentage of foreign white stock in German Township (third south of the Minnesota border) was 69, in the two townships to the north 58 and 55. The proportion was very high in all the northern part of the county. The hamlet on the south edge of German Township is German Valley and the railway stop to the northwest was Germania (472 population in 1920). It became Lakota. There was an Ohio Synod Lutheran church there in 1900; it had 363 members in 1950. Close by at Ledyard is an Evangelical and Reformed church with 220 members in 1950. A German Baptist church was organ-
ized a few miles to the east at Buffalo Center in 1900; it had 188 members in 1953. At the south edge of the district there was in 1900 a rural Ohio Synod church between Wesley and Titonka whose members in 1950 numbered 302, and a church in Titonka organized later had 404 members. Between the Lutheran area on the west edge of the county and that focused at German township the German Catholics developed a center at Bancroft, 88 pupils in 1900, 432 in 1960. In most of the north and northwest of Iowa the German churches had by the mid-twentieth century for the most part given up German. The churches in Kossuth County were an exception (and so were those at Paullina and Hartley in O'Brien County, 40 and 55 miles north of Holstein in a region where Netherlanders also settled).

The persistence of German speech in Iowa has been greatest in rural areas. The cities, however German they might have been about 1890, were not large enough to maintain quarters protected by the number of their inhabitants from Engl-izing forces. The rural Germans around the cities on the Mississippi have furnished conservative reenforcements so that relics of the German-speaking population had not been exterminated by the middle of the twentieth century. Elsewhere developments were much as in Kansas except that there was no late inflow like that furnished in Kansas and Nebraska by Russian Germans up until the First World War. Aside from Amish, the Hanoverians of Bremer County, and to a lesser degree, those of Iowa County represent the greatest degree of Iowa linguistic conservatism as regards German.
German settlement of Missouri before 1830 has not greatly impressed writers employing either German or English, though in St. Louis Germans were earlier a perceptible element in the population of the city. In 1930 there were more than 300 German immigrants and children of immigrants in each of the counties along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and often in the counties just beyond, also in a double band of counties along the Kansas border, in a few others also. We shall be most interested in the territory along the Missouri River, less in the north bank than in the south. The city of St. Louis may be included in this area, and we shall not be able to disregard the counties south of the city as far as Cape Girardeau. Except for a few cases near the town of Hermann and two just south of St. Louis, there are no townships in Missouri where in 1930 the foreign white stock exceeded 30%; only two townships exceeded 37% and they only by 3% and 4%. In other words the foreign immigration into Missouri, which was mostly German, was also mostly of early date, there had been early years in many counties when the proportion of foreign-born alone was much higher than the proportion of foreign white stock (FB plus their children) in 1930. The census of 1880 showed fewer persons born in Germany than the census of 1870 (See 27). A similar condition was true of no other state of special interest to us. While there was again in 1890 over 1870, the gain was far less in proportion than in any of the states so far treated except Indiana. In Iowa the gain from 1870 to 1890 was about 90%, in Missouri about 11%. And yet there are places in Missouri that were
still quite German in 1950. A characteristic of the early settlement of Missouri is the fact that here, as in early Wisconsin and southern Illinois, early groups organized in Germany arrived together.

German settlements in Missouri of interest to the present study may be divided into areas as follows:

(a) St. Louis and vicinity

(b) Downriver Area -- settlements below St. Louis

(c) Lower Missouri River Area -- settlements from Jefferson City east

(d) Central Missouri Area -- includes settlements along the Missouri River from Jefferson City to near the Kansas line and those along the Osage River beginning somewhat above its mouth

(e) The Kansas Line Settlements -- Kansas City and St. Joseph and settlements near the River to the Iowa border, also those south of Kansas City.

St. Louis furnished Kansas a great many German settlers in the early years. Forty-eight men born in Germany and formerly resident in St. Louis recorded those facts in their biographies published in the Andreas-Cutler History of Kansas in 1883. Of these 48, 19 were living in Leavenworth at the time, 10 in Atchison; 14 of the 29 had reached Kansas in territorial times, 11 more by 1871; 4 between 1876 and 1880. To judge by the paucity of biographies from rural districts, St. Louis Germans contributed much more to urban than to rural population in Kansas. The dates of arrival of these men in St. Louis went back as far as 1845, and the majority were in the early 1850's. There is no evidence of a later movement of
note from the city to Kansas. Therefore our greatest interest in St. Louis is for the period before the depression of 1873.

St. Louis Germans till 1840. The Evangelical and Reformed minister and historian, Carl E. Schneider, affirms, "When Missouri was admitted as a state in 1821, no Germans from abroad had as yet arrived" (Sch 18). He seems to have been mistaken, though perhaps some had arrived and had already left; at any rate in 1818 in St. Louis an immigrant aid society was established to help Irish and German settlers (Me 237), and in the same year Henry von Phul pledged $50 and paid $30 toward the construction of the Catholic cathedral (Ro I, 272); it is possible that he was American born, but Father Rothensteiner affirms that "there had been German Catholics since the foundation of the city [1764]. The first Canonical Pastor, P. Bernard de Limbach, a Capuchin, was a German [appointed 1770].... By the time of Bishop Du Bourg's coming [1818] the number of German Catholics and priests had increased considerably" (Ro II, 172). No one, despite such evidence, accounts the Germans of St. Louis as of any great importance until 1832 when part of the settlement inspired by Duden (see below) stayed on in the city instead of going farther. These educated men were a little later joined by others from the same party who had at first made an effort at farming. To quote Koerner, "In the years 1833 and 1834 fragments of the Rhenish Hessian and finally of the Giessner Emigration Society had remained behind, and there soon developed a vigorous German life [in St. Louis]. Physicians, language teachers, and merchants settled there. By 1834 Christian Bimpage from Mecklenberg had set
up an 'Intelligence and Commission Office' .... He was best known as the founder of [the newspaper] the 'Anzeiger des Westens.' ... The first number appeared on the 31st of October, 1835" (K 317). Frederick Steines (quoted by Bek XVI, 119) insists upon 1834 as the year the influx began. "When I came to St. Louis [in the early part of 1834] there were eighteen German families and a few unmarried Germans in the city. During the summer of 1834, however, the flood of German immigration began to pour in." In 1837 a Mutual Aid Society was organized (K 333).

In the same year Catholic Bishop Rosati wrote, "German services are being held ... in St. Louis" (Ro I, 172). Pastoral work by the Catholics among Germans had begun earlier. German Protestant religious meetings had begun by 1832 and the immigrants organized the German Evangelical Church in 1834. In that year a Presbyterian minister wrote, "The congregation of Germans sometimes number about 200. We expect ... ere long ... the erection of a German house of worship.... It has been a great eyesore to the priests of Rome, who have become exceedingly jealous and watchful" (Sch 74).

The German Methodists founded a society in 1841 (CE, article: Methodism). The Lutherans do not seem to have organized a church until the coming of the "Saxons," but a committee appointed in 1834 by their Synod of the West "reported, in 1836, that it had found many Lutherans in St. Louis" (Sch 67).

56.94 The "Saxons," led in their first few months in the United States by the Rev. Martin Stephan until his followers discredited him and deported him to Illinois, arrived at the beginning of 1839
in St. Louis. They were Lutherans, politically persecuted in Dresden, zealously religious and uncompromising in their views, hostile to all idea of union, even with less exigent Lutherans. Later under the leadership of the Rev. C.F.W. Walther, they founded what ultimately became the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, discussed at more length elsewhere. The group numbered 602 on its arrival in America (Po 559). There were some defections and some additions later. After a short period in St. Louis most of the company settled in Perry County (see below) but between 100 and 200 chose to stay in the city (Po 602). They formed the St. Louis congregation which became C.F.W. Walther's in 1841. On their arrival in St. Louis the Saxons were well received by the Americans, but were objects of scorn for most of the Germans who had either different religious views or anti-religious convictions. They themselves were warned by at least one of their pastors to stay completely aloof from the inhabitants of St. Louis (Po 242).

56.95 The rationalists and freethinkers were strong (Fo 317) among early Germans in St. Louis. They became yet stronger when the intellectuals of the thirties were joined by the Forty-eighters. But the Protestants also grew strong and the Catholics too. The ardent differences between the various groups together with their enthusiasm for participation in local, state, and national politics led not only to manifestations that were sometimes violent (Fo 252), but also to a swift development of bi-lingualism among the leaders. They sought allies outside their nationality. The rush of Germans into the city in the years succeeding 1839 made chaotic much of
their institutional life. In 1843 Bishop Rosati estimated that there were 6000 German Catholics in St. Louis, in 1844 he said that there were 7000 with three churches, one each for the northern, the southern and the central part of the city (Ro I, 818-27). Between 1837 and 1840 six cultural societies were founded (Sch 29). Military companies multiplied at similar rates; in 1843 there were five of them (Fo 258).

56.96 The military propensities of the Germans and their political sympathies made them the main support of the federal government in 1861, thereby sharpening the social line between them and the rest of the city's inhabitants. Here were two forces working linguistically in opposite directions. Army life multiplied contacts with English, political hostilities brought isolation for the stay-at-homes. After Union political views became socially acceptable, the war raised the status of Germans, however, not only because they were on the winning side but also because munition making in the area fell largely to them and they prospered while some who had been well-to-do found themselves in straits. St. Louis had been growing very fast, from less than 7000 in 1830 to something under 80,000 in 1850 of whom some 30% had been born in Germany. "In 1858 St. Louis had 14 German churches, 27 German societies, 2 German dailies and 5 weeklies" (Sch 422).

56.97 A notion of the rate of increase of the German-speaking population is provided by the foundation dates of the German Catholic churches (Ro, passim) of the Lutheran churches, Missouri Synod, and of the Evangelical churches.
Foundation Dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>German Catholic</th>
<th>Missouri Lutheran</th>
<th>Evangelical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1851</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('44,'45,'45,'48,'49)</td>
<td>('39,'47,'49)</td>
<td>('43,'43,'48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-1860</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('55,'60)</td>
<td>('58,'59,'60)</td>
<td>('52,'58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-1870</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('65,'67)</td>
<td>('65,'69,'69)</td>
<td>('68,'69,'69,'70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1880</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('71,'74,'77,'79)</td>
<td>('72,'74)</td>
<td>('75')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1890</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('85')</td>
<td></td>
<td>('86,'86,'85,'88,'89,'90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1900</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('91,'92,'93,'93)</td>
<td>('94,'94,'95,'96)</td>
<td>('91,'92,'94,'96,'98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>('01,'04,'08)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>('17')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1948 there were 24 Missouri Lutheran churches, 33 Evangelical and Reformed. In 1890 there had been in the city five German Methodist congregations with 1065 members.

56.98 Various sections of St. Louis were German quarters. An early northern suburb was called Bremen. It was quickly absorbed into the city, but it remained a separate entity with very little contact even with other Germans. South St. Louis was taken over by the Germans, largely Saxons. The Swabians were near the river. Provincial patriotisms were strong, though intermarriage between different provincial strains occurred. The old French settlement, originally beyond the city to the south, Carondelet, was engulfed by the German occupation. On south still farther, almost to the
southern border of the next county South German settlements grew up, notably at the Gravlys Settlement, 15 miles away, 40 or 50 families in 1835 (Sch 21); to the north, too, as far as the Missouri River.

Until well into the twentieth century South St. Louis was stable in its Teutonic character. Almost everyone went to parochial schools through the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Practically all the men worked in German-owned companies, if not in retail trade nearly all in breweries. There were almost no intermarriages. There were few opportunities, and they were frowned on. This condition began to change in the early twentieth century when the American-born of the late comers went to work. Though the Germans did not desert the old ground, they were exporting the superabundance of natural increase.

In St. Louis up until 1900 in the German sections of the city the German language was supreme. Bi-lingual ability was fairly wide spread, but German was the normal language of many children at play and of workmen in the breweries, and of people in the retail shops, in the churches, and in the homes. Dialects were maintained, for the people from one region were usually clustered together and intent on preserving their regional characteristics. Where miscegenation between dialectal groups took place, English tended to prevail; the children of such families played in English. Practically all children attended parochial schools where they became acquainted with both English and Standard German. The most important tendency toward breaking down resistance to Engl-izing
was the acceptance by German girls of going out for hire in American families; this phenomenon came about in the closing years of the nineteenth century. In the next decade and a half the pressures for displacement of German became great. By 1898 in the Evangelical Synod in St. Louis, the movement for services in English was under way. In 1906 some children among the Missouri Lutherans were being confirmed in English. In 1910 six Missouri Lutheran churches in the city, each with 300 to 3000 members had allowed English to enter their services. Two of the largest of these, however, had not completely displaced German forty years later. In the suburbs in 1910 English had penetrated into eight churches, in 1916 into eleven. In one of these, Black Jack, there was still some German in 1948. In the first decade of the twentieth century a child who became an Evangelical and Reformed minister and whose family moved into St. Louis from a rural settlement where his ordinary speech had been German became sufficiently Englished so that he attended English rather than German services after arriving in the city. As to the Catholic church, Rothensteiner in his work published in 1928 says of conditions during the First World War, "The use of the German tongue in church, had been long ago restricted to a minimum by the pastors themselves, and generally discontinued in the schools. The language question in the German parishes of St. Louis was solving itself in the natural way of gradual reduction and extinction. Force was not necessary, not even advisable. But the war phrensy put it into the heads of some patriots, that the small remnants of Germanism must be eliminated. [The Arch-
As I understand it, we are not making war on languages, but on false principles. In most of the so-called German churches English is used to a greater extent than German. The announcements are made in both languages, and as a rule, only one of the Sunday sermons is in German. The question of eliminating the German language is being considered." (Ho II, 712-3). Thirty years before it could hardly have been said that the language question "was solving itself in the natural way," but tumult then was not caused so much by dissension within the German congregations regarding the choice of language as by militancy on the part of the English-speaking, that is, Irish, clergy. In 1948 six of the 24 Missouri Lutheran churches in St. Louis had some services in German. By then only certain of the old retained proficiency in German.

The Down-River district of Missouri began to receive speakers of German very early. "George Bollinger [of German stock], a native of North Carolina, settled on the Whitewater River in Bollinger County [(60 -- just south of west part of 498) about 100 miles south of St. Louis and about 25 miles inland from Cape Girardeau] between 1794-97 and, in 1803, induced some North Carolinians to join him. Timothy Flint... [visited and described in 1826] this 'isolated but pure German Settlement, where these people have in fact preserved their nationality and their language more unmixed than even in Pennsylvania.... They are principally Lutherans and some of them directly from Germany, but the greater portion from North Carolina and Pennsylvania'" (Sch 18). In spite of the
arrival of Europeans this group continued to be regarded as North
Carolina Germans.

In and just south of Cape Girardeau County (60 -- south of
49S developing from this settlement) 8 Missouri Lutheran and 3
Evangelical and Reformed churches grew up. There was also a rural
Catholic German church. In Cape Girardeau the Missouri Lutheran
church was organized in 1854, and another, 2 miles northwest in
1844, another still at Illmo close by in 1848; two farther inland
in 1865 and 1866. In 1890 there were two German Methodist congrega­
gations in the county with 300 members. In Cape Girardeau German
Catholic immigration began to be important in 1834, but it was not
until 1868 that a German parish was created, for the Irish were
numerous there too (Ro II, 242). The Catholic Germans at Cape
Girardeau had their rural support in Scott County to the south.
There the parish of New Hamburg was created in 1848 and closer to
the Cape, Kelso in 1878 (there had been a German school earlier)
(Ro II, 238, 244). Somewhat farther away at Oran "forty families,
all German Alsatians," required the establishment of a parish in
1893 (Ro II, 613). It is apparent that significant immigration
continued a long time.

Down the river from St. Louis though the "North Carolina
Germans" long retained their language, by 1950 German speech had
ceased to be a factor in the life of Cape Girardeau and the
country to the south. Indeed in 1910 the Lutherans at Cape Gi­
rardeau heard English twice a month in addition to German, in
1916 three times. Similarly at Gordonville a few miles west,
and at Jackson to the northwest.

57.01 The best known Down-Stream group of Germans was that of the Saxon Lutherans spoken of above. Perry County (60 -- 49S), next upstream from Cape Girardeau County, was the scene of the settlement in the spring of 1839. The location was chosen by Stephan in preference to more fertile land, on the Meramec River quite close to St. Louis, because "Stephan's mind was fixed on the wilderness" (Po 376), that is, he wanted isolation. Though the bishop was soon rejected, the taste for separateness continued among those of his followers who had left St. Louis, and the Germans of Perry County have had a reputation for clannishness. The course of their fortunes was not always smooth, but they remained conservative, a center of reserve strength for the Missouri Synod, not as dynamic in pushing its influence as F.W. Walther and his people in St. Louis, but reliable in their resistance to outsiders. Their eleven churches are sown over the southeast two-thirds of the county and the north tier of townships just to the south. They first landed at the mouth of the Brazeau River, and spread from there. Altenburg, the largest of their six early villages, is somewhat inland. Altenburg itself ultimately received an additional church, that became American Lutheran, and so did Pocahontas on the south edge. Aside from this, Missouri Synod territory is monolithic. At the northern and northwestern border of these Lutherans in Perry County they give way to Catholic Germans who are closely akin to those farther upstream in St. Genevieve County. They have national churches at Perryville (org. 1866) and Biehle (1867-1870) (Ro II,
241 & 245). In the northern part of the county, Badenese at Apple Creek who had been coming a few years before built a Catholic chapel in 1828.

The Perry County Saxons were long regarded by Missouri Lutherans elsewhere as a citadel for the conservation of the language. The reputation is in part only the persistance of century-old tradition, but to support it is the fact that three of the oldest congregations heard English only once a month in 1931 (FK 244). Eleven of the 13 churches were still having some services in German in 1948. At that time all those born before the First World War were still proficient in German, but in "visiting" with each other they seldom used it, and children knew no German. The church at Perryville (established 1866) had English services in part in 1910; similarly at two other churches on the fringe, but all three still had some German in 1948.

57.02 In Saint Genevieve County (60 -- 49) the town of Sainte Genevieve was founded in 1735 by the French and remained French deep into the nineteenth century, but already in 1840 the Catholics there heard preaching in German as well as in English and French, and in that year the Vincentian fathers were attending German settlements at Riviere aux Vases and Zell hard by. Zell later had Weingarten as a filial (Ro II, 77). The country around Ste. Genevieve settled up with Germans so that in 1875, of the 400 Catholic families, 150 were German (Ro II, 75). By this time there was intermarriage between French and Germans. In the mid-twentieth century the district which covered most of the county seemed dominated by German stock.
In Ste. Genevieve the French in early days absorbed many of the Germans linguistically. The Irish objected vigorously in 1854 to accepting Father Charles Ziegler, born at Ste. Genevieve, as their priest, because he was German, but he could not speak German, only French and English. German brides taking French husbands as late as the 1880's became speakers of French, but their children were for most purposes converts to English. In 1914 services at the Missouri Lutheran church there were already partly in English. The rural German element in the neighborhood of Ste. Genevieve had not all given up the language of their fathers in 1951, but in general only the quality of their English spoke of their earlier habits. At Weingarten twelve miles inland cemetery inscriptions were usually in German until 1900, but by the time of the First World War it had fallen completely into disuse. This is a Catholic community, and in them the language of record tends to shift earlier than in Protestant communities.

Farther inland in mining country (60 -- 48) the French settled first, but Germans, Missouri Lutherans and some Catholics, ultimately became one-third of the population in places. They came from various parts of Germany. An Evangelical missionary attempted work here in 1857 but the Missouri Lutherans with seven churches won out. The three oldest -- Pilot Knob, Iron Mountain, and Farmington -- date from 1868, 1870 and 1873. Only the Farmington church exceeds 100 members. In 1948 it had 598. Here the population could turn to farming. At Farmington and in neighboring villages where the German element is Protestant, linguistic de-
development has been similar to that in rural St. Genevieve County. In 1910 there was regularly some English in the Lutheran services. German at church was abolished during the hysteria of the Great War, but was resumed afterward for one service a month on Sunday afternoon. In 1931 it was dropped completely at the initiative of the congregation. By 1951 only those born near the beginning of the century could speak German and few of these were practicing their knowledge. In the area just south of St. Louis some conservative areas existed in 1950; at Beck and Antonia the Missouri Lutherans still worshipped sometimes in German.

The Lower Missouri Area attracts commentators on German settlement for an earlier date than St. Louis on account of Gottfried Duden (Bek XLIII, XLIV passim, Fa 440, K 299, B 200, Sch 15 Fo 4). Duden was a university graduate of means who saw the solution of Germany's ills in emigration. In 1824 he came to Missouri to observe conditions at first hand, bought land in Warren County (60 -- 28) near what was later Dutzow, 50 miles upstream on the north bank of the Missouri, hired his farming done, and wrote letters idealizing his life and surroundings. "After a two-year stay he told his idyllic hills, clear springs and fragrant meadows an eternal farewell" (K 299). His letters were published in 1839 as Berichte über eine Reise nach den Westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas (translated, in part summarized, by Wm G. Bek as Gottfried Duden's Report in Missouri Hist. Rev., Vols. XII and XIII, 1917-'19), and they were a great influence in bringing settlers to Missouri, particularly educated people, "Latin farmers," who even-
tually mostly found their way to St. Louis. Of these the members of the Berlin Society were particularly ineffective — persisting in aristocratic ways, producing no leaders. However, the few gentlemen farmers who remained, together with humbler people who arrived with them (Fo 441) and later, made the district about it a concentration point of German settlement (see for example, Mu, 58). In 1835 there were 150 German families within a radius of ten miles of Dutzow (Sch 21). Buden's companion, Eversmann, who stayed on in Missouri, swiftly turned into a farmer with an American wife. In 1834 Hermann Steines (quoted by Bek XIV, 441) said of him, "His children speak English, and do not understand any German, because their parents speak only English with them."

57.05 The most important and best-known increment of the educated were furnished by the "Gießener Gesellschaft," a society, mostly from Hesse, that, like certain others, envisaged setting up a German state in America (Fa 442, K 300). This group contained men with qualities of leadership — unbeloved by the churches to be sure because of their "rationalism." Only a fraction of the society settled in the district, and neither Dutzow nor any of the German villages that grew up close by on the north bank became a shopping center. The most important was Marthasville where there were 100 German families in 1835 (Sch 21). Across the river the Solingen Society, more democratic, settled in 1834 (Sch 19, Bek XIV, 436 ff.). Concerning the area Faust says that in 1870, "Germans numbered nine-tenths of the population in Warren County [across the river north from Washington]... one-half of the popu-
lation of Franklin [Washington's county] and Gasconade counties" (Fa 444; see also Sch 172).

57.06 Washington, 4 miles from Dutzow, became moderately important while Dutzow languished. Washington developed (population 3132 in 1920, 6850 in 1950) in Franklin County (60 -- 28) on the south side of the river. C. Eberius was resident there in 1832, built a store in 1834, and employed another German. There was also then a German saddler. About 1870 Gert Goebel wrote, "Washington can be called a distinctly German town since its commerce and still more the mechanical trades are in the hands of the Germans. However, there is also a highly respectable American element there. Among the Germans there are many who know very little of the English language, on the other hand, there are many Americans, especially among the younger generation, who speak German with a good deal of fluency" (Bek XVII, 51). Evangelical services began there in 1836 (Sch 60), but the church was not organized until 1845 (Sch 171); 25 members then, presumably voters, that is, adult males, 70 members in 1888, 971 souls in 1950. The Missouri Lutherans organized in 1862 (60 voting members in 1888; in 1948, there were 158 voters, 792 souls). Catholic Germans first appeared at Washington in 1833, 12 families from near Osnabrueck, 60 persons, and in two years more came. In 1837 they were struggling (Ro I 689). They received a resident priest in 1838.

57.07 For some fifteen or eighteen miles around Washington German population grew. The most heavily populated portion is naturally the fertile flood valley of the great river, but much of the land is broken with narrow valleys so that settlement is uneven, more
uneven now than in the 1850's, for German immigrants then occupied even stony land (Bek XVI, 550). In this territory there are something over two score Lutheran and E-R churches and four or five Catholic churches with German background. In 1890 in the county there were 4 German Methodist organizations with 300 members, the number of Methodists across the river was commensurate. In 1838 at Marthasville, north of the river four miles up from Dutzow, there were 25 Catholic families asking for a German priest (Ro I 692). The slow development of the Protestant churches was caused, not by competition with the Catholic, but rather by the rationalistic character of part of the population. An Evangelical preacher, Hermann Garlichs, established himself at Femme Osage over the St. Charles County line from Dutzow on the north side of the river in 1834 (Sch 59). He "was deeply grieved when the antagonistic faction of the church affiliated with a neighboring rationalistic society" (Sch 136). He gave up in 1846, though his church continued.

Conservation of German in the mid-twentieth century in and near Washington was limited. According to their Statistical Year Book only two of Missouri Lutheran churches in this area were still having some services in German in 1948, one at Augusta in the Duden country and one at Detmold (established 1856). In the Missouri Lutheran church at Washington there were German services every Sunday until about 1935. By 1941 they had disappeared completely. The old were cooperative; one man whose English was very limited, made the effort to learn the proper vocabulary so as to profit from sermons in English. In 1951 the Evangelical and Reformed church at Washington had a sermon in German twice a year. But at
that time in the community no one born after 1870 used German actively. The impress of long bilingualism -- many inhabitants had been in the neighborhood four generations -- persisted. One grandfather, then about 55 years old, said to his grandchild, "Ask your father once" ("once" is here presumably the equivalent of German einmal, short for einmal, used with imperatives).

57.09 The St. Charles District is farther east than Washington and, it seems, the recipient of German settlers a little earlier, but it has not had the same notice from either early or late writers. St. Charles (60-29) was originally a French settlement founded in 1769. It did not continue to be preponderantly French quite so long as Sainte Genevieve. A Maryland German settled in the neighborhood in 1789, but Germans were not numerous in 1827, though Faust says that in St. Charles County "Germans from Osnabrueck and Oldenburg had settled in the beginning of the twenties.... In 1870 St. Charles, with seven or eight thousand inhabitants, was more than three-fourths German" (Fa I 444). A number of educated Germans established themselves there in the early 1830's (K 315). As a French settlement, St. Charles had a Catholic church almost from its beginning, but "there were no German Catholics in the place before 1830, and only a few before ... the forties" (Ro II 423). A separate German parish, St. Peter's, was undertaken in 1848, its school about 1857. In 1900 it had 243 pupils, 187 in 1948, 640 in 1960. The Missouri Lutheran church was organized in 1847; in 1948 there were 2305 members. The Evangelical and Reformed church had 1100 members in 1950. Protestant services began
by 1835* when a Reformed congregation came into being (Sch 45)

* Perhaps by 1800 (Sch, 54 note).

two and one-half miles southwest of town, and in the same year the
Frieden's Evangelical congregation was organized (Sch 59). The peo­
ple were in great part Hanoverians. To the northwest of St. Charles,
five Catholic parishes which were ultimately German developed. "From
1830 to 1840 the advance guard of the German emigration from Hilde­
sheim, Hanover, arrived in successive small bands, but in 1840 the
high tide of this friendly invasion set in and continued unto 1860" (Bo II 426). As a specific example, at Dog Prairie, later called
St. Paul, between 15 and 20 miles out from St. Charles, the early
settlers were Kentucky Catholics. Germans began to arrive in 1838; they did not drive out their neighbors at once, but in 1859 a Ger­
man priest took over and the parish was truly German. Beyond this
predominantly Catholic area still in this county to the west and
primarily in Lincoln County to the north Protestants came in, four
churches. The Reformed pastor Brittner in 1835 spoke of "a few
Germans in St. Charles and a large number in the vicinity" (Sch 21).
The Missouri River bottoms became German — largely Protestant,
Evangelical and Reformed on the north side (4 churches), Lutheran
on the south (3 or 4 churches). The Germans were Catholics again
near the confluence of the two great rivers. At Saint Charles
German was somewhat more often in use in 1951 than at Washington;
there was then one grocery store in the town where one could hear
more Low German than English, but very few born after 1910 could
speak German. In the 1920's parents of young children spoke German before them in the home only for secrecy. Here too German left its impress upon English. In 1961 one forty-year-old woman of good family and education brought up in Saint Charles but residing elsewhere said, "We will be here seven years in June." She could speak no German. According to the pastor, there were at St. Charles in 1951 Missouri Lutheran services in German attended by 100 persons as against 1000 attending other services. The yearbook of 1916 shows that there was some English preaching for part of the 2000 members.

57.10 Upstream beyond the Washington district is Hermann (60-3% population 1701 in 1920, 2523 in 1950), most widely known of all the Missouri German settlements (K 71, 313; B 112, 204; Fa 444; Soh 21; Ro II, 408; Me 243; the standard treatment is Bek, Wm G., The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony Hermann, Missouri [Philadelphia, 1907]). It was founded by a society with vaulting ambitions for German colonization. The Society's primary distinction from others of the period or earlier was that it was organized not abroad but in the United States at Philadelphia. It differed from many associations of later date organized in various American cities, primarily by its ambitions. The results were similar, though few of the colonies so established remained so exclusively German. In 1843 its Sundays were shocking to the Puritanical, and steamboats manned by them churned past the "damned nest of Dutchmen" without stopping (Sch 36). Toward 1870 Gert Goebel described Hermann as "the most distinctlly German town
in the state," and quoted a citizen as saying, "I am the only American in Hermann and I am Irish" (Bek XVII, 53). The Goodspeed County history of 1888 names only German merchants. To be sure in that year the Walker brothers established a drugstore, but they were the only merchants with English names advertising in the 1936 Official Centennial Program (certain details regarding Hermann are taken from this program). The first settlers contained many educated people, and a German school was established in 1840 (K 313). The country round about Hermann is hilly, and the town might have withered if grape growing and wine making had not made it prosperous (Me 243, K 313) beginning in 1843. There was a boom from 1852 to 1854 while the Pacific Railroad was under construction in the neighborhood, and there were very dark days after the panic of 1857. With the return of prosperity after the hard times of the 1890's, a shoe factory was established which after ups and downs was prospering in 1936, and in 1950 employed 400 to 500 people. By 1966 it had a new plant, and a toy factory was installed in the old one. Becoming the county seat also helped Hermann and did not, as frequently happens, introduce a "court house crowd" that was predominantly non-German, for the population of Gasconade County was sufficiently Teutonic to elect people of that stock to places of importance. It was Judge Breuer who spoke on the "History of Hermann" at the Centennial, and the local talent then performing the comic operetta "Pocahontas" was so German that out of 58 performers and three directors the only ones bearing non-German names were Edna Quinn and Obid Mitchell. German newspapers began to be
published in 1843 and had no English competition until about 1870. The last German paper collapsed under the pressures of the First World War. In 1936 the names of the publishers of the two papers then existing were German. There were the usual societies and lodges; the most striking fact about them is that in 1888 all members of the G.A.R. bore German names. Outside of St. Louis as well as in it the Union troops who enlisted in Missouri were very often Germans. The people of Hermann had already distinguished themselves militarily. Early in the 1840's they organized a company of Jaegers and most of these served in the Mexican War.

57.11 At Hermann few early inhabitants were enthusiastic about religion, at least not about any strict denomination. The Evangelical and Reformed church at Hermann (627 members in 1950) had its roots in two organizations set up in 1841, but a decade later the Reformed minister Birkner was scandalized no end by conditions. As regards his predecessor he says, "his whole care for the souls of his flock consisted in playing at cards and drinking wine with them ... and yet even this preacher was scolded as a 'priest.' [For myself] a succession of offenses and insults began, which are not ended as yet [1853]" (Sch 196). The church had become, however, a permanent institution, but it demonstrated the independence characteristic of Hermann by remaining a "free" church unattached to a denomination until 1905. The German Methodists began services in 1844, but were not organized till 1876, and were so poverty stricken that they could not build until 1883. The
Lutherans did not succeed in securing a footing in the town. Among the founders of Hermann were 33 Catholics; they organized in 1840 and built a church in 1845. But the attitude of the town was hostile in early days. Father Tuerk was pastor from 1851 to 1861. "The anti-Catholic spirit of many of the inhabitants of the town made trouble for the good and faithful priest, whose abrupt manners and curt sayings were used as occasions for vituperation" (Bo II, 409). The parish contained many people living in the country especially to the southeast. In 1900 it was maintaining two schools, one in town with 106 pupils, one 6 miles out with 25 (school enrollment 95 in 1948, 198 in 1960). Across the river and somewhat to the west are Starkenburg and Rhineland where there are Catholic churches, small but of German background. There is also a small E-R church at Rhineland.

To the south of Hermann almost all of Gasconade County, which stretches for nearly 40 miles, is predominantly German; this includes Swiss at the village of that name ten miles inland (GS 28). The river frontage is not long, some 15 miles. In this hilly area there are some 15 E-R, Missouri Lutheran and German Methodist churches; as examples, the Lutheran church at Rosebud and the E-R church at Bland near the south extremity and Stolpe (E-R) somewhat west of Hermann may be mentioned. By 1951 Hermann began to make a touristic asset of its German character. In that year a Maifest was instituted and in the 1960's the occasion attracted crowds.

57.12 Hermann was faithful to German a bit longer than either Washington or St. Charles. Originally, it was so officially German
that for many years court house records were kept in German, and
an ordinance provided that German must be taught in the public
schools. In the Evangelical church in January, 1910, one English
church service a month was accepted. In 1936 English and German
services were held on alternate Sundays. In 1941 further reduction
took place. In 1951 and until 1956 there were two German services
a year. The average attendance at church was then 366; 90 attended
the German service on Good Friday in 1951; 55 that on Ascension
Sunday. After 1956 German service was held on the Maifest with an
imported liturgist or minister. This service was the only Maifest
feature in which the German language featured except for the names
of certain dishes served up on the occasion, notably Brotwurst and
Schnitzbrot. In 1951 children in confirmation classes showed no
knowledge of German, did not recognize a benediction in German nor
the word Friede (peace). On the other hand in 1951 nearly all
those born before 1930 could speak German and those in riper adult-
hood used German in casual intercourse; for instance a Catholic
expressman born about 1896, on making a delivery, passed the time
of day in German with the Evangelical minister who was somewhat
his junior in age. In the country about Hermann there were still
spots where German was then oftener current. At Stolpe children
were learning German in the homes, and adults conversed more fre-
quently in German than at Hermann. Country people in Hermann to
shop frequently gossipped in German. Across the river in Rhine-
land there were then (1951) twenty-five Catholics who confessed
in German, and those born before 1910 spoke German together, some
that were younger also. In 1966, the generation born at Hermann between 1917 and 1930 could still "get along" in German. Their children "understood some things." Children of school age acquired what German they knew in classes at school.

The Westphalia district, that is, Osage County (60-36) and that part of Cole County (60-35) east of Missouri's capital, lies between Jefferson City and Hermann. It is very largely Catholic German. The point of first settlement, some 16 miles southeast of Jefferson City, became Westphalia and the year was 1835 (Ro I 689). The settlers were partly Rhinelanders, partly Westphalians. They turned out to be a quarrelsome lot, or at least ready to take up arms against a series of Jesuit priests, among them Father Helias, who beginning in 1838 was an apostle to the whole district where he stayed until his death in 1874; he was very successful elsewhere. Between 1838 and 1844 the number of souls under his care increased from 620 to 2500 (Ro II 358). Father Rothensteiner attributed the contentiousness of the people at Westphalia to the pressure of "Latin farmers" among them, men "infected with the revolutionary spirit" (Ro I, 699). In any case Father Helias who had made his headquarters in the village left it in 1842, nailing to the church door a couplet in Latin saying, "Let him who covets hardships . . . come to Westphalia and he will find hardships aplenty." There were presumably Latinists to read the message. By the beginning of the Civil War the combative generation was no longer active, and in 1862 their pastor wrote, "The spirit of the people is, in general, good. They have learned that in annoying and contradicting their
priests there is neither peace nor the blessing of God" (Ro II, 364). For a town its size (234 inhabitants in 1920, 319 in 1950), Westphalia is well-known, largely because of its demonstrative German character. Everybody is German, and among these people disputatious behavior is not taken seriously.

At Father Helias's first arrival "regular services were held at Westphalia, where the people were low Germans, at Loose Creek the home of the Rhinelanders, at Rich Fountain, the bulk of whose parishioners were Bavarians, and at Taos which was mainly settled by Hanoverians and Belgians" (Ro I 695). In 1840 from a group of 30 families the parish at Rich Fountain, 7 or 8 miles southeast of Westphalia, was organized; two years later "250 families arrived from Bavaria to escape the unjust laws which Bavarian liberalism had foisted on the people" (Ro I, 698 quoting Helias). It continued to be piously Catholic; its "school district never had more than one Protestant landowner.... The school, though not parochial, is practically Catholic" (Ro II, 368). Father Rothensteiner made this statement in 1928, but the Catholic directories have listed it like the parochial schools, 200 pupils in 1900, 113 in 1960. An abortive Utopian colony of Swiss joined them in 1844, but New Helvetia seems to have left few remnants in the population (Schultz-Behrend in SR, II, 30). In the character of the German speech of the area dialectal distinctions resulting from their regions of origin in Germany persisted at least into the mid-twentieth century.
Of the other German parishes of the Westphalia district, four more merit some attention. Loose Creek, five or six miles north of Westphalia, together with Bonnot's Mill as far again to the north on the Missouri River, were settlements that antedated Westphalia because of French pioneers. South Germans arrived among them at about the same time as the north Germans came to Westphalia. Bonnot's Mill was the despair of the early priests, and did not acquire a permanent parish until between 1900 and 1915, but Loose Creek parish thrived from early times. Jefferson City became the state capital in 1826. A Catholic parish was organized from Germans and Irish in 1838 by Father Helias. Nourished by the population from the rural settlements, St. Peter's became largely German, and it remained the only Catholic church in the capital until well into the twentieth century. In 1956 it became the cathedral of a newly created diocese. Eight miles south of Jefferson City is St. Thomas. From 3 or 4 German families about 1843 it increased to 21 in 1854 and to 35 in 1860, and continued to grow so as to be able to build a brick church and maintain a school beginning in 1895 (138 inhabitants in 1920; 86 pupils in 1900, 92 in 1960).

The Germans at Taos, 9 miles east of Jefferson City (60-35), because they furnished the first settlers in the Scipio settlement in Kansas, are of particular interest to this study. Belgians were associated with the Germans in both communities. Taos received its name only after the Pacific Railroad went through and named its station in 1855, but Father Helias reported the neigh-
neighborhood as having 20 Catholic families in 1838. The next year there were 42 families. He erected a church in 1840, moved there in 1842 after leaving Westphalia, and remained until his death. He was himself a Fleming and in 1847 he was joined by 50 Belgians. To the northeast of Taos there was level land to the taste of Flemings, but the parish developed as primarily German. At least Father Helias’s successors were German and the emigrants to Kansas were mostly German. Taos grew but little. Its parochial school had 68 pupils in 1900, 165 in 1960.

The Germans of the Westphalia district, western Osage County and eastern Cole County were faithful to German for a long time. A wholesale delivery man of German origin whose territory included the whole district said in 1951, "Around Westphalia, that's all they talk, kids and everybody." The inhabitants of Westphalia placed a few strictures upon such a statement. A man born about 1913, who spoke German habitually with his contemporaries, said that his two oldest children, born in 1935 and 1937, could not speak German but could understand it, but that the younger ones could not even understand. Telephone conversations in the community were often in German, but not to keep outsiders from understanding, as often happens on country lines -- the effort would have been ineffective -- simply because German was the natural means of communication. Father Michael Knecht whose long tenure ended in 1961 found it well to speak often in German though not from the pulpit. In 1966 persons born in the early years of the century still spoke German every day more or less, but never ex-
pected persons born after the beginning of the Second World War to be able to understand them. The Catholic cemetery at Westphalia contains a majority of German inscriptions on monuments installed before 1910; English was first used to commemorate a 19-year-old girl who died in 1892. German disappears from the monuments in the late 1920's. Habits in the district elsewhere were not greatly different, though at Loose Creek the mixture of French and German parishioners made English prevalent on tombstone inscriptions after about 1888. Practically no German appears after 1904. (There is only one stone in French, 1869). In the cemetery at Taos, the mixture of the Flemish element seems to have had some effect. A sudden desertion of German for inscriptions occurred about 1910. The pastor at St. Thomas in 1951 heard confessions in German from those born before 1905. They were not many homes with growing children where German was being actively used, but the people making confessions were not merely repeating empty formulae. They had studied German in school, had heard it at home, and were able to speak German. Those born in 1920 had heard much, but their German had fallen into disuse. Those born in 1930, ignorant of German, considered their ignorance a superiority. The English of many was highly accented.

57.17 Western Cole County (60-35), though in 1845 an Evangelical missionary thought the whole county empty of Germans (Sch 176), became in considerable part Protestant German. At least until the middle of the twentieth century Jefferson City was sharply divided socially and territorially into groups. The Catholic Germans men-
tioned above saw little of the Protestant Germans who established a Missouri Lutheran and an Evangelical and Reformed church. The latter had its beginnings in 1858, membership 723 in 1950. The Lutheran church, 1366 members in 1948 did not organize until 1870; it is supported by a rural area of considerable extent with four churches of which the oldest was founded in 1843. Those are located west of the Catholics, all in Cole County. On the western edge of the county there are also two American Lutheran churches. The total membership of all six of the outlying churches is nearly the same as that of the church in the capital.

In this Protestant territory, German was perhaps as well conserved as among their Catholic neighbors to the east. The Missouri Lutheran church at Wardville and the American Lutheran church at Russelville, at least, continued with German services through 1948. At Russelville German services occurred every other Sunday. On German days, the children attended only Sunday school. A Lutheran parochial school in the area did not give up teaching German until the 1930's. Children born about 1925 learned some German at home. In Jefferson City the Evangelical Church had all German services until 1900; half German until 1920. The pastor who arrived in 1921 spoke a German that offended his listeners, and German services were dropped. The Germans in Jefferson City appear to have dropped German rather suddenly under the pressures of the First World War. The shift was easier because the language of the immigrants was so varied. They came from all parts of Germany.

57.18 Up the Missouri from Cole County and Jefferson City German settlements are more scattered. In Moniteau County (60-24) next
upstream are two Protestant German centers, the county seat, California, and Jamestown, and one Catholic center, Tipton. Six miles south of what became California, Evangelical missionaries were at work by 1846 (Sch 176). The Pacific Railroad was built through California in 1857 or 1858, and its coming must have been the occasion of the request for a resident Evangelical pastor in 1856 (Sch 423). Pastor August Roder who was there in 1860 agreed to become the first Evangelical (Kirchenverein) missionary to Kansas. His work in Kansas was short (Sch 432). The Evangelical and Reformed church in California had 455 members in 1900, that in the country 93. The Missouri Lutherans organized a congregation in 1860, membership 327 in 1948. The Catholics established themselves in California in 1859, mostly Germans (Ro II, 257), 250 souls in the parish in 1880, 45 parochial pupils in 1900, 98 in 1960.

Twelve miles west of California lies Tipton; "with 1000 inhabitants in 1870, [it] was nearly one-half German" (Pa 445). It had 1170 inhabitants in 1920, 1234 in 1950. It is a Catholic center (100 parochial pupils in 1900, 208 in 1960). Catholic missionaries began to work among the Germans there in 1851 or 1853 (Ro II, 255). The people were Rhinelanders, and they behaved like the people at Westphalia for twenty-five years, quarreling as to whether the church should be in town or in the country. At Jamestown and vicinity northeast and near the river there were Germans for Father Helias to visit in 1842 (Schmidt 84) and Evangelical missionaries in 1848 (Sch 177). A Missouri Lutheran church was organized in
1856. These groups remained small. So did those in the next county upstream, Cooper County (60-23), although Booneville had Germans and German services as soon as the Jamestown district. Booneville developed as something of a conglomerate. The Lone Elm Lutheran church about ten miles south (310 members in 1948, organized 1896) is in a somewhat more strictly German neighborhood. Similar conditions obtained in the southeastern part of Saline County (60-12), next upstream. Almost no Germans settled in the northern part of that county. The settlements upstream from Jefferson City to the Concordia district give little evidence of the conservation of German. In 1916 the Missouri Lutheran church at California already heard English in part.

57.19 Cole Camp is situated 58 air miles west of Jefferson City. It is in Benton County (60-32), but the German district which bears its name occupies only the northeastern part of that county and stretches into the adjacent parts of Pettis County to the north and Morgan County to the east. We are here among the northern tributaries to the upper part of what is now the Lake of the Ozarks, in country that is not particularly fertile. Exportation of population thus soon became necessary. Some emigrants moved north into the Concordia area, but in Kansas a number of settlements have population from the Cole Camp district, for example, the Block Germans, the Hepler-Brazilton Germans, the Pittsburg Germans, the Coffeyville Germans, the Independence Germans, the Linn-Palmer Germans, the Odee Germans, the Upper Lyons Creek Germans. The district is almost solidly Lutheran, largely Missouri Synod. Cole Camp (889 inhabitants in 1920, 813 in 1950)
station for families coming from Germany. Sedalia (in 60-22), some twenty miles north from Cole Camp (about 21,000 inhabitants in both 1920 and 1960), is by far the largest town in the neighborhood. It gathered together a German element — German Catholic parish, Missouri Lutheran church and E-R church all of moderate size.

In the Cole Camp district in 1948 three of the six Missouri Lutheran churches in the heart of the district were still hearing some German in church services. Specifically in 1951 at the Lake Creek church, the oldest, there was German service only once a month in addition to English services every Sunday. The amount of German, however, was so limited because of a requirement made by the pastor before accepting the call. The most conservative congregation heard half English, half German preaching. In Cole Camp itself, the Missouri Lutheran church had some services in English as early as 1916; in 1948 the addition of German to the English services occurred there twice a month. The American Lutherans in Cole Camp had at this time reduced German to once a month. So had they also at Stover beginning in 1944; in the years preceding English and German preaching had been equally frequent. By 1961 German services in churches of both Lutheran denominations were extinct. The Cole Camp town churches held out till then, Stover gave up in 1955. German disappeared from the schools before 1930. Consequently, any born later than about 1915 learned only dialect. Those born before 1925 were speakers and those born within seven or eight years after that understand German. A few gained greater proficiency. In Stover in 1966 there were some born about 1945
who knew a little German, and the very old still employed it with each other, -- their children too in conversing with them. At Cole Camp the situation was somewhat more conservative. There were some children who understood Low German. To the northwest the Missouri Synod church at Mora, as at Cole Camp, was hearing some English in 1916, and, again as at Cole Camp, was still having some German in 1948. At Sedalia, however, in 1948 no German was used in services, though in 1916 English had been heard only in the evenings.

The Concordia District is found in the two Missouri River counties on the south bank last upstream before Jackson County where Kansas City is; they are Lafayette (60-11) and Saline (60-12) Counties, part of Little Dixie. Until the Civil War with its accompanying economic disasters for the slave economy, the Germans had only footholds at certain points, notably at Concordia itself where they organized a Lutheran church in 1840 and at Lexington where they began to call for Evangelical preachers in 1851 (Sch 423). From Concordia, 55 miles from Kansas City and over twenty miles back from the river, they gained territory right up to its bank. Lexington on the river, some 35 miles from Kansas City, was not so important as a center or radiation, but in the bottomland upstream and in the back country to the south German holdings spread and joined the lands of the Concordia radiation, leaving a district of light penetration only for a few miles downstream from Lexington. The Missouri Synod and the Evangelical Synod (later E-R) shared this territory, with the Lutherans stronger, particularly at Concordia and the Evangelicals in force at Lexington. There
were also in 1890 in Lafayette County six German Methodist churches with 321 members. The Germans, mostly Hanoverians, acquired their lands by a process of infiltration with later consolidation, which went on into the twentieth century. It did not lead to much exportation of population, but there are settlements in Kansas with families related to those in the Concordia district, partly through common dissemination from the Cole Camp district, partly more directly as is the case for the Hudson Germans in Kansas. Concordia (1300 inhabitants in 1899, 962 in 1920, 1218 in 1950) became something of a cultural center with the establishment by the Missouri Synod of St. Paul's College in 1883 (146 students in 1948), and remained, as it was in the beginning, essentially German in background. Lexington (4122 inhabitants in 1860, 5046 in 1950) was never a German town. It has continued to be Southern, while the Germans have taken over the land round about. The German churches in the whole district number something over twenty (depending on boundaries). Concordia's Lutheran church had 1530 members in 1948; other Lutheran churches attained as high as 621 members (Emma). For the Evangelical (and Reformed) 504 members at Higginsville was a maximum. In Blackburn at that time the E-R church had 221 members, the Lutheran 215.

57.22 In the Concordia District the infiltration process made the use of English in outlying portions rather common early. The Missouri Synod churches at Corder and Waverly to the northwest and north had admitted English by 1910, and by 1916 so had the churches at Higginsville (northwest) and Sweet Springs (east). But services
at Concordia were solidly German until 1932 or 1933 except for evening services beginning in 1920, and in 1951 while preaching in English occurred every Sunday there were German sermons three times a month. On the fifth of August, 1951, 333 persons attended the German service, 511 the English; many attended both. But at that time few were speaking German at home, only where an old matriarch still abode. At Blackburn some eight air miles to the northeast, the Lutherans were then hearing German once a month, but in 1941 the Evangelicals had abandoned it altogether. At the time of the First World War the Evangelical pastor had an imperfect command of English, and the congregation desired German. The resulting troubles were great. The shift there was presumably rather fast, for records in German had continued until 1934, and at that time an older person tolerating English preaching was a rarity. In 1951 even the old, when gathered together for a funeral, spoke English. But the old, here as at Concordia, could speak German, Hanover dialect.

Kansas City, Missouri, was never a German town like St. Louis. In the city on the Mississippi in 1900 lived 58,781 persons born in Germany out of a total population of 575,238, that is, just over 10 percent; in Kansas City there were 4,816 out of 163,752, or not quite 3 per cent. Consider also the number of German churches in 1900: Catholic -- St. Louis 18, Kansas City 3; Lutheran -- St. Louis 15, Kansas City 1, possibly 2; Evangelical -- St. Louis 21, Kansas City 1. There were also 6 German Methodist societies in St. Louis and 3 in Kansas City. After proper allowance for the difference in the size of the cities, the conclusion is still
evident. Kansas City's development from three separated nuclei render early statistics difficult of access and of little interest; Catholic needs among Germans here were manifest by 1851, and in 1866 they gained a separate parish (Ro II, 48). Identical dates for Protestants are evident, since Parkville and Independence, both at Kansas City's door, were requesting Evangelical pastors in 1851 (Soh 423), and a plea for support of an Evangelical congregation in Kansas City, founded the year before, went out in 1866 (Soh 432). Missouri Synod activities in Kansas City, Missouri began in 1879; its Immanuel Lutheran church was not established in Missouri until 1885, a year later than the organization date of Immanuel in Kansas City, Kansas. The Germans in Kansas City were never able to hold a section of the city for any long period as their own quarter. A first center was early invaded by downtown business and by other immigrants; another was displaced by the Union Station in 1914; others beyond Fortyseventh Street were weakened by the taste that the well-to-do developed for the district south of old Westport. Still, the general area of Westport held almost all the census tracts containing in 1950 more than 30 persons born in Germany. The tract containing the most, 63, was on the state line between Westport Road and Fortyseventh Street. Immanuel, the oldest Missouri Synod church, is at 42nd St. and Tracy. A number of Germans, but not a great number, were temporarily resident in Kansas City before going on to rural areas in Kansas. The relationship with the Germans of Kansas City, Kansas, does not seem to have been great after the earliest years. But it must not be
thought that Germans had no influence upon the development of
Kansas City, Missouri. The owners of the early packing house firms
were in large part Germans and lived on the Missouri side. Later
A.R. Meyer and Wm Volker, both born in Germany, helped greatly in
the development of Kansas City, and Volker particularly, who arrived
in Kansas City in 1882, did much to promote things German. His
faith in Deutschturn emerged early after the eclipse of the First
World War. Still, German history in Kansas City is not of such
great moment for the study of Germans in Kansas as the history of
the German communities in Chicago, Cincinnati or even Milwaukee.
Linguistic conservatism was not great; Missouri Lutherans were al-
ready listening regularly to sermons in English in 1910.

St. Joseph (opposite 30-E27) has had about the same proportion
of German inhabitants as Kansas City, half a per cent more in 1900.
The greatest importance of its German element for Kansas was during
the years before Kansas achieved statehood, for early settlers as
far west as Nemaha County (30-P4) often spent some time in St. Jo-
seph or nearby before entering Kansas. But German activity in St.
Joseph did not begin much before the territory of Kansas was
opened for settlement. Though the location had been a trading
point from 1827, the city was not founded until 1843. German
settlers arrived almost at once. Father De Smet remarked that
in 1842 the town did not exist, but that in 1847 there were 350
houses, among which lived some Germans (Ro II, 61). By 1856 there
were enough of them to justify founding a separate parish for them;
in 1860 a church was under construction (Ro II, 62). In 1851
there were requests for Evangelical pastors from both St. Joseph and from Savannah, 18 miles to the north (Sch 423). In 1866 Zion Evangelical church of St. Joseph joined the Kirchenverein (Sch 432). An independent German Lutheran church with 25 members existed in 1876. The Missouri Lutherans organized a church in 1881. The Evangelical Association (E.U.B.) was also active at St. Joseph beginning in 1871; its adherents organized a church in 1877 which struggled for some time (Pl 85, 151), but ultimately became strong enough to spawn a filial. There were in 1900 also a German Reformed church founded in 1874 and a German Methodist organized in 1849. St. Joseph became the see of a Catholic diocese in 1868. The bishops were Irish, but the vicar general from the erection of the see until after 1915 was the German pastor of St. Joseph's German parish. By 1900 St. Joseph had acquired another Catholic church with a pastor bearing a German name. In the mid-twentieth century the total membership of the Protestant German denominations mentioned was 2200. The German Catholic churches had 450 pupils in their parochial schools. Hence, we may conclude that among Germans the Catholics and Protestants were nearly equal in numbers. St. Joseph's large meat packing industry brought to it other immigrant stocks, particularly Poles. The development of the German group here may be considered a parallel to that of the settlement in Kansas City, Kansas, where meat packing was even more important. It was less conservative linguistically, however. Missouri Lutherans heard English on Sunday evenings in 1910, only English in 1948.
Other German settlements in the counties facing Kansas across the Missouri River never became large, but are of interest for the immigration into Kansas during the territorial period. Between St. Joseph and Kansas City, Parkville, farthest downstream with 13 German families and Weston with 30 requested Evangelical ministers (Sch 424) in 1851. A small church had developed at Parkville as early as 1844 (22 families in 1885, 139 members in 1951). Weston was founded in 1837. In 1847 a German Methodist church was organized, still existing in 1900, 20 members in 1885. As to Catholics, some time before 1865 "the parish of Weston... numbered fifty German families who were reported to Archbishop Kenrick as troublemakers of the worst kind" (Ro II, 62). In view of the turbulent character of Weston during steamboat days such a statement is no surprise. At Parley between Parkville and Weston, the Missouri Synod established a congregation in 1869. Weston was a point whence Germans crossed over into Kansas as well as sympathizers with slave-holding. None of these towns had Missouri synod services in German in 1948.

For the area immediately above St. Joseph the presence of German Evangelicals in 1851 at Savannah has already been mentioned. Between there and St. Joseph the Evangelical and Reformed churches at Amazonia to the west (163 members in 1950) and at Cosby, originally Reformed, primarily Swiss, to the east (220) came into being. There were 280 Swiss in this county in 1890 (G S 28). The Evangelical Association also became active in this area and in the Cosby neighborhood organized a mission in 1868 among "a number of
German families" who had settled there "early in the sixties. They had a desire for religious instruction; this was not usually the case among the early settlers" (Pl 68). Their congregation numbered 200 in 1948. Some 15 miles west of Savannah (about 20 air miles northwest of St. Joseph) near Oregon the Association began work in 1858. Concerning the general situation in this area Philip Poor reported: "There are a good many Germans on the Missouri side of the river. The most of them are unconverted. Unbelief and intemperance has degraded the people. I have found a few families ... who received me kindly" (Pl 22). Organization began in 1866 (Pl 58) and the area was important to the Association for some time, but in 1948 the three congregations of the district together numbered only 150. The German Methodists also found adherents in this area. In the two counties upstream from St. Joseph there were in 1890 eight of their societies with 338 members. Still farther upstream some 15 air miles beyond the Kansas border two Missouri Lutheran churches at Corning and Craig mark the location of another small German settlement, more contributory to Nebraska than to Kansas. The church at Corning was organized in 1860, that west of Craig in 1876. Inland somewhat there were Swiss at New Conception in Nodaway County (GS 28). Through this area German may be regarded as in complete decay in 1950. Corning's services were all English in 1916.

South of Kansas City there are no German settlements worthy of the name within twenty miles of the state line, and even somewhat further from the border only one Penn German group relatively close to the city will engage us. A little to the Northwest of
Garden City, which is 50 miles southeast of Kansas City and 24 miles from the Kansas line Amish who eventually became (Old) Mennonites settled in 1868. They split, largely over the language question, in 1885. The larger and more conservative group continued to use German exclusively till 1896. The two congregations were merged in 1947 -- 223 members in 1957 (ME, IV, 678).

57.28 About 60 miles south from Kansas City, and 25 to 35 miles distant from Kansas, the Rockville-Germantown settlements are situated. We shall not consider the southwestern Ozark group. Germantown at the northeast corner of the district (in Henry County, 60 -- 31) was at first called Deepwater until another village nearby appropriated the name. "The first settlement on Deepwater Creek was made in 1836, by the Walbert and Schmedding families, the advance guard of a large colony of Hanoverian Catholics" (Ro I, 692). The settlers were assigned a resident priest in 1840. During the late 1850's the priest at Germantown helped with the Germans in Kansas City. In 1860 he tried to establish himself at St. Joseph, but came back to Germantown as a more cooperative settlement. When the Confederates took over his newly-built church as a barracks he left, but the people were not driven out. In 1900 their school had 95 pupils. The settlement did not remain either entirely Hanoverian or entirely Catholic; a small Reformed church (E-R) came into being (54 members in 1950). A number of Swiss joined the others (86 in the county in 1890) (GS 28). Germantown did not win the railroad in 1870, and its prosperity which was promising in the late 1860's vanished. Montrose, four miles away, through
which the railroad was built, became neither a metropolis nor a true German center.

The Rockville portion of the district is located on the Osage River. A Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, was organized 5 miles west of Rockville in 1868. It became moderately prosperous (218 members in 1948). At Appleton City, halfway between Rockville and Germantown another Missouri Lutheran church came into being in 1870 (159 members in 1948); the members of this church heard both English and German in 1916, only English in 1948. Deutschtum at Rockville did not grow as much as at first anticipated, for Lutheran churches set up a few miles to the south and west (the Missouri Synod congregation in 1895) are small (51 and 21 members about 1950). The Evangelical and Reformed church at Rockville, though it labeled itself "community" attained only 83 members in 1950. There is no evidence that German has continued to be spoken in the Rockville-Germantown district in the latter part of the twentieth century. Indeed at Appleton City English, as well as German, was the language of sermons in 1916.

German was for years a dominant language in many Missouri settlements. As late as 1889 there were numerous public schools in that state where German rather than English was the language of instruction to the exclusion of English (FK 235), but opposing currents were already running strongly. German persisted best as a spoken language in Missouri in the oldest centers, which were also the most solidly populated. Some limitations to this statement are necessary for Saint Louis, but the Mississippi and lower
Missouri valleys and the oldest parts of the Cole Camp and Concordia districts have been the most conservative.

57.30 German settlements in Nebraska are quite numerous, but they are more likely to be separated from each other by settlements of other immigrants from Europe than in the states farther east, and even somewhat more frequently than in Kansas. As in Kansas, the Russian German settlements, both Volgan and Mennonite, are important and their early history has something in common with that of their kin in Kansas. A number of them will occupy us, but after passing mention nothing more will be said of the important Volga German settlements in the beet growing district of the counties adjoining Wyoming. In Scotts Bluff County alone, there were 2,228 persons born in Russia of German mother tongue in 1920.

The interchange of population between the settlements of Kansas especially in the north and, particularly, those of southern Nebraska has been noteworthy. In 1930 all Nebraska counties but those where the population is the lightest had as residents over 300 persons born in Germany or their children. Excluding the lightly populated counties and the Nebraska panhandle still farther west the section that remains is that part of the state lying southeast of a line from the northwest corner of Colorado to the point at which the Missouri River arrives at Nebraska. All this southeastern half of the state is of interest to us, excepting, for the most part, a band 30 to 50 miles wide along the line specified
above. Also except for Omaha a band some fifteen miles wide along the Missouri River contains relatively few inhabitants of German stock.

(a) This strip excepted, the territory north of the Platte River for a hundred miles west from its mouth contains a great many German settlements, which, except in the area's center (Stanton County), are less interrupted by settlements of other stocks than elsewhere in Nebraska. (b) The city of Lincoln and the counties to the west and the south that are within the Blue drainage system have important settlements of both Reich Germans and Russian Germans. A band of counties along the south bank of the Platte are inhabited with few exceptions by other stocks separating the area containing Lincoln from that north of the Platte. The Czech settlements south of Lincoln cut out a district of appreciable size from the Lincoln-Blue complex. (c) The four or five counties of southeastern Nebraska contain settlements of some interest. The areas so far designated are east of the 98th meridian, that is, mainly in the longitudes of the Kansas Pre-West. These areas are treated below in an order revolving counter clock wise from Omaha about a point south of Lincoln. (d) The area farther west within 30 miles of the Platte River until it comes closest to Kansas and then the counties along the Republican River close to the Kansas border are treated later.

57.31 The territory of Nebraska was opened to settlement in 1854 at the same time as Kansas. It did not, however, become a state until 1867, six years later than Kansas. The lag in settlement
was less than six years, for political activities hastened the admission of Kansas to the Union and delayed similar action in Nebraska, but people did come more quickly to the southern territory than to the northern, in part because political controversy promoted earlier settlement of Kansas, in part because, Nebraska being somewhat farther west than Kansas, the westward movement reached it later, especially since Nebraska was farther up the Missouri River and thus more difficult for boats to reach. However, some settlement along the Platte and the Missouri began with the opening of the territory.

With the coming of the railroads a decade and a half later the occupation of the land proceeded swiftly. The Union Pacific along the Platte was completed in 1866 as far as Kearney just beyond the 99th meridian (at this point the river is nearest Kansas), the rest of the way through the state by 1868. The Burlington built west from Plattsmouth to Lincoln in 1869-70, and by 1872 on to Kearney (through area b described above). Lines from Kansas and from farther down the Missouri River soon ran up to join these lines. The Union Pacific obtained a land grant of alternate sections 20 miles on each side of its right of way along the Platte. The Burlington a little later secured a grant of similar character but, because of holdings already claimed by others, nearly half of the lands given it were beyond the Union Pacific's to the north, far from its own lines but in territory later holding settlements of Germans. The tempo of German immigration into Nebraska grew apace between 1866 and the late 1880's; very nearly in
accordance with the same pattern as in Kansas, new settlements were established and older settlements grew larger. Kansans who had earlier lived in Nebraska usually came from settlements farther east in that state, but not always; there was some restless moving about among the Germans as among other stocks, particularly between points not far distant from each other.

57.32 Omaha, which first burgeoned with the opening of the territory in 1854, has not been an outstandingly German city, but Johnson's list of 116 earliest settlers which he assembled in 1879 includes eleven German names (Jo 298). Part of their owners were Penn-Germans, and a Lutheran church for them was organized in 1862. A Lutheran congregation for immigrants from Germany did not follow until 1873. A German Catholic church founded in 1869 preceded it by four years (Jo 305). There was in 1879 one German newspaper, mentioned by Johnson; Andreas's history names none for 1882. In 1900 the original German Catholic church had only 56 pupils in its schools, but the schools of two other parishes served by priests with German names had a total of 498 pupils. By this time there were two more Missouri Lutheran churches in town. Later at mid-century when Omaha numbered nearly 300,000 inhabitants (26,500 in 1879) the Missouri Lutherans had 8 congregations in Omaha, 3 of which had been organized after 1925. The First had one-third of the total membership, over 1,500. The large American Lutheran church, not founded till 1912, had almost as many members. There were also three Wisconsin synod churches. The Evangelical and Reformed church, the result of a fusion of one Evangelical and one
Reformed, had only 137 members. From the beginning other foreign stocks, Swedes, Czechs, Poles, occupied public attention as much as the Germans in Omaha.

The Germans of Omaha have been less conservative of their language than certain settlements to the northwest of the city. Only one of the half-dozen Missouri Lutheran churches had any German services in 1948. It had been founded in 1918, one may suspect, because the larger First Church had given in to pressures for English. In 1910 twice a month in the evening one of the two churches then recorded had English services, in 1916 every evening. Among the towns near Omaha English entered Lutheran services twice a month by 1916. In the Evangelical and Reformed church in 1951 there had been no services in German for some time, but in the Ladies Aid the language of devotion and of business was German; still social conversation at its meetings was all in English. The Catholic cemetery contains German inscriptions not uncommonly until 1900, afterwards rarely, but there are samples as late as 1937.

In the immediate vicinity of Omaha a circle of German churches developed. To the south at Papillion, there were some Catholics, but a Missouri Lutheran church founded in 1867 grew strong, split over a controversy in 1908, and thus gave off a German Nebraska Synod congregation (later Midwest Synod) which in late development took on a community aspect. It had at first, however, called itself Friedens, shifting later to the English name Trinity (WW 356). In 1948 the Missouri church had 451 members. In 1916 sermons were in English there every two weeks. To the west, the American Luther-
ans (their city church was originally in the western suburbs) have developed during the twentieth century large organizations at Mil­lard and Elkhorn. Farther north the German Nebraska Synod estab­lished itself at Bennington in 1898 and erected a larger church in 1925. Not far from there a Missouri Lutheran congregation organized in 1886 and had 264 members in 1948. Linguistically it was completely German in 1916. Rural Douglas County, at least until the expansion of suburbia, tended somewhat more toward Deutsch­tum than Omaha.

57.34 Fremont on the Platte may be considered as the base of a first band of settlements to the northwest of Omaha. The band extends northward along the valleys of the Elkhorn River and Logan's Creek, then beyond to the proximity of the southeastern corner of South Dakota (Yankton). One of the founders of Fremont in 1856 was John A. Kuntz, but there were others with non-German names, and while a German element developed in the town, it was not strong or at least not strongly religious at first. The only German church there in the 1870's was that of the Evangelical Association organ­ized in 1873. In 1884 there appeared a Missouri Lutheran congre­gation which had 1092 members in 1948, large for a town of somewhat less than 20,000 inhabitants. Contributions of population from Cedar Bluffs not far off to the west across the river and from the area north of Arlington to the northeast doubtless built up the German element, as also did the immigration of the 1880's. Many Germans in Fremont were overwhelmed by the hysteria of the First World War. Such was the case for the German Nebraska church
The Missouri Congregation did not yield; preaching in German went on twice a month until the Sunday after the attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor when it was abolished; attendance at German services then was not greater than 25. Ten years later there were still those who asked their pastor to use German in private devotions, but those who were born after 1910 never revealed their knowledge of the language of their fathers. Many of these people of German origin had come to Fremont from other places.

Fontanelle, up the Elkhorn and some ten miles from Fremont, perhaps 30 miles northwest of Omaha, in 1880 was a village of 200 inhabitants; it has now disappeared from many detailed maps. It was, however, of some importance from 1855, the year after its foundation, until 1860. Its founders included Germans, but these immigrants were only incidentally members of that group. Still, the next year a man born in Westphalia arrived via Quincy and he induced other Germans from both Germany and Illinois to join him. In 1860 a German Lutheran church was organized at Fontanelle (WM 8); it eventually became part of the German Nebraska (Midwest) Synod; it erected an imposing building. A company to fight the Indians which was assembled in 1869 from people near Fontanelle was commanded by Captain Kline and called "the Germans" (Jo 257). At Fontanelle it may be assumed that there were German services in 1950, since the pastor had been born in Germany (WM 321), but already in the 1930's the amount of German used in preaching was quite limited.
Beginning not far to the north of Fontanelle and extending over a width of four townships to the west and five to the north (that is the northern part of Dodge County and nearly all Cuming County) there developed a rather solid mass of Germans who became mainly Lutherans, Missouri Synod. The settlements in the southern portion of the district, those in Dodge County, are principally along the Elkhorn Valley as it comes down from the Northwest, flowing by Scribner, Hooper, Winslow. None of these towns was predominantly German in population in 1880, but the Germans were occupying the rural area. Near Hooper there was at least one German in 1858 (AN 669). He came from Wurtemberg. The earliest of the Missouri Lutheran churches was 5 miles northwest of that town; it was organized in 1869; others followed in 1871, 1876, 1884, 1888, and 1911. The two largest of these churches, one, in town at Scribner, the other, six miles east of Hooper, numbered somewhat over 400 members each in 1948.

The German settlers along Logan's Creek, which, coming down from the north, flows into the Elkhorn near Hooper were Lutherans of a different stamp who eventually became members of the German Nebraska Synod. At the lower end, the Logan congregation was founded in the country but eventually was merged with the Zion church at Hooper organized in 1890. Immigration here continued late, for the Reverend F.W. Nolte, who is counted a son of Zion church (WM 335), was born in Lippe-Detmold in 1890. The group which built a church six miles north
of Hooper began meeting in 1864, achieved organization in 1870, and added a school in 1885 (WM 336). Their names indicate that they were North German. Certainly the group that organized a few miles farther upstream (9 from Winslow and Hooper) and Uehling were faithful to Low German. Unofficially they called their first church erected in 1879 the "Dree-Husen-Kirch" (the Three-House Church) because of its peculiar structure (WM 337). Uehling received its name from a settler who arrived in 1860.

In northern Dodge County five of the seven Missouri Lutheran churches were still having some German services in 1948, though at Dodge and Snyder on the western edge there was preaching in English by 1916. The Logan Valley seems to have been less insistent on German services, likely because standard German was foreign to them.

Though Cuming County too is mostly Lutheran, three German Catholic parishes near the south line of the county, those at West Point, Monterrey, and Howells, very nearly sever into two parts the Lutheran territory. German Catholics at St. Charles, downstream a little from West Point, were organized into a parish in 1866 (Jo 260).

The Cuming County Lutherans occupy the Elkhorn Valley above West Point, but also spread out over most of the north part of the county.

In 1857 eight men with German names (Jo 256, AN 598) formed a town company at Omaha and later established themselves at what later was named West Point. They were evidently Pennsylvanians,
for they first called their settlement Philadelphia. There were Indian troubles, and most of the original eight do not appear in accounts of later years. But German names persist, and in 1868, the Evangelical Association formed a German church (AN 602, Jo 260). In that year too a German newspaper was established and was flourishing in 1879. In 1879 a German Methodist body was formed. The Missouri Lutheran congregation of the town counts its beginning from 1871 (906 members in 1948 in a town of 2,600), though the people first gathered outside of town on Rock Creek.

To the west of West Point beginning at some miles distance Missouri Lutheran churches were organized outside the main valley and progressively farther away in 1868, 1876, 1882, 1886, all with memberships between 175 and 290 in 1948. The Missouri Synod organizations invaded the valley to the north of these congregations in 1892 at Beemer (earlier called Bismarck) and in 1903 at Wisner (302 and 553 members in 1948). The German Nebraska Synod had arrived at Wisner somewhat earlier in 1895 (WM 375) and their church was sufficiently strong in 1906 and 1912 to entertain the synodical meetings. A few General Conference Mennonites also had a church here. North of West Point, a Missouri Synod church was established perhaps ten miles away in 1874 and another at Bancroft in 1905. Cuming County has remained quite German in character; the dates cited above indicate immigration over a long period.

In Cuming County all eight of the Missouri Lutheran churches
were in 1948 still having some services in German. At Bancroft and Beemer, however, English had entered services by 1916. In West Point in 1951 those services were limited to six a year with an attendance of about 40. Persons born about 1910 were still able to speak German but were not using it habitually. The situation was similar at Wisner, both in and out of church. German services took place every first and third Sunday of the month; from 6 to 20 attended. In the rural congregations only one had German every Sunday, a sermonette.

Wayne County, to the north of Cuming County, had no inhabitants before 1869. "In the spring of 1870, a colony of Germans located on Spring Branch in the southwestern part of the county" (Jo 572). The churches for this group grew up at or near what became Winside (not in the extreme southwest). A German Reformed church (now E-R, 104 members in 1950) was built in 1881 (AN 1477). A Missouri Synod church followed in 1891 (460 members in 1948), and from it in 1901 a German Nebraska Synod congregation split off (233 members in 1949) (WM 376). In the eastern part of the county, at Wayne (founded in 1874, 3600 inhabitants in 1950) and east and southeast of the town German congregations developed in the 1880's, in town a Nebraska Synod church with German members in 1881, a Missouri Lutheran in 1882 ten miles to the southeast and another several miles to the east in 1874 (373 members in 1948). It was the apparent center of radiation. The Bancroft church over the county line to the northeast did not originate till 1905 (595 members in
1948). While there are small German churches beyond Wayne County up to the South Dakota border, the only one deserving mention is a comparatively isolated group at Coleridge where the American Lutheran church founded in 1884 had 737 members in 1950. The Nebraska Synod church at Wayne had services in both German and English for some years. A purely German church was organized in 1889. The Young People's Society organized in 1901 was German; it was replaced by an English-speaking Luther League in 1925 (WM 374). In all this region three Missouri Synod churches out of ten had some services in German in 1948.

57.39 The second band of German settlements, extending north from a base on the Platte at Columbus, is about one county in width except near the river, and it runs up to South Dakota. Columbus (population 11,000 in 1960) is 85 highway miles west from Omaha, 48 from Fremont. The town company of 1856 included men with German names (Jo 495, AN 1263), and Germans among the early inhabitants were sufficiently numerous so that 4 out of 11 newspapers subscribed for in 1857 by the municipality (payment in town lots) were German. Later developments, particularly the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1866, made the population more diverse in character, but Germans were numerous enough to organize a Reformed church in 1872 (AN 1273, Jo 499 says 1875), and Germans became so prevalent in the rural back country that the overflow from it as well as
direct immigration sustained the German element. In 1951 the Missouri Synod congregation was two-thirds urban, one-third rural. The late immigration also included a rather small number of Black Sea Germans who arrived in 1873 (Eis 100). The foundation of the Reformed Church suggests a large element of Swiss among the Germans here, which was the fact (397 in the county in 1890). A village near Columbus named Gruetli was their creation (GS 55).

At mid-twentieth century the Evangelical and Reformed church of Columbus had 313 members, the Missouri Lutheran 1173 (the congregation was organized in 1883). The German Nebraska Synod church was formed by secession from the Reformed in 1928, and it prospered (WM 313). The Protestants were North Germans, Oldenburgers and East Frisians. The Columbus Catholics were of various nationalities, and one parish sufficed them till after 1900. By 1915 a Polish church had been established. The Irish element which had been strong in early times seems to have lost the battle early, for German Franciscans were in charge from before 1900. In 1960 four of the seven monks bore German names, two Polish, and one was an Irishman who had been acquired after 1948. The parochial school attendance at the German church in 1948 was 301.

At Columbus in the Missouri Lutheran Church in the early 1930's, there was both English and German preaching every Sunday. About 1935 German services were reduced to every other Sunday and this situation still existed in 1951 except that the pastor could omit German at his discretion. During three Sun-
days of that year (1951) attendance was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>German service</th>
<th>English service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 17</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 15</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Second World War had no effect upon relative attendance, but the advancing of age did. Those attending German preaching in 1951 were "especially old people who needed the 'good' of the language;" 50 of those who came to German services came to English when there was no German. There were a few children still learning German. There were also old people talking together in dialect. One sometimes heard German on the streets.

Across the Platte fifteen air miles to the southeast of Columbus is the center of a German settlement in large part Catholic. Near this point was the Luxemburg settlement whose church contained 40 Luxemburger families in 1888. The first of their kind arrived in 1869. In 1888 the rest of the people in that parish and in the one at David City were all German (GL 317). By 1948 the priests were not German, but from the old, German could still be heard in the neighborhood.

Rural Platte County attracted many Germans. Shell Creek, comes down from the northwest; some six miles north of Columbus it is running east and so continues for fifteen miles, then turns to the south to flow into the Platte River east of Schuyler that is about twenty miles downstream from Columbus. "The
Germans possess the lower Shell Creek Valley, with all its tributaries, and are mostly Lutherans" (Jo 497). The settlement referred to did not extend as far as the mouth of the creek, but it did extend from somewhere northeast of Columbus for ten or twelve miles downstream. In Bismarck Precinct on the creek in Platte County northeast of Columbus six men furnished biographies to the Andreas Nebraska history; five of them bore German names; two were born in Oldenburg, a third specified Prussia. The two Oldenburgers arrived in 1856 and 1860, the first after 4 years in "the east," the second directly from Germany (AN 1283). In the precinct just to the north, out of three men furnishing biographies, two were Oldenburgers, both from the Watertown-Mayville district of Dodge County, Wisconsin (56.27). In 1871 the Missouri Lutherans organized a church twelve miles northeast of Columbus (553 members in 1948). A German Baptist (North American) congregation was founded in 1873 (93 members in 1953), and a German Nebraska Synod church (10 miles northeast) was established in 1881 (WM 314); it prospered. Creston and Leigh, villages about eighteen miles north of Shell Creek, show the same mixture of denominations and probably have some relationship of origin. The Lutheran churches at Leigh were founded in 1881 and 1894; the one later established (Missouri Lutheran) prospered (371 members in 1948). The Creston Baptist and German Nebraska organizations are both small.
Fifteen miles to the northwest of Columbus and extending thence to the edge of the county there is a much less solid Protestant German area (Missouri Lutheran). The oldest, largest, and most eastern of its churches was founded in 1879 (436 members in 1948). All these settlements were included within Union Pacific lands; the lands to the north were in the Burlington grant.

The center of the Shell Creek area to the northeast of Columbus was even more conservative of German than the town. The small Shell Creek Baptist church furnished radio programs in German at least through 1954. The Lutheran church was keeping up its services in German quite well. The outlying congregations related to Shell Creek had, however, dropped German by 1948; indeed at Leigh there was some English by 1916. On the other hand, in the district to the northwest of Columbus the oldest church and two others still more remote preserved frequent services in German in 1948, but churches near Platte Center somewhat nearer Columbus had abandoned them.

Near the north border of Platte County, which is almost thirty miles from Columbus, there are five Catholic churches which were in 1900 attended by German Franciscans. In 1948, part of the staff was Polish but the precincts, i.e. townships, along the county line in both Platte and Madison Counties are rather German than Polish. The pupils in the Catholic parochial schools in 1900 totaled 584, in 1948 there were 346. In both years Humphrey had the largest number: 285 in 1900, 170
in 1948. William Eimers, resident in Humphrey Precinct, in 1875 promoted colonization (AN 1282). The settlers were in part Luxemburgers (GL 317). In 1876 a German colony was established at St. Bernard "in the north central part of the county" (Jo 502).* Just beyond the Catholic area two Missouri Lutheran churches, one at Madison, the other seven miles southwest of that town, have rather large congregations (483 and 443 in 1948); they were founded in 1885 and 1877 indicating that their early members arrived at nearly the same time as their Catholic neighbors. This period of settlement is somewhat later than the corresponding period both to the north and to the south, though the beginnings of settlement by other nationalities at Madison and to the east occurred in 1869. Considering the lateness of origin, German was not too well conserved in either Protestant or Catholic congregations near the Platte-Madison County line; 2 out of 5 Missouri Lutheran churches still had some services in German in 1948.

* Johnson says St. Barnabas, but inasmuch as St. Barnabas does not appear on early or late maps of the county or in Catholic directories, it is probable that he was expanding colloquial St. Barney into St. Barnabas rather than St. Bernard.

The Germans in northern Madison County and Pierce County beyond are numerous. The Elkhorn River here flows nearly eastward and is joined by its north Branch in northeastern
Madison County. The approach furnished by the valley was improved by the building of a railroad up from Fremont in 1879.

Germans explored the country near what was to be Norfolk at the river junction in 1865 and twenty-four families, 125 persons, came to settle the next summer. They missed being the first in the county by one month. They had come on from the Watertown district (56.27) in Wisconsin (AN 1258, Jo 953). Norfolk, founded by 1866, became a railway terminal for some time (11,000 inhabitants in 1960), and thus attracted a few Volga Germans (Sa 74). In 1882 six of the 23 men furnishing the Andreas History of Nebraska with biographies were born in Germany. That history records that the German Lutherans built a church there in 1867, and that another was built in 1878. The Missouri Lutherans fix as the date of their organization 1871; presumably they built in 1878. This congregation gave rise to two others in town, total membership 2,658 in 1948. The church of 1867 would be the Wisconsin Synod Lutheran church, St. Paul's, on the north edge of town. It is prosperous. The German Nebraska Synod church, organized in 1902, struggled until after the Second World War. The Catholic church, established in 1882, was only partly German.

Norfolk and its section of the Elkhorn Valley contained some elements conservative of German. In the town itself the oldest Missouri Lutheran church and the Wisconsin Synod congregation still had services in German in 1951. For the latter the services were twice a month. In the Wisconsin Synod ceme-
tery German was common quite late; for one spouse who died in 1951 the German of the mate who had died in 1939 was continued. Here approximately half of those born about 1910 were able to speak German.

To the west of Norfolk up the Elkhorn, the settlers who arrived on Battle Creek in 1869 included men with German names from Missouri. A Missouri Lutheran church was established there in 1872 (745 members in 1948). Still farther west up the valley a church of that denomination was organized in 1887 (476 members in 1948) at Tilden, 21 road miles from Norfolk. Three smaller churches developed later between the two and in the valleys to the south. To the east the Germans were not as strong though at Stanton (1,403 inhabitants in 1950) which lies some ten air miles downstream, a Wisconsin Synod church was founded in 1871 which gave off a small German Nebraska Synod church in 1905. Up a small creek to the northeast of Norfolk, a Wisconsin Synod church at Hoskins came into being. German settlement there began in 1869.

Up the main valley of the Elkhorn the German church nearest Norfolk still had some German services in 1948, but farther on they had disappeared. Down the valley at Stanton there was German preaching at the Wisconsin Synod church twice a month till 1948, then once a month till 1950; then it was dropped. This congregation was apparently readier to accept English than its German Nebraska Synod competitor of which one of its pastors said, "Due to a linguistic bias its growth was stifled
German settlement on up the North Fork of the Elkhorn continued with little interruption to Pierce, 14 road miles from Norfolk; it then sprayed out along the contributory creeks. A portion of the Norfolk German immigrants from Wisconsin settled on the fork as soon as those to the south in 1866 (AN 1258, Jo 511), and others soon pushed further. The town of Pierce was founded by non-Germans in 1870, but the Missouri Lutherans were able to organize two miles east in 1871 and the German Methodists soon afterward, though neither had a building in 1879. Their zeal was considerable, for at that time the whole population of Pierce Precinct which included the county seat was 87 persons (1,169 in the town in 1950); the precinct to the east contained 168 persons. The membership of the early Lutheran church was 392 in 1948, of a church organized in 1903 in town, 860, and of a church downstream half way to Norfolk, 350. The tier of townships of Pierce County nearest the Missouri River received population sooner than those just north of the county seat; a railroad came through them from the east in the 1880's. People from Holstein settled at Randolph at the eastern edge of the county line. Moderately flourishing Catholic German and Iowa Lutheran churches were established at Randolph; 12 miles west at Osmond, 10 miles farther west at Plainview, Missouri Lutheran churches were organized, the latter in 1885 (458 members in 1948), the former not till 1902 (418 members in 1948). Northwest of Plainview we arrive at north-flowing creeks in Knox County. Creighton and Bazile
Mills received settlers in 1870 and 1871, not predominantly Germans at first, though Charles Wittenaben was at Kemma on a branch of Bazile Creek in 1870 (Jo 430). The Missouri Lutheran church at Bazile Mills dates from 1882 (299 members in 1948). Creighton, a few miles closer to Plainville, has an American Lutheran church (408 members in 1950) founded after 1879. To the east of the center of Knox County Bloomfield, which became the terminus of a railroad branch, contains a church, Missouri Synod, organized in 1895 with 720 members in 1948. The Germans live mostly to the south of town. Their dialect and that of the neighboring Swedes was nearly enough related to allow communication. They are isolated from other German communities.

The three churches of Pierce county nearest Norfolk preserved German services in 1948, but those beyond did not, except, closest to South Dakota, at Bazile Mills and Bloomfield; as early as 1910 there was English preaching at Bloomfield and at Plainview. In 1916 at Pierce and Osmond there was also some preaching in English. At Randolph where the Germans form in some sort a bridge between the first and second lines of settlements paralleling the Missouri River, and where Catholics and Protestants were equally numerous there were no German services after 1941. Here people from Holstein were numerous and the old who retained their German spoke the dialect.

When the village of Lancaster became Lincoln in 1867 and the capital was established there the population was less than
thirty (Ol 154); in 1875 it was 7,300; in 1882, 14,000; in 1914, 48,000; 1960, 133,000. Johnson's history and Andreas's in 1879 and 1882 make no mention of Russian Germans, though the Volgans had been at Lincoln several years. They testify to a few other Germans there; Andreas mentions a German Methodist church with 48 members. The Trinity Missouri Lutheran church records that it was organized in 1881; it served 2,048 souls in 1948, 708 in 1910. It has been a Reich German congregation, though in later years it received accretions from "Rooshens" who had risen in the social scale. In 1910 it would have been purely Reich German. By 1948 there were no German services at Trinity. Though there is no indication that it yielded to Engl-izing forces until after the First World War, the fact that in 1917 a Missouri Lutheran "English District" church was organized, and that the American Lutheran congregation established in 1930 christened itself "American" indicate that many Germans preferred acceptance of English to being confused with the "Rooshens." There was also established an Evangelical church which was for Reich Germans, St. Paul's (463 members in 1950). The Catholic German church specifically labeled as a national parish in 1900, then had 80 pupils in its school. Though Catholic Volgans may have been attending it, there were not many (6 families, 29 persons in 1914, Wi 8). It was primarily Reich German.

Protestants prevailed among Lincoln's Russian Germans. The Burlington Railroad system had much to do with Russian German settlement in Nebraska. At Lincoln its shops furnished
most of the employment for those immigrants. They were primarily from the Volga area, but Black Seamen were the earliest to come. They had come first to Burlington, Iowa, and then, in 1873, on to Lincoln, but they stayed only briefly; some went on to the Dakotas, some to Burlington lands at Sutton (see below) (Sa 12). Only 9 Black Seamen remained in Lincoln in 1914, all early arrivals (Wi 8). In 1874 the first of the Volgans appeared (Sa 32, Eis 102). They were from Balzer. The number at Lincoln grew without pause, but there was no immediate flood of immigrants. A generous estimate for the early 1890's was 500 (Wi 201). Balzer continued to furnish many, but Norka provided almost twice as many and Frank a few more than Balzer. Mrs. Hattie Williams in her census of 1914 found 3,572 immigrants from some eighty of the Volga villages, particularly from those on the Bergseite, with 63 persons from daughter colonies in the Caucasus and scattering from elsewhere in Russia. By this time there were about 3,000 of the next generation. For 1924 Sallett estimates there were 9,000 Volgans in Lincoln (Sa 33). But the depopulating effects of the railroad shop strike of 1923 were at work.

The Volgans formed two settlements, of course near the tracks, a north settlement and a south settlement, the first with 2,246 inhabitants, the second with 3,148 in 1924. The rest had risen economically to the point of living elsewhere in the city. Within the two settlements the population was distributed according to their villages of origin, but people from Norka so
dominated the north group and people from Frank the second that
the Volgans frequently used these names to designate the settle­ments (W 23). The distribution of immigrants from villages hav­
ing more than 90 representatives in Lincoln was according to

Mrs. Williams:       North        South
  Balzer          20         308
  Beideck         6          256
  Frank           4          343
  Huck            225        12
  Kukkus          223         7
  Laub            90          3
  Norka           385        133
  Schilling       1          151
  Walter          3          176

The dates of arrival in the U.S. of persons born in Russia
resident in Lincoln in 1914 were gathered by Mrs. Williams.
The earliest arrival was in 1872, doubtless that of one of the
Black Seamen, and there were two of 1874 when the Volgans began
coming. Thereafter by five year periods we find:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870-74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1895-99</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-79</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1900-04</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-84</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1905-09</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-89</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1910-14</td>
<td>1,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-94</td>
<td>273</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,572 (W1 17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all these immigrants came directly to Lincoln, for
that city became a receiving point, a way station for many
who ultimately went on still further west or north. Workers in
the beet fields often made it their winter quarter until they
had accumulated enough savings to permit them to establish them­
selves on the land. Others too worked in the shops till they
could become farmers. This practice, besides the ordinary in­
fluence of the mortality rate, contributes to the heavy weight­
ing of arrival for late years in the statistics above. Even so
they graphically illustrate the lateness of immigration of Ger­
mans from Russia, as compared with that from the Reich. It is
of course a fact important in explaining linguistic conditions.

Organized church congregations among the Volgans at Lincoln
did not originate until 1889 when 18 families formed a Congre­
gational church (Wi 13 & 99). Eight churches developed, three
Congregational, three Lutheran and two Evangelical (Wi 99); at
least Mrs. Williams lists only eight, though it is strongly to
be suspected that, as in other Protestant Volgan settlements,
Adventists, Baptists, and other zealous sects gained a footing.
Late organization is to be explained by the prevalence of Bru^-
derschaft among the Volgans. Small groups of pietistic origin
worshipped together without pastoral direction and without
buildings. Their passion for independent action led them fre­
quently to Congregationalism. The churches once formed were
known among the immigrants by the name of the village from
which the majority of the members of each came, a custom still
prevailing in 1951. These characteristics made for linguistic
conservatism. None of the churches attained any great size.
Their records begin in the following years: 1889, 1891, 1900, 1901, 1907, 1907, 1909, 1911.

Havelock was a suburb of Lincoln to the east where Volgans also settled. Its inhabitants were not included in Mrs. Williams' statistics. A German Nebraska Synod church was organized by them in 1916.

Among Russian Germans there were in Lincoln in 1951 a large number of immigrants still vigorous and devoted to German. Mrs. Williams in her study of 1914 does not discuss language, but the limitation on the knowledge of English at that time is demonstrated by her recital of the procedures necessary in giving instruction to Volgan midwives. "The women were first called together and the city nurse explained to them in German the purpose.... The office sent to Germany for copies of a standard book on obstetrical work.... The midwives, without exception, express their appreciation" (Wi 65). As Mrs. Williams wrote these words, the Friedens' Lutheran church (German Nebraska) of the south settlement was just becoming self-supporting. In 1951 there were still German services there every Sunday at eleven o'clock. The Congregational church of the south settlement had German in addition to English every other Sunday. After church the older people then gossiped with each other in German. This Eben-Ezer Congregation no longer had German services in 1966, and the after-church conversations in German were no longer heard. In general, few then persisted in speaking German in this part of the south settlement. The
north settlement was more isolated by the railroad lines and remained the stronghold of the German language. But the inroads of English were great. The principal Congregational church went over to English in 1941, and lost many of its old members at once, though prayer meetings in German persisted for a number of years. Some pastoral work in German was going on in 1966. The Evangelical (and Reformed) Church was the principal recipient of the dissidents of 1941, and there, German services every Sunday with prayer meetings twice a week in German were the order in 1966. The attendance at the German service was 20 to 25, at the English service about 100. German conversations in the little store of the neighborhood were still common. However, all these activities were those of old people. Persons born after 1945 seldom knew German; their parents seldom spoke German except with those of the grandparent age.

57.50 West of Lincoln, mainly in Seward County, the next county, but in small part in Lincoln's own county, Lancaster, and in much larger part in northeastern York County on to the west lies a complex of Protestant German settlements almost all Lutheran, Missouri Synod. It is a bit older in origin than the city of Lincoln. It is separated into two divisions by a broad diagonal line through its center running from northeast to southwest. The original settlement of the eastern division was somewhat south of what is now called Garland, originally Germantown, some 20 miles northwest of Lincoln. Settlement began before the town did; the first German arrived
in 1866 and others soon joined him. In 1870 a Missouri Lutheran church was organized (AN 1405, says 1872), and in 1874 German-town was laid out; the Missouri Synod established another church there in 1886, and another at Seward the county seat located very near its center in 1875. This last grew to have in 1948 1255 members. The other two had about 250 each. In Seward too an Evangelical church (now E-R) was organized in 1877 (248 members in 1950). Ten more German congregations mostly smaller grew up between 1874 and 1933 in this eastern division of the district. The western division includes ten Missouri Lutheran churches. The oldest, which is west of Staplehurst in northwest Seward County, is as old as that south of Garland, dating from 1870. Its membership in 1948 was 286 and that of the church in town, founded 1888, was 290. The next oldest congregation was established in 1874 over the York County line at the district's southern limit. Andreas remarks in 1882 that all those living thereabouts were German (AN 1502). The congregational spread from these two points toward the west and north went on until 1909. The church at York, the county seat in its middle, was organized in 1903 and in 1948 counted 703 souls. In 1948 there were still services in German at Garland, the original Germantown, and at a rural church near by, and in Seward, though there English preaching had begun by 1916. Further west there was still preaching in German at Staplehurst, but these are only four out of eighteen Missouri Synod churches. York also became headquarters for an associate organization of
the Church of God, called the "Deutsche Gemeinde Gottes" (the "German Church of God"). In 1963 all its church services were in German, many Sunday school classes including some for the young (FK 248).

Southwest of York at the county's edge, 35 families (207 persons) of Mennonites from the Molotschna settlements established themselves in 1874 (Sm 173, ME II 697). They had been in Lincoln for a short period while they were selecting Burlington lands. By 1882 there were 140 families, in 1955 about 3,000 persons. It was not until 1878 that Henderson was founded. The Mennonite churches are all located in Henderson; a Mennonite Brethren with 210 in 1948, 275 in 1954, an EMB with 93 in 1954, and a General Conference congregation with 656 members in 1935, 998 in 1953 (ME I 316). Three townships to the north are occupied by the Mennonites, as well as lands to the south. At Henderson in 1951 the Mennonites were bilingual if older than twenty-five, but the German of those born after 1915 might be limited. The young knew a few words. This state of affairs suggests that the old language was being lost, not by rejection, but through infrequent use. The Bethesda Preparatory School at Henderson, which in its latter years taught mostly the Bible and German, closed its doors in 1932. The effect of German upon the language of speakers born about 1910 may be judged by these samples: "Some live in Sutton already that come here," and speaking of lack of cooperation between denominations "if dese would go in with a little, you know how t'ings are."
Sutton (population ca. 1,000 in 1882, 1,353 in 1950) lies 60 air miles west and a bit south of Lincoln. It was founded in 1870. Though there are Reich Germans in the neighborhood, witness -- seven Evangelical Association churches with 389 members in the county in 1890, German-Russian settlers are the element of greatest interest here. In 1873 part of the group of Black Seamen from Worms and Rohrbach who first came to Lincoln bought Burlington land north of Sutton and established themselves upon it (Sa 12). (The Mennonites are only a little to the north of them.) Volgans joined them in 1875 and worked in town. Sutton became a distribution point for Volgans, later superseded by Lincoln, but fondly remembered by those who were there briefly (Sa 32, Eis 102). Some of the same contingent of Volgans who first came to Sutton stopped on their way from Red Oak, Iowa, at Friend, half-way out from Lincoln and never rejoined their comrades. A Congregational pastor began serving Sutton Germans by 1880 (Eis 144, AN 565); the German Nebraska Synod installed a church among the Volgans in 1894 (WM 371). The Evangelical and Reformed church has two congregations at Sutton: members in 1950 -- 91 at Hope, 283 at Emmanuel. One of these was organized in 1874 as a Reformed church (AN 565). In 1896 a Reformed minister, Michael Hofer (1840-1929) founded a separate congregation and the Hofer community. Kloss states that in 1961 there were 500 members, and children were instructed in German on Saturdays and Sundays (FK 248).

In Sutton at the German Nebraska church established by
Volgans who still in 1910 knew no English, all the pastors through 1950 were born in Germany and it may be assumed that they continued to preach in German especially as pastor Johannes Goemmel who served from 1925 on was in 1950 sixty-nine years old. With the First World War German fell out of use in business, but in daily intercourse otherwise the language was employed enough so that most of those of the second generation who had learned to speak earlier retained the ability to speak in 1951, though opportunity for use had been rare for some time. German, inscriptions in the cemeteries ended about 1922.

57.53 Farther south, in Thayer County, 125 miles from the southeast corner of Nebraska, and just above Republic County, Kansas (P 1), we find strong German settlements. These appear to radiate from what the Andreas History of Nebraska describes thus in 1882: "Friedensau, situated near the Little Blue about eight miles northwest of Hebron [which is the center of the county] is the center of a large and flourishing settlement" (AN 1455). Its Lutheran church was noted by Andreas. Founded in 1874 this Missouri Synod congregation numbered 295 in 1948. The county had no permanent settlers before 1869. The Germans were from the northern part of Hanover for the most part. Except in its northeast quarter, German Lutherans were prevalent in all Thayer County by 1900 and were overflowing its boundaries. There are nineteen of their churches none many miles distant from the next. Missouri Synod and ALC congregations are both numerous. In Deshler (1063 inhabitants in 1950) just south of the original settle-
ment, and 8 miles west, a little south from Hebron, in 1948, Missouri Lutherans counted 643, ALC 635 in 1950. These churches were founded in 1887 and 1883. The flourishing ALC congregation in Hebron (727 members in 1950) did not originate until 1911. The other churches nearest the point of original settlement have first dates in the 1880's, but so do ALC congregations at the southwest corner of the county (1886 -- 217 members) and on the north county line (Bruning, 1884 -- 402 members). Eastward from St. Peter's, the southwest church of 1886, there are five churches all rather small along the state line, dating their organization from 1898 to 1907. One of these, the ALC congregation in Byron (300 members in 1950) has at least half its members resident in Kansas. These people figure in our Kansas analysis as the Byron Germans of Republic County (P--1, A, 48:75). Settlement near the eastern county line between the two county seats, Hebron and Fairbury, began earlier, but the three churches are all small.

Another group of six German Protestant churches lies beyond the non-German northeastern quarter of Thayer County in the corners of the three adjoining counties to the northeast, that is, it is centered about twenty miles north by west from Fairbury. The oldest and one of the two largest is a Missouri Synod church southeast of Tobias with 340 members and some German services in 1948. It was founded in 1879. Neighboring districts did not regard the people here as very German.
Missouri Lutheran congregations still had some German services in 1948, but the four outlying had abandoned them. The whole district was made up either of German monolinguals or of bi-linguals until 1917. Many going to school for the first time knew no English until that time. In 1951 a member of the group by birth but residing elsewhere, speaking of the county, said, "Now you can go for days without hearing any German." Among the American Lutheran churches, the church at Deshler will be our first example. There in 1951 there were German services as well as English three times a month. The attendance at German services varied between 35 and 85, at English between 300 and 350. At that time a 13-year-old boy, a man 60 and a woman 70 were conversing together in German on the street in Deshler. In 1964 this church still had one of the two pastors in the Southeast Nebraska Conference still able to preach in German. The other was at Bruning on the north edge of the county.

At Hebron, the county seat, in 1951, German was the language of sermons at the American Lutheran church whenever there were requests for it, but they occurred rarely. However, English services do not seem to have been introduced until 1943. There were then in the town three or four families speaking German habitually at home. Near Hubbell in the southeast corner of the county English services began in 1932; we are here on the edge of the district. For details on Byron see Section 48.75.

57.55 At what became Jansen Mennonites settled northeast of Fairbury (31 above P2). Cornelius Jansen, born in Germany but long
resident in South Russia and a successful business man, continued his career in America by becoming a land agent for the Burlington. On first arrival he was exposed to the persuasions of the immigration office of the Santa Fe as well as that of their northern competitors. He appears to have had the same hesitancies as other Mennonites until he was given strong economic motives by the Burlington; then became so eloquent for Nebraska that the Kansas promoters found him a successful competitor.

Taking advantage of a connection through his wife, he persuaded a group of the members of a minor Mennonite subdivision, the Kleine Gemeinde, to follow him to lands near Fairbury, Nebraska, more precisely to 20,000 acres in Township 3 Range 3 East, that is with a center 15 miles from the Kansas border and 100 miles west from the southeast corner of Nebraska (Sm 172A, Jo 402, AN 995). This was in 1874; in 1887 a railroad line was built through the colony and a town founded which was called Jansen. Cornelius, or rather his son Peter, had stayed in the neighborhood on some 7,000 acres that he had acquired for himself. The settlers on arrival numbered 350 and in 1879 had increased to 500. The very conservative and picturesque members of the Kleine Gemeinde did not continue to dominate the landholdings. Other Mennonite groups soon arrived; many of the Kleine Gemeinde people moved on to Meade, Kansas, (Meade County, F 29, B). Others transformed themselves into members of a related sub-sect, the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren church (not to be confused with the Mennonite Brethren or North America, which is much larger and more
important in Kansas). This sect organized a congregation in 1879, and the Krimmer adherents did too in 1880. Such was the exodus of Mennonites in the early years of the twentieth century that the EMB church at Jansen remained alone after 1947 (73 members in 1954) (ME III 90). Jansen became a gathering point for other Germans, but the departure of the Mennonites took away the linguistically conservative element.

57.56 At Fairbury which is six miles away and beyond in the eastern and southeastern part of the county, there are ten German Protestant churches, each with 100 to 300 members dating back to as early as 1885 and 1888. Settlement began by 1880 (WM 329). There is considerable diversity of character in these congregations. The one in the southeast corner of the county at Lanham with one-fourth of its members in Kansas, the Lanham Germans of Washington County (P2, C) is a good example; see Volume II, Section 48.94. At Lanham the Hanoverians and East Frisians each with his dialect early chose English as their lingua franca. There were no German services after 1942 except on Good Friday; the last German service on that occasion was in 1951.

57.57 Four miles west of Beatrice in the next county east, Gage (31 -- above P3), a Mennonite church was established in 1877 as central for a group not from Russia, but from the Danzig area. They too were brought by Jansen, who in origin was one of them. These people who had arrived the year before were originally 34 families with 138 members. They were well-to-do and spoke standard German in Europe as a means of social differentia-
tion from their farm servants, who were low German speakers taken from the surrounding population. The name of their congregation (346 members in 1935), Wehrlose, defenseless, gives a hint as to why people of such a class left Germany. Prussian militarism and conscription was threatening them. They were joined by ten families from the Khiva settlement in Asia in 1884. The Mennonites soon spread into Beatrice and organized a church there. Most of the Prussians have lands to the northwest of Beatrice which stretch westward ten or fifteen miles to beyond the county's edge. The town church had 174 members in 1953, the country church 338 (ME I 256).

57.58 These Mennonites from Prussia near Beatrice with their steadiness of population, their economic success, their sense of aristocracy and their use of Standard German so that the written language could still support oral speech, preserved their language well for many years. In 1951 the ruling generation, those born about 1910 or 1915 were still speaking German together though those younger had in their families abandoned German for English. The language of their minister was not easily German; therefore there was no German except as the second service on holidays and in song -- two hymns a Sunday. Their cemetery inscriptions became largely English at the time of the First World War, but exceptions persisted as late as 1945, though only when a spouse had died in 1922 or before. Peter Jansen established himself at Beatrice in his last days and in the preface of his memoirs, December, 1913, he wrote, "After considerable deliberation I decided
to use the English language, realizing that in a few years most of my descendants will not be able to understand their original mother tongue, the German. Although I myself have become a patriotic American, I still feel that the knowledge of two or more languages is a decided advantage, and I regret that the German is not kept up amongst our growing generation" (Ja 13).

57.59 North of these Gage County Mennonites, at Plymouth and beyond, more German settlers took up farms in the Burlington land grant until they came into contact with the Saline County Bohemians in Wilber. The dates, 1874 and 1875, of first church organization among Lutherans (Missouri 9 n.w. Beatrice, American 6 s.e. Wilber) indicate that these German settlers in the Blue Valley were there earlier than the Prussian Mennonites. Two more Iowa Synod (American) Lutheran churches developed at Dewitt in 1884 and 1897 and the younger congregations with 286 and 300 members are nearly twice as large as the older, but part of this membership is supplied by converted Czechs. In 1879 there also existed in Clatonia precinct, that is, east of Wilber, a German Methodist church (Jo 355), and there are two Wisconsin Synod Lutheran churches in the same neighborhood. At Plymouth there was also organized a Wisconsin Synod church, an Evangelical and Reformed, and in 1903 a Missouri Lutheran. These settlements north and northwest of Beatrice have helped to contribute to the prosperity of the churches in the city (12,700 population in 1960). St. John's American Lutheran had 891 members in 1950, St. Paul's Missouri Synod 568 in 1948. There is also a Wisconsin
Synod church. Some of those who moved into town, however, came from the east.

In this Reich German district to the northwest of the Prussian Mennonites, where Plymouth and DeWitt are to be found, at Plymouth and at Trinity church, 5 miles east of it, Missouri Lutherans still had some German preaching in 1948, so also farther east on the Blue above Beatrice. The inscriptions in the Trinity Church cemetery shifted their majority from German to English about 1925. Late examples in German were carved in 1938 and 1940 for spouses of persons who had died much earlier. The American Lutherans a few miles west of Plymouth first heard English sermons in 1936, but in 1951 Bohemian neighbors found that only old Germans spoke the language that they had brought with them. In Beatrice itself in 1951 the American Lutheran had two services a month in German mainly for the people who had retired from the settlements to the east. The Missouri Lutherans had none.

The center of a conservative Deutschtum is the rural district east of Beatrice at the Hanover Congregation, that is, Zion church, American Lutheran, 8 miles southeast of Pickett, and not much further from Beatrice; it had 799 members in 1950. There are two other more recent and smaller churches nearby. The south of the county for eight miles was part of the Otoe reservation until 1883 and thus not open for settlement. The East Frisians that established themselves in this strip form part of the State Line Germans of Marshall County, Kansas (P3, B Section 48.56). Besides the State Line church there are six other small German churches
in this area. In Gage county there were in 1899 five German Methodist and Evangelical Association churches with 313 members.

In the Hanover congregation there was no English in services until the period of the Second World War. In 1951 there were still German services every Sunday, but the pastor found then that "the people were not coming out as they used to" to these services. In 1964 German services were abandoned completely, but at Ladies Aid the conversations were still frequently in German. However, only a few persons born after 1942 knew any German. In the cemetery English inscriptions prevailed in the late 1920's, but German persisted till 1942.* In 1951 other American Lutheran churches in this part of Gage County had German sermons too, though fewer. By 1966 services were in all exclusively in English. In the south part of the county at Wymore and at Barnston German was abandoned in church services about 1937.

* A curious case is presented in the inscriptions for Henry Wolpen (1874-1957) and his wives. His first wife (1876-1921) is commemorated in German. A monument was erected, apparently shortly afterward, for his second wife, also with an inscription in German with the date of her birth (1885) included; she had not yet died in 1966. Henry's own monument bears only English dates besides his name.

In southeastern Nebraska no German settlements developed permanently within 15 miles of the Missouri River except at Arago.
which has since disappeared as a town. It was about 12 miles northeast from Falls City and a little farther from the southeast corner of the state. A congregation, created by the Evangelical Synod and later a member of the German Nebraska Synod (Midwest), originated in 1869. The German community was more prosperous in early days than later "due to the population shift westward, the building of railroads, etc." (WM 322). Times were so good in 1882 that seven men provided biographies for the Andreas history, all with German names, six born in Germany. Two of these men had arrived at Arago in 1858 and 1859. Between this point and Falls City a Missouri Synod church was organized in 1881 (membership 305 in 1948) and in 1901 another in town which reached the same size. There were in the county in 1890 six Evangelical Association churches with 394 members, two German Methodists with 108. All other German congregations in Richardson County were at least as small, and only in Arago Precinct was the proportion of foreign white stock above 30% in 1930; there it was 39%. The Arago area conserves little German.

57.62 The next group of settlements of interest is a line that runs at right angles to the drainage and to the railroad lines, from Auburn southwestward to Steinauer. Auburn in 62 road miles almost straight south from Omaha and about 30 miles north of the Kansas line. The line of settlements is about 25 miles long; Steinauer is 15 miles from Kansas. The German Nebraska Synod congregation southwest of Auburn traced its origin to the fact that "in the spring of 1865 thirteen settlers from Illinois were
prevented from going further because of cold weather and lack of provisions" (WM 309). They organized in 1867. These people were predominantly East Frisians. The Hickory Grove church west of Auburn was not organized till 1877; originally it was of the Ohio Synod, later ULC; it throve (369 members in 1950). Its people were also partly East Frisians; more largely Hanoverians. Steinauer at the other end of the chain is named for a settler of 1856; its Evangelical and Reformed church had 311 members in 1950. The Missouri Synod church, not far away, southwest of Elk Creek was organized in 1871 and had 405 members in 1948. A little farther along the line at Table Rock, the ALC church (326 members in 1950) was founded in 1873. Churches of 1884 and 1902 complete the chain.

In the strip of settlements from Auburn to Steinauer, the country near Auburn contained a district that long clung to the language. The Hickory Grove congregation heard only German till 1937. In 1951 on one Sunday a month there was in addition to an English service one in German attended by 35 or 40. Services in German ceased almost immediately afterward. The quick decline was caused by a weakening in the knowledge of Standard German. Persons born as late as 1925 were usually conversant with Low German. In 1966 persons born before 1895 frequently spoke German with each other though not with younger people. At least one couple past eighty used German as their ordinary speech at home. In the cemetery where the graves are arranged in chronological order the first inscription in English appeared in 1920, there
were others, one each, in 1923, 1926 and 1928, no more till 1936; in this period 18 adults were buried. German appeared on the two adult stones of 1937 and 1938. The five monuments for adults who died in 1939 are all in English except for one verse carried on the rear of one stone. After 1942 there were no more in German. At the other end of the line of settlements the Missouri Synod church near Steinauer (locally pronounced as though spelled Steener) still had some services in German in 1948. Czech neighbors regarded the Germans as rather confirmed speakers of English.

57.63 To the northwest of the Auburn-Steinauer line of settlements is an area lying in a diamond shape on a map. It is roughly 25 miles square with a tentacle northward beyond the diamond, and contains a score of Protestant German churches. In general the area occupies the northern half of Johnson County and a triangle in Otoe County based on the south border and occupying nearly half of the county. The southern extremity of the diamond is at Tecumseh and the eastern beyond Talmadge; these places witnessed the foundation of German churches in 1885 and 1886. The oldest part is at Sterling near the western corner of the district; at Sterling there was a strain of East Frisian blood, partly in the German Nebraska Synod church which was small. The Lutheran Schism apparently ran in favor of the Iowa Synod here, for the Missouri church, founded just west of town in 1874, numbered only 189 members in 1948 while the ALC congregation organized in 1895 served 605 members in 1950; another of its bodies organized to the west
at Adams in 1939 counted 305 souls. Most of the other German churches of the district including that of the German Nebraska Synod were organized in the 1880's or very early 1890's; certain urban filials of country churches were later, and a German Methodist congregation at Sterling may be earlier; a circuit rider was working out of Humboldt beginning in 1860. On the northern tentacle, the ALC congregations at Avoca (474 members in 1950), Hanoverian in background, and northeast of Otoe (356) may be mentioned. They were founded in 1882 and 1886. Murdock still farther north in the tentacle, has a Missouri Lutheran church founded in 1892 (206 members in 1948). At Syracuse at the northern tip of the diamond where the tentacle is attached, the Midwest Synod church (German Nebraska) had roots in 1881. It was at first Iowa Synod; many withdrew in 1916 to form another ALC congregation, which had 770 members in 1950. Those remaining then abandoned the old affiliation.

In the Sterling-Syracuse district viewed linguistically, the Missouri Lutherans near Sterling ceased all services in German in 1956. Confirmations in German were given up about 1924. Cemetery inscriptions in their cemetery followed approximately the pattern described below for the German Nebraska cemetery. The German Nebraska Synod was born in Sterling because Pastor Wolff, who had been in charge of its 5 General Synod Lutheran congregations since 1883, felt that the work in German should be in charge of German pastors (WM 17). An old label painted on its frame church in 1906 announced it as the "Sanct Johannes Gemeinde 1890." In the small cemetery, inscriptions in English began to appear about
1900, but German is predominant until about 1925 and persisted until 1935. Adolph and Sophie Wusk, who died in 1935 and 1937, are commemorated in English, but the inscription on the grave of their son, who died in 1925, is in German. The Jugendverein presented a German Bible to the church in 1927; it saw very little use.

There was no break in the community's loyalty to German until the pressures of the First World War were exerted. Then public use of German disappeared permanently in town, but rurally, children born in 1925 learned to speak German. Examples of those born as late as 1953 able to understand German were to be found in 1966, but only people in the age range of 80 years were actively using German.

The situation was similar at Syracuse. The First Lutheran Church there left the Iowa Synod in 1920 in resistance to the pressures against exercising an "inalienable right, the Mother Tongue," and sought refuge in the German Nebraska Synod "which at that time did not show these tendencies" (WM 355). These synodic pressures were being exerted particularly by their former fellow Gemeinde brethren, the members of the Luther Memorial church who had seceded from First in 1916 to maintain their inalienable right to use English. The Luther Memorial church carried the well-to-do with it, and in 1966 these champions of English were still prosperous. Retired farmers in their sixties, however, had in 1966 no trouble in finding those who would practice German with them.
The Avoca First Lutheran Church in the tentacle is eight miles north of Syracuse. Its Hanoverian congregation gave up German services about 1950, but in 1966 those born about 1930 were still ready to "josh around" in German. Thus they proclaimed their brotherhood, but all serious communications were in English. The cemetery of the Avoca First Lutheran shows that inscriptions became predominantly English about 1925. Anna Sophie Bey's commemoration is on the same stone as her husband's, but altogether separate. She died in 1898 and has a full German text; his, made after his death in 1932, has only dates, though those are German in order (day, month, year). The Missouri Lutheran church north of Murdock abandoned German about 1933. German was a current language in the neighborhood until 1918, and those born at about that time acquired a smattering of German. Those born in the 1890's were still exercising their German sometimes in 1966.

At Talmadge the severance from German caused no schism. The town congregation of ALC founded in 1905 had completely given up German by 1920, leaving the country congregation to its own devices. As a language of the home German persisted long at Talmadge. A boy born in 1935 learned German as a child, though his parents were speaking to each other in different dialects. They gave up their habit at about the time of the Second World War, and the boy lost his proficiency.

57.65 West of the 98th meridian on the north shore of the Platte River, Grand Island, 94 road miles west of Lincoln, is the town most interesting for its German settlements. In 1857 five Americans, who acted as surveyors and remained only two years, and 25
Germans came from Davenport, Iowa, and founded the town (Jo 365, AN 939). The settlement did not remain exclusively German, even early. The coming of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1866 and the establishment of its shops gave a more cosmopolitan character to the town, 2,200 inhabitants in 1879 (Jo 373), in 1960, 28,000. In the early days, the Germans received considerable reinforcements. In 1858 there were more people from Davenport (Jo 366). Fred Hedde, one of the immigrants of 1857, became an immigration agent for the State of Nebraska, stationed at Hamburg, Germany, in 1872 (AN 939). A Catholic parish, labeled by Andreas as German, was created in 1870 (ca. 300 members in 1882, 125 pupils in parochial schools in 1900, 311 in 1948). It became the cathedral of a bishop in 1917, and its staff ceased to be entirely German. A Liederkranz was founded in 1870; it erected a public hall. A Turnverein was organized in 1874 (AN 937, Jo 374). A Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, was founded in 1878 (1,148 members in 1948). Its members were largely Pomeranians. Seventeen families seceded to form a German Nebraska Synod church in 1883; in 1950 its membership was "50% rural, plus 20% retired farmers, and 30% urban" (WM 324). An Evangelical Association church drew most of its members from southeast of town (in the county in 1890 were four stations of this church with 194 members). There are also Holsteiners who have been drawn into no congregation. German Russians came to Grand Island to work in the railroad shops. There were 218 persons of German mother tongue from Russia in the county in 1920. Their principal church was Congregational. "They
wanted to be to themselves" said the Lutherans; four families of the second generation were Lutheran in 1951.

North of the Platte River, St. Libory and Palmer may occupy us a moment. St. Libory, some ten miles north of Grand Island, is so called because of the desire of its early German settlers who came from the town of the same name in Illinois (56.59). They were Catholics and a Catholic parish was established, which however has remained small (no school in 1900, 57 pupils in 1948). Lutherans also settled nearby and a Missouri synod congregation was established in 1874 six miles to the northeast (479 members in 1948) which gave rise a few miles farther north to a filial at Palmer (224 members in 1948). About thirty miles west northwest of Grand Island lies a settlement, a little beyond Ravenna, where a Missouri Lutheran church was founded in 1883, another in town in 1918 (for both together 270 members in 1948).

At Grand Island in religious services the Reich Germans were more faithful to their original tongue than the Volgans, for the Missouri Lutherans were in 1951 still having German services attended by 60 (while the English services were attended by 700), and the Congregationalists had given up German in 1949. The Volgan Congregationalists had become so few as to have to accept the services of the minister of the English church. Only the old were distressed at the situation. The St. Libory and Palmer Lutheran churches were still having some German services in 1948. The churches in this neighborhood had not felt public pressures
directly in 1917, only through their pastors. The churches at and near Ravenna had no German services in 1948, but after 1960 German was still to be heard there in daily intercourse.

Some 25 miles south of Grand Island beyond the Platte Valley in the headwaters of the Little Blue is Hastings (3,500 inhabitants in 1879, 22,500 in 1960). It came into being in 1872 when the Burlington Railroad was built through. Its Reich Germans are less numerous than its Volgans, but they seem to have begun coming a little sooner. Both arrived early in Hastings' history. The social division between them had by no means been obliterated in 1951. The south side was the wrong side of the tracks and there the Volgans had their quarters in two units, one to the west, one to the east. An Evangelical church which soon became part of the German Nebraska Synod was organized in 1878. Its pastor, H. Siekmann, served both Reich Germans and Volgans. In 1890 the Volgans withdrew to themselves; both churches called themselves St. Paul's and remained in the Nebraska Synod, but the Reich Germans prefixed the word First to the name of their Gemeinde. They were prosperous, but beginning in 1900, they began to share the field with a Missouri Lutheran church (76 members in 1948). There is also a Wisconsin Synod church. No great proportion of the members of this congregation had been born in Germany. The Evangelical Association had a mission in Hastings by 1882 (AN 343). In this county in 1890 there were seven Evangelical Association stations with 271 members.

The Burlington Railroad brought the first Volgans to Has-
tings in 1876 (5 families from Kolb, Sa 33), and the railroad long continued to furnish the chief means of livelihood to the immigrants. Their numbers began to increase immediately, but it was only after the hard times of the 1890's that the real "boom years" arrived (WM 327). As at Lincoln the Bruderschaft thrived among the Volgans; small worship units sufficed them for some time, and various sects grew up. In 1951 there still existed the Midwest (German Nebraska) Synod church alluded to above, a Congregational church, and an independent Lutheran group which was quite conservative. The latter was made up mostly of people from Frank with some also from Norka. Sallet wrote in 1930 that the Volgans totaled 350 families (Sa 33). In 1920 there were in the county 783 persons of German mother tongue born in Russia. Only a few of them lived outside of Hastings.

In Hastings the Reich Germans had by 1951 left the German language to the past, but the Volgans were using German in all three churches, almost entirely in the Franker church, every Sunday afternoon in the Midwest (German Nebraska) church, and regularly in the Congregational church. The last named group continued services in German at least till 1960, presumably the others too.

The rest of Adams County outside of Hastings has noteworthy settlements. To the southeast of Hastings some eight air miles lies Glenvil. There in 1905 a congregation, ultimately ALC, formed (397 members in 1950). Lutheran services, however,
began much earlier, in 1878, for a congregation that ultimately became part of the German Nebraska (Midwest) Synod. The names of those active indicate that this congregation was East Frisian in origin. So do those of Immanuel church, also of the Midwest Synod, a rural church with Hastings as its post office (WM 330). Furthermore the township just west of Glenvil is named Hanover Precinct, indicating the presence of more North Germans. In 1930, the foreign white stock of this precinct was 48% of the population, that of Glenvil Precinct 52%, that of adjoining townships to the south and west somewhat less.

On the western side of the county opposite Hanover Precinct lies Holstein, plotted in 1887. The concentration of Germans is to the north of the hamlet. There a rural Missouri Lutheran congregation was organized in 1878, one at Holstein in 1899; the two together mustered 381 members in 1948. Some Catholics with a German pastor are nearby at Roseland. Northwest of Hastings too, some 15 miles, the Missouri Lutherans founded a church in 1882 and another at Kenesaw at the same distance more nearly west in 1904 (together 750 members in 1948).

Finally just beyond the south county line, 17 road miles from Hastings, and 23 from western Jewell County (N4) in Kansas, is situated Blue Hill (population 574 in 1950) in a township called Potsdam Precinct (42% f.w.s. in 1930). The Missouri Lutheran church at Blue Hill was organized in 1882 (572 members in 1948). A German Nebraska congregation seceded in 1898 (20 families) and prospered (WM 312).
In Adams County outside of Hastings, German has not been well preserved. Already in 1916 part of the sermons were in English at Holstein and Minden. Blue Hill seems to have been the most conservative spot. There German services were dropped in 1949; in 1946 however "double-headers" were still occurring every Sunday. The old were dissatisfied after the change, but even their conversation was usually in English; they simply missed the superior "good" in German religious speech.

Westward in the tier of counties along the Kansas border in northwestern Franklin County, there were four Lutheran churches with more than a thousand members. The German Nebraska church was organized at Hildreth in 1901, services from 1897. "The beginnings were difficult for the congregation since the representatives of the Iowa and of the Missouri Synods were vying for position and possession. [Eventually the people] called a pastor affiliated with the Midwest Synod. [At first] 'congregational,' thanks to the staunch Lutheranism of the Ostfriesians, it became Lutheran in the end. Linguistic difficulties produced another crisis in the form of a competitive Lutheran church affiliated with the English Nebraska Synod" (WM 333). The two congregations united in 1946, presumably signaling the victory of English. At Arapahoe in northern Furnas County two Lutheran churches heard English twice a month in 1916, 640 members in 1948.

McCook (7,768 inhabitants in 1950) is 27 road miles north of Oberlin in Decatur County (F3), Kansas. In 1920 McCook's
county, Red Willow, contained 360 persons born in Russia of German mother tongue. The colony had become important in 1892; the people were railroad workers. These people were Volgans, who evolved much as did those at Hastings. They were subject to the same stigmas as described for Lincoln, a situation that makes the timid more conservative of the language and the ambitious more anxious to be indistinguishable from the general population. Reich Germans had preceded them in the neighborhood.

Eight miles southeast of town a Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, originated in 1884 (143 members in 1948); the one in town was not organized till 1908 (372 members in 1948).

Twelve road miles west of McCook is Culbertson in Hitchcock County where in 1920 there were 289 persons born in Russia of German mother tongue. A few of these were Mennonites from near the Black Sea, but they were mostly Volgans. The first settler in the county who took a claim very close to the site of Culbertson in 1873 bore a German name, Gesselmann, and so did a part of other pioneers who soon arrived, but they did not have to wait long for the Volgans, or the Mennonites. Mennonite Brethren organized a congregation in 1879. It grew to have 60 members and in 1954 had dwindled to 18. As for the Volgans, Pastor Hetzler, a German Congregationalist, speaks thus of a visit of 1881: "I found a real settlement of Russian Germans, among whom a Congregational congregation had been founded about a year before. Most of them live on the broad prairie... After supper (Friday) there was a prayer meeting in Brother Weick's house, to
which all the railroad workers located there were invited" (Eis 144). Hetzler's efforts gave rise to a permanent congregation. During the 1940's these Congregationalists regularly had services in German. The Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, organized there in 1907, had 300 members in 1948.

As for Dundy County to the north of Cheyenne County in the northwest corner of Kansas there is little of importance in spite of ALC churches at Benkelman and Haigler very near the state line. The congregation at Haigler had only 68 members in 1948, that at Benkelman 149 -- organized in 1907.

The situation at Haigler and Benkelmann was similar to that at St. Francis in Cheyenne County, Kansas, but less conservative because on the fringe of a larger settlement. The young people were glad about 1920 to admit English into the services.

57.69 In Nebraska linguistic conservatism as regards the use of German is less marked than in several states with older settlements. Even for Russian German settlements the statement is true, because, while German may frequently be heard from their people, they received so many twentieth century immigrants that their evolution must be considered more rapid than that of many Reich German settlements even of comparable size. The hostility to German that developed during the First World War was in Nebraska fiercer and more long-continued than in many other states. The resistance by the Germans was also greater at times, witness the pursuit through the courts of the right to give instruction in German which brought about the Supreme Court decision of 1923 in favor
of German, but the resistance was not truly general. More usual
was the behavior thus described: "At Fremont the Salem Lutheran
church voted unanimously to withdraw from the German-speaking
synod and unite with the English-speaking synod. The Turn-
Verein, which had probably been more influential than the churches
in holding immigrants to their German ways, declined rapidly. In
1920 the Fremont Turn-Verein, organized in 1887, disbanded. Many
of these societies had disbanded during the War and were never
revived" (NH 38-202). The fate of the Turners here was no dif­
ferent from its fate in general, but the behavior of churches in
the German Nebraska Synod has no precise parallel in other German
church bodies. By 1919 fifty-nine congregations out of 185 had
withdrawn from the Synod or disbanded (WM 188-196). To be sure,
these statistics include churches belonging to this synod in other
states than Nebraska, but both strength and losses were mainly in
Nebraska. Insofar as the Russian Germans of Nebraska showed
different development from those in Kansas, the difference may be
ascribed to the fact that in Kansas a larger proportion of these
people were Mennonites and Catholics and thus preserved more
unity than was true in Nebraska.
Oklahoma was the last of all the states contiguous to Kansas to receive immigrants from Europe. The United States government after it had shrunk Indian Territory by the excision of Kansas and Nebraska was in no hurry to deprive the Indians of the rest of their lands and the pressure was not great until in the 1880's settlement farther north had pressed westward beyond those parts of Indian Territory held by "civilized tribes," more capable of legal resistance to encroachment than more nomadic groups, and occupying land that was none too fertile. In the center of the territory an area about five counties in size on which Oklahoma City now stands was called the "Unassigned Lands" because no tribe had a title to them. To this area the settlement efforts of the "Boomers" were directed in the 1880's. They were not successful in obtaining legal occupation by squatting, but, together with settlement pressures in general, they obtained first in 1889 the opening of the Unassigned Lands, and then in 1890 a division of the territory into two territories, separating from "Indian Territory" a western section, denominated "Oklahoma," which stretched farther to the east in the north than in the south. The "Unassigned Lands" were in Oklahoma. Indian Territory was absorbed into Oklahoma only during the struggle to obtain admission to the Union in 1906-07.

The Unassigned Lands had been opened by a "run" (settlers raced from a border to stake out their claims), and the same method was used for openings of other areas from 1891 to 1895. These "runs" were riotous, particularly the first one and that
of 1893, when the Cherokee Outlet was opened. This Outlet was generally known in Kansas as the Cherokee Strip, or simply as the Strip. It extended along the Kansas border from the point where the Arkansas River leaves that state to the point where the Oklahoma Panhandle begins at the 100th Meridian. The Panhandle beyond to the west was "No Man's Land." The Strip stretched southward from Kansas about sixty miles. Many Kansans moved into this area. South of the west part of the Cherokee Outlet and west of the Unassigned Lands was a large territory, the Cheyenne and Arapahoe lands, opened in 1892 -- less tumultuously because their fertility was not held in high regard by many prospective settlers, though it was of a character to receive a different judgment from Germans acquainted with the steppes of Russia. What has been said above makes it clear that no foreign settlement in Oklahoma antedates 1889; settling later went on so rapidly that, except for minor additions in Indian Territory after the achievement of statehood, almost all for­ling communities had originated by 1907.

Oklahoma received comparatively few of the members of the Old Immigration from the northwest of Europe. While the Reich German settlements sometimes received population from Kansas, the feedback was not great. The population born in Germany reached its peak with 10,000 in 1910. In that year Kansas and Nebraska already had smaller total populations than Oklahoma and the numbers of those born in Germany was on the decline in those states, but Kansas had three and a half times as many
Germans and Nebraska five and a half times as many as Oklahoma. We shall therefore consider Reich Germans in Oklahoma only briefly. They were nowhere very heavily concentrated.

57.73 In Oklahoma out of seventy Missouri Lutheran congregations only five had any German services in 1948. One was at Alva, where the people were probably Russian German. Another was at Adair in the northeast; it was founded in 1919 (171 members in 1948). Another was at Granite in the southwest (organized 1915, 194 members in 1948). (In 1920 in Greer County where Granite is located there were only 31 persons born in Germany, 7 in Russia). There were no ALC or E-R nor other Missouri Synod churches near any of these three.

57.74 East of Enid at Breckinridge the fourth of the Missouri Synod churches which heard preaching in German in 1948 is located. It is in the center of a group of other churches of that synod (Carrier, Enid, Garber, Covington, Perry). They were organized between 1897 and 1904; their total membership in 1948 was nearly 2200. The first Germans were participants in the "run." Not far to the south at Marshall there is an Evangelical and Reformed church (107 members in 1950).

57.75 Okarche held the fifth of the Missouri Lutheran churches where some preaching was done in German in 1948. The church was founded in 1892. The population of the town was 532 in 1950. The Lutheran church had 392 members. It was then the only German Protestant church, but the membership of the Catholic church (200 in its school in 1948) was very largely Ger-
man. Concerning Okarche, Ruth's guide to Oklahoma said in 1957 (no notice on Okarche in the 1941 edition), "As German-speaking Catholics, Lutherans, Evangelicals and Mennonites moved [into the area] the town became -- and remains to this day -- a close knit German community." In the 1960's German was still heard in the town. North of Okarche not more than 35 air miles for the farthest, there are a line of Evangelical and Reformed churches at Kingfisher, Loyal and Okeene. The members are doubtless the "Evangelicals" referred to in Ruth's Guide. (For Mennonites, see next section) In 1950 their total membership reached only 346. Loyal's name before the First World War was Kiel. The fact indicates that the Germans were Schleswigers, and since people from there are often not ardently religious, the German element may be considered larger than the church membership suggests.

57.76 Just at the eastern edge of the Cheyenne-Arapahoe lands near the southwest corner of the Unassigned Lands there was, beginning in 1880, a General Conference Mennonite mission at the Darlington Indian Agency, a short distance northwest of El Reno, south of Okarche about 12 miles. The group chiefly responsible was of the stock at Summerfield, Illinois, and Halstead, Kansas, Reich or Swiss Germans rather than Russian. The mission attracted a certain number of Mennonite settlers after the Unassigned Lands were opened and nearby a Mennonite church existed for some time beginning ca. 1891 (ME:IV, 33. Data cited below on the Mennonites are mostly from appropriate articles in the
Mennonite Encyclopedia.) The number of Mennonites here was always small.

57.77 The attention of the Russian Mennonites of the concentrated Mennonite District in Kansas which contains Halstead was doubtless drawn to this part of Oklahoma by the mission at Darlington. The Russian Germans did not become as numerous in Oklahoma as the people born in Germany, about two-thirds as many in 1930, but their areas of concentration were greater, their relations with Kansas closer, and their use of German endured later. Upon the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho lands in 1892, the Mennonites from Russia began occupancy. The area chosen began about forty miles farther west than Darlington, lying most notably in Washita County, but spreading beyond northeast and south into other counties. The Mennonite Brethren were able to organize near the northeast corner of the county a church at Corn in 1893, the General Conference Mennonites another in 1894. Cordell is the county seat and the Mennonite Encyclopedia (pub. 1955) speaks thus of it: "Mennonites occupy nearly one-third of the county adjoining the city on the northeast. Wheat farming is predominant. There are 65 Mennonites living in Cordell and 2,000 within shopping distance." Bessie to the north is the only other village in the Mennonite area of the county. Weatherford (org. 1954) and Hydro (org. 1906) to the northeast and Gotebo to the south developed churches. At Geary still farther to the northeast the group (org. 1897) was small.
In 1935 the Herold Church (GCM), nearer Bessie than Cordell, reported that all its services were in German; at Corn they were in both English and German. The situation at Corn was typical; use of Standard German was breaking down at the time, but Low German continued to be in vogue. In 1965 those born as late as about 1946 were able to carry on elementary conversations in it and their parents were frequently using it habitually with each other. Geary was no longer having services in German in 1935; those at Gotebo and at Hydro were still using both languages.

The Mennonites who came into Oklahoma in 1893 at the time of the Cherokee Strip Run proceeded to the southern part of the strip and began communities that stretch from Enid thirty-five miles west. In the center of the district is Meno (originally Menno), where the New Hopedale Church was founded in 1895. "Most of the 175 inhabitants are Mennonites of Polish and Russian Mennonite descent" (ME). They and the people in the rest of this group of settlements had mostly come from McPherson and Marion Counties, Kansas, more particularly from the area between Galva and Mound Ridge. The "Polish" element was made up of German speakers, part of the group that had settled near Galva in McPherson County. Most of these people had been Holdeman Mennonites in Kansas, and at Fairview southwest of Meno there was a Holdeman church established in 1895. The combined membership of the six Mennonite churches in Major County containing both Meno and Fairview in 1954 was 1,153. The number of Mennonite members is much smaller than it was in the beginning because schism
split the churches at Meno and Goltry, and at Fairview five or six evangelistic churches sprang up at the expense of Mennonite membership. From the Enid-Meno complex the Mennonites spread southwestward into northern Blaine County (Okeene), 1903, and northwestward into the corner of Alfalfa County (Goltry). There German speaking Amish neighbors settled as also at Fairview.

The three GCM churches were all having services in both English and German in 1935. The situation was similar among the Mennonite Brethren. As late as 1925 there had been those among them who maintained that prayer in English was completely inefficacious, but a decade later young people born after 1918 were pushing these conservatives into oblivion. Throughout this area German in church was abandoned much sooner than dialect in household use; "Dutch" was not regarded as appropriate for worship. English as a formal language received approval as soon as Standard German became unintelligible, and among the Holdeman group where formal education was for some time held in low esteem the change was quite as rapid as elsewhere despite general conservative tendencies. The development of the name New Hopedale is indicative of the progress of the linguistic shift. In 1911 the congregation was called Neuhoffnungstal. In 1935 it was New Hoffnungstal. By 1948 it was New Hopedale.

Here as at Corn, Low German lingered on in 1965, infrequently used, however, by younger people, who here had more pretensions to being citified than in the more southern district.
In 1966 few children could do more than understand the dialect, more or less. Many knew no German at all. Those born about 1930 could speak German, but were consciously inexpert. Those born about 1918 were expert enough, but used German only with those older, and even many quite old spoke to each other frequently in English. German as the language of tombstone inscriptions played little part here. Even in the first days English was common, and by 1935 had completely prevailed. The stone commemorating Adam and Eva Eck bears a verse in German but, while her dates, 1857-1915, are preceded by Geb. and Gest., his, 1856-1936, specify Born and Died. The stone for the Rev. T.P. Wedel, who died in 1928, bears a German verse, but a separate monument, commemorating his wife, has a verse in English.

57.82 The Mennonites east of Meno were almost all close to Enid. The strong and early churches were those of the Mennonite Brethren, the oldest founded in 1893. In 1954 the membership totaled over 2,000. There was Mennonite activity at Perry, forty road miles east of Enid, but Lutherans were more important here, and Reich Germans prevailed.

57.83 To the north of Enid but not without a break there grew up Mennonite churches at Medford in 1897 and at Deer Creek, a few miles to the east. Both places are 15 miles from the Kansas line. The first settlers arrived at the time of the "run," but churches were organized only in 1897 and 1898. Of Deer Creek the Mennonite Encyclopedia says: "The first settlers came from Halstead and Mound Ridge, Kansas, and Donnelson, Iowa, and were
mostly of South German background." They had abandoned the use of German in worship by 1935 and even of dialect rather completely by 1965, but the people at Medford, whose names were those of Russian Germans, were still using both languages.

57.84 The Mennonites in the Oklahoma Panhandle have not been numerous but there are churches in the two eastern counties, and in comparison with the population Russian Germans are numerous. Liberal in Kansas 60 miles from Colorado almost on the Oklahoma line in Seward County (30-F28) may be taken as the landmark. It has been a retirement center. Thirteen miles south of Liberal there is a Mennonite congregation at Turpin founded in 1907 and in some sort sponsor of the Kismet congregation north of Liberal in Kansas. Relations with the main Mennonite District in Kansas particularly at Buhler are close. By the late 1960's most of those conserving German had died; the exceptions were among the old. The church at Turpin is a General Conference body; services were in both English and German in 1935. Twelve miles farther south and eight east at Balko there is a Mennonite Brethren church founded in 1906.

57.85 Eighteen miles southwest of Liberal is Hooker and eleven miles farther Optima. In the township lying between the two, in 1930 there was 38 percent foreign white stock. A Mennonite Brethren church, relatively prosperous, 116 members in 1954 serves Mennonites, but according to Sallet (Sa 38) there are many Volga Russians there who came from Dorrance in Kansas in 1908; they were originally from Dreispitz. The Dorschess came
from Schwab, Russia, to Ramona, Kansas, in 1905, and at least three came on to Hooker about 1927. One of their churches, Mo. Synod, is west of Optima founded in 1914 (99 members in 1948) and one at Hooker -- 1917 (183 members in 1948). Both were having their services in English in 1948, and in the 1960's the people at Liberal did not regard this area as persistently German.

57.86 **Volga Russians** came from Kansas, principally from Marion County, to the immediate neighborhood of the Mennonite groups already described. On the northwest border of the Corn-Cordell area they arrived in 1893 (Sa 37) at Bessie and the next year Nebraska Volgans took lands just north -- at Weatherford, says Sallet, but the American Lutheran congregation is at Clinton, with 350 members in 1950. The Bessie ALC, founded in 1894, had 430 members in 1950. Just south of the Meno-Fairview group people from Messer left Lehigh in Marion County, Kansas, to establish themselves near Okeene and a bit farther south at Hitchcock. They probably furnished the organizers for the North American Baptist church founded in 1893 just to the east at Loyal and for the small E-R bodies at Okeene and Loyal (see Section 57.75).

57.87 Marion County was a way station for Volgans on the way to other parts of Oklahoma. In 1901 a group from Lehigh settled between Tangier and Fargo says Sallet. These towns are west of Woodward, seat of the county of the same name. The Missouri Lutheran church in Woodward founded in 1903 (140 members in 1948) presumably serves them. Sallet does not mention a set-
tlement farther on at Shattuck, seat of Ellis County, just east of the northeast Texas Panhandle. In 1930 Ellis County, Oklahoma, contained 265 persons born in Russia and just south of Shattuck there is a single township which had 67% foreign white stock in 1930. There is a North American Baptist church there organized in 1904. At Goodwin southwest of Shattuck a Missouri Lutheran minister was already preaching in English as well as German in 1910. Russian Germans also collected in considerable numbers in Oklahoma City and Tulsa (233 and 341 in 1930).

Penn Germans in Oklahoma were somewhat concentrated at Thomas, 75 air miles west northwest of Oklahoma City and not far from areas already discussed. South of Thomas, Amish, Old Mennonites, Dunkards and River Brethren settled (RG 366). The Amish were still having services in German in the 1950's.

The conservation of German in Oklahoma tended to be slight. Settlers of German stock were often of the second or third generation out of Europe, and ready to give up their language. There were, however, numerous exceptions made up of late arriving immigrants from Russia. These late comers tended to early Englishizing in the second generation.

In Colorado there were Germans from very early. Indeed the goldseekers of 1859 and the following years were not infrequently Germans from the new settlements just established in Kansas. At least by 1870 there were efforts at organized German colonization in Colorado (Hafen 189), but Reich German settlements, though they drew some population from Kansas, had few relations with that state.
57.91 Here only Russian Germans will be treated. These people were almost all Volgans, generally Protestants, and most frequently connected with the sugar beet industry. In 1930 they numbered 3,885 in Denver; certain other towns contained considerable numbers. But even the urban settlements are largely to be accounted for by beets. Denver, like Lincoln, Nebraska, was the wintering quarter for large numbers of seasonal workers in the beet fields. Other towns too wintered some of the Volgans. Many resembled those people from Herington, Kansas, who went out in 1901 to work in the fields and "after the harvest did not return to Herington, but went into winter quarters in Denver and and strengthened the 'Globeville' settlement there" (Sa 39).

57.92 Settlements of Volga Germans preceding the establishment of the sugar industry originated in Denver and Pueblo; also some Black seamen became farmers in the neighborhood of Burlington and at Brighton. Burlington is eleven miles from the Kansas border on Interstate Highway 70 beyond Goodland, and is forty air miles from St. Francis, Kansas, seat of the Cheyenne County Black Seamen. The settlement in its neighborhood was under way by 1887; that at Brighton (north of Denver, east of Boulder) by 1896 (Sa 17). Catholic Volgans arrived in Denver from Kansas in 1885. Protestants from Sutton and Lincoln, Nebraska, joined them in 1887 (Sa 48 & 39). The Catholics at Pueblo moved out there from Ellis County, Kansas, in the 1890's.

57.93 After some fumbling the sugar beet industry got under way in the plains east of the mountains in 1900 and the factories
had been built by 1903 (more details in #89.76). The development in the Arkansas River valley, extending into Kansas at Garden City (#47.22 deals frequently with Colorado), was of less importance than that in the northeastern part of the state along the South Platte River. The late initiation of the sugar program meant a concentration of late arrivals from Europe, for after the first comers, most immigrants were directly from the Volga; 1906 was a year of heavy entrance. In the northeast a higher proportion of the field workers were Volgans than along the Arkansas where Mexicans were more easily available. In the triangle bounded by the northern state line, the mountains, and a line from Denver to the northeast corner of the state, there were in 1930 nearly six thousand residents born in Russia, while in the counties along the Arkansas River below Colorado Springs and Pueblo there were scarcely more than 700. The habit of people from a single village in Russia to congregate together persisted in Colorado. Denver had its Dobrinka, Fort Collins its Saratov, Loveland its Frank, Berthoud its Norka, Longmont its Jagodnaja and Pobotschnaja. Other Colorado towns with colonies for which Sallet does not identify a village of origin were Eaton, Windsor, Greeley, Sterling, and Fort Morgan (Sa 40), all in the south Platte section, and he adds that there were other towns, in fact that three-fourths of the land from Sterling in the northeast to Denver was in Volgan hands (Sa 41). In both areas the Volgans evolved into growers as soon as possible, very often the tenants of the Great Western Sugar Company. The
characteristics of life in the sugar beet country is discussed in the Settlement History of Garden City, Kansas. The primary difference between the people there and the Coloradans has been that at Garden City the Volgans are Catholics and elsewhere Protestantism prevails. Their religious fragmentation, usual to Protestant Volgans was accompanied in Colorado by a general neglect of organized religion during the growing and harvesting season. The Coloradans, though not subject to the Engl-izing influence that the Catholic pastors at Garden City exerted, underwent other influences in that direction.

The Engl-izing of Volgans in South Platte sugar beet country was far advanced but not completed in 1967. In Loveland (population ca. 7,000 in 1950) at the First German Congregational Church (500 members in 1967) preaching in English was introduced about 1955 and German sermons ceased in 1964, but in 1967 there was still a German Sunday School class, needed because there were some old people whose English was poor. There were then four Lutheran Churches. The Missouri Synod organized its church in 1931; it was still using German in 1948. There was also a Reformed Church. At home in 1967 at Loveland people in their seventies were using German together, and their children in their late forties spoke German with them, but their grandchildren were unable to use it, only understanding some things. Evidence from other towns is similar, though the degree of conservation seems to have varied somewhat. The Missouri Lutheran Churches at Fort Collins, Greeley, and Fort
Morgan had no German in 1948, but the larger of the two at Sterling still did. A report by a Reich German at Fort Collins in 1967 said that only the very old spoke German there. An informant at Greeley, who as a retail salesman used German in 1915 especially with women, considered Volgans completely assimilated, linguistically and otherwise, in 1967. Another in Fort Morgan who had been used to hearing German on the street corners in the early 1940's said that such was no longer the practice in 1967; she spoke, she said, of Blackseamen rather than Volgans, for the Blackseamen furnished the Russian German population there.

German settlements in Minnesota have been neglected in the present work because the relations with Kansas have been minor. The first settlers in St. Mark (Andale Colwich Germans) had spent several years in Minnesota whence they had come to avoid the cold. The frigidity discouraged few Germans, however. The state is one of major German settlement. Leaving aside census data, sufficient evidence is shown by the fact that the three major German Protestant churches make, of Minnesota, districts important both for the size and number of churches. In 1960 there were six Catholic dioceses in Minnesota; a large proportion of the membership has been German. In 1900 there were six German national parishes in St. Paul, three in Minneapolis. New Ulm, which became the see of a diocese, received its name for good reasons. But place names are not sufficient guide. At Rochester one of the three Missouri Lutheran churches,
Trinity, with 1784 members in 1948 provided German services. In 1951 in the larger of the two churches at Faribault (163 members) there was preaching in German every Sunday. Hofman in his study of the counties most retentive of German in the 1930's bases his conclusions on services in Missouri Lutheran churches. The six most retentive counties are 3 within the great bend of the Minnesota River, three immediately to the south of it. Not included are the two counties on the river separating these groups of three. New Ulm is on the river here (FH 152)* Up the Mississippi

* Hofman's findings are presented in more detail in the preliminary edition of FH, produced in 1964.

the 700 members of Holy Cross at St. Cloud had German services in 1948. St. Cloud is a Catholic episcopal see. The German church there was as large in membership in 1900 as the cathedral. Germans are numerous too in the Dakotas particularly Russian Germans. On Mennonites in Minnesota and the Dakotas see Section 54.41; on Blackseamen in the Dakotas see a note to Section 54.8.

57.96 German settlements in Texas began before those in Kansas. For instance, west of San Antonio, Castroville, which advertises itself as the "Little Alsace of Texas," was founded in 1844. German persisted a long time there but in 1961 those born after 1949 were inexpert. German was still more neglected by those of German stock at Alice west of Corpus Christi. More German Kansans have gone to Texas however than German Texans have come to Kansas. The Flusches after promoting Westphalia in Iowa, and
Westphalia and Olpe in Kansas went on to promote Muenster and Electra in the Red River Valley of Texas. An example of movement in the other direction is furnished by the Catholic Black-seamen who came from Plantersville, Texas, northwest of Houston to Park, Kansas. The three major German Protestant churches make Texas a district. In 1948 among the Missouri Lutherans the only church with more than 1,000 members outside of Houston (there were two there) was at Giddings (2532 inhabitants in 1950) 54 miles east of Austin. There were German services in it. The Missouri Synod churches at Giddings originated in 1882 and 1883. At La Grange to the south of that town and at Lincoln to the north four churches totaling over 1200 members all had German services. The ALC churches at these towns were also large. Austin was well provided with German churches. The ALC St. Martin's had over a thousand members in 1950. At Georgetown twenty miles north of Austin the ALC congregation was hearing German as well as English every Sunday in 1943. A large Missouri Synod church ten miles farther north (598 members vs. 232) still heard German in 1948. It was organized in 1882. German settlement in Texas was thus frequently parallel to settlement in Kansas.

German settlement in California began like that in Texas; Sutter of gold strike fame was a Swiss. California also received many late immigrants from Germany and a great many people of German stock from Kansas and its area. The three major German Protestant churches each have a district for California,
though in 1950 the E-R church had no congregation that reached 275 members. American Lutherans are fairly numerous in the south but are also well represented in the San Francisco Bay area. There the Missouri Lutherans thrive the most. There are many German settlements within 100 miles of the city. Urban churches both in San Francisco and Oakland are numerous. One Missouri Synod church there (Paulus, 1608 members, founded 1867) and three more in the area, Woodland, Lodi, Stockton (founded 1912, 1898, 1882) are four of the six churches of that denomination still providing German services in 1948. The other two were at Fresno and farther south in the valley at Terra Bella (founded 1890 and 1909). The E-R church at Petaluma 45 miles north of San Francisco abandoned services in German about the time of the Second World War. In 1968 there were still in the town immigrants speaking German, but their speech had often so badly deteriorated that truly bilingual persons found both their English and German objectionable.

The Pacific Northwest received many of German stock from Kansas, though not nearly so many as California. German Protestant churches in Portland, Seattle and Spokane are numerous. The only Missouri Synod congregations hearing German in 1948 were at Bellingham in northwest Washington, at Spokane, and at Portland (founded 1905, 1900, and 1889). Only three churches were as old as Zion of Portland, those at Sherwood, Oregon (1878) near Portland, at Tacoma, Washington (1884), and at Endicott (1889) in eastern Washington 15 miles north of the Snake River's most
northern point. Clearly settlement in quantity by people of German stock was late as compared with settlement in Kansas. For Germans in the United States no consideration of those in the Rocky Mountain states except in Colorado nor of those in the southeast of Texas, nor of those in the east after their beginnings has been undertaken in this work. The story of the Germans in Louisiana is interesting, but of slight relation to Kansas. The Germans in the east affected Kansas, but not so much in their role as Germans as in their capacity of Engl-ized Americans. Great masses of immigrants from Germany passed through New York City, but few who came west were there long enough to receive influences, few relatively, though in absolute terms the number who had been a while in New York and then became citizens of Kansas towns was not imperceptible.
German religious bodies are of such importance in studying the history of linguistic development in the United States that the Protestant denominations must be given particular attention. The linguistic influence of Catholicism among the numerous Catholic Germans was as great, but is covered by the general treatment of Catholicism found elsewhere (§ 49.50-49.68). At this point, the reader need only be reminded that Catholic Germans have furnished the majority of Kansas bishops. The hierarchy here has understood better the linguistic trends among Germans than among other for-ling groups, and has been better equipped through the nationality of its clergy to deal with their problems than it has for other groups. The Protestant bodies were subject to divisive forces until the First World War, and then to forces that have been gradually drawing them together. They are treated hereafter in the units existing from 1934 to 1954.

Among German Protestants, Lutherans have been far the largest group numerically. Their linguistic history through the 19th century was affected by the existence of several branches. In towns the existence of what were generally called "English Lutheran" alongside German churches influenced the linguistic habits of, especially, the second and third generations after immigration. The "English Lutherans" were in an organization, which during much of the 20th century, bore the name of the United Lutheran church but became in 1962 by alliances with Scandinavian Lutheran groups the Lutheran Church in America, with well over three million members in 1964. Its
primary subdivisions are called synods, and the synods have included at least two which were at their origin all German. Among German Lutheran churches, synods independent of the "English" organization grew up in various localities indicated by their names: Buffalo, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, etc. Their territories overlapped almost immediately and competition began. It frequently took the form of adherence to particular points of view in doctrinal disputes. The present work is able to avoid almost entirely discussion of doctrinal questions, but the bitterness aroused by them has not even yet been completely eliminated. The Wisconsin and Missouri Synods with certain others were able to draw into a Synodical Conference. Nationally the Missouri Synod early became the most numerous member of the Conference, and has so dominated the alliance that by 1966 the greater organization had lost all but the Missourians and a few small groups of for-ling origin, but not German. In any case the Missouri Synod was the only one of this group to establish churches in Kansas; still the Wisconsin Synod receives in this work some incidental attention. The religious views of the Buffalo, Iowa, and Ohio Synods were sufficiently similar to allow them in 1930 to unite into one church, the American Lutheran Church, which in 1960 added Danish and Norwegian bodies. These mergers built up a body which in 1964 had over two and a half million members. The Iowa and Ohio Synods had churches in Kansas; the Iowa Synod had far the greater number. Both appeared in Kansas when the Missouri Synod was already well established.
This work frequently refers to the congregations of both the Iowa and the Ohio Synods as simply American Lutheran. Along with the congregations definitely affiliated with a synod there were a few independent Lutheran congregations. They were ultimately drawn into synods as a means of procuring pastors. The Lutheran bodies of German origin, of interest to this work, and existent between 1934 and 1954 are the United Lutheran Church, the American Lutheran Church, and the Missouri Synod, the latter as the only member of the Synodical Conference with congregations in Kansas. Within the United Lutheran Church, the German Nebraska Synod, which in 1939 became the Midwest Synod, requires particular attention. For the period before 1930 the two components of the American Lutheran Church with congregations in Kansas, the Iowa Synod and the Ohio Synod occasionally demand separate treatment.

Since the German word Evangelische was of such importance to Lutherans as a declaration that they founded their faith directly upon the Bible, nearly all included the word or its English translation in the titles of their church bodies. It is ordinarily omitted in this work to prevent confusion with those bodies whose name included no other clearly identifying word to distinguish them.

German Protestants other than the Lutherans organized a number of independent national churches strictly German at their origin. Among them we may distinguish the churches primarily Penn-German from those appealing essentially to stocks
arriving later. Of the latter, the bodies of importance to this work in 1950 bore these names: the North American Baptist Church, the Evangelical and Reformed Church and the Evangelical United Brethren Church. In the latter church, union had not by 1950 proceeded so far as to prevent the congregations formerly of the Evangelical Association from having separate conferences from those formerly United Brethren. The term Evangelical United Brethren, or its abbreviation in initials EUB, is often used in this work to identify these churches as the readiest means of distinguishing them from Evangelical and Reformed churches. For over three decades the Evangelical Association was split into two parts and the statistics quoted below are for years in which this condition obtained; hence, two sets of statistics. The Evangelical and Reformed Church was until 1934 two churches, one in its late days called the Evangelical Synod of North America and the other the Reformed Church in the United States. The congregations belonging to it in this work are usually designated by the name Evangelical and Reformed Church or its abbreviation in initials E-R, because territorially the two churches fused their organization so that each synod within it contains Evangelical Synod and Reformed congregations, but also to distinguish it more clearly from the EUB. The data presented below are for years before the union. The North American Baptists might more handily be called German Baptists if it were not that the Church of the Brethren (Dunkards) long called themselves German Baptists.
German congregations among "American" denominations, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists did not, like those who became North American Baptists, organize into bodies nationally separate from English-speaking bodies of the same faith. Therefore federal census statistics do not separate them from their co-religionaries, and shortly after the First World War separate subordinate organizations ceased to function so that statistically they disappear from the records of their own churches. The attitude of Germans belonging to German churches without "American" connections is well expressed by Hense-Jensen: "Nearly every American denomination of any significance at all has sought to infiltrate among the Germans. So there were and still are today [1900] among German church bodies Congregationalists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists and Adventists. But they are mostly exotic hot house plants without promise of enduring status, transitional steps to complete English speaking performance. Most nearly Methodism, especially in the form of the Methodist Episcopal Church and in that of the Evangelical Association seems to offer some guarantee of continued existence. The relatively small number of German Reformed members ... are closely connected with English-speaking Presbyterians" (H, II, 172). The congregations of the German Methodists are particularly important, but in this work data on them are of fragmentary, incomplete nature. Even more fragmentary are references to the local organizations of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists.
The Penn-German churches of most importance to this work are the Mennonite, including Amish, the Brethren (Dunkard), and the Brethren in Christ (River Brethren). The Mennonite bodies include a number, very important for Kansas, that are not Penn-German but Russian German and deserve special treatment. At the national level it is sometimes difficult to separate these bodies statistically from those of the Penn-Germans.

German Religious Bodies in the United States, exclusive of Mennonites and small Penn-German churches, Membership 1890-1926, as recorded by the Federal Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, Vol. II, 1926.

Numbers of Members to the Nearest Thousand --

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church Titles of Unofficial Type</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Lutheran (includes Gen. Synod, Gen. Council [except Augustana Synod], United Synod of South)</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synodical Conference (includes Slovak and Michigan as well as Missouri and Wisconsin)*</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Synod**</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa Synod**</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>not given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ev. Synod***</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rfd. Church in U.S.***</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evang. Assn. (Church)****</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>not given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evang. Cong. Church merger in process (United Ev.)****</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>not given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* Missouri Synod for 1926 - 1,040,275
Wisconsin Synod for 1926 - 229,242
Slovak Synod for 1926 - 14,759

** Later in the American Lutheran Church.

*** Later in the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

**** Later the Evangelical United Brethren Church.

58.06 German Religious Bodies in the United States in 1916 -- Membership in the United States and in Kansas and Amount of Use of German in their Services in the United States, as Recorded by the Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, Vol. II, 1916.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Members U.S.</th>
<th>Org. U.S.</th>
<th>Members KS</th>
<th>Org. KS</th>
<th>Services in English only</th>
<th>Services in German only</th>
<th>Serv. in German, part or whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luth. Gen. Synod</td>
<td>370,715</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>6,780</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1617</td>
<td>322,742</td>
<td>83 10,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luth. Gen. Council*</td>
<td>540,642</td>
<td>2386</td>
<td>8,651</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>173,144</td>
<td>501 177,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luth. Synodical Conf.**</td>
<td>177,701</td>
<td>3620</td>
<td>15,081</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>49,118</td>
<td>3192 714,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luth Ohio Synod***</td>
<td>164,968</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>1,544</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>34,956</td>
<td>191 25,193*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luth. Iowa Synod***</td>
<td>130,793</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>7,124</td>
<td>458 57,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref. Ch. in U.S.+</td>
<td>344,374</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>203,052</td>
<td>158 17,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ev. Assn.+</td>
<td>120,756</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>6,210</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1051</td>
<td>73,387</td>
<td>183 9,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Ev. Church‡</td>
<td>89,744</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>83,986</td>
<td>3 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Augustana Synod belonged (it had 41 org. in Kansas in 1950 and 3 in KC, Mo & in 1916 organizations with 186,286 members used Swedish alone or with English.

** Primarily the Missouri Synod.

*** Became part of the American Lutheran Church.

† Became part of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

‡ Became part of the Evangelical United Brethren Church.

§ Included a few congregations using Norwegian or Slavic.
Use of German in church services decreased between 1906 and 1916. The report to the Bureau of the Census in 1916 included the data quoted above, evidently because the government in asking for them reflected the public opinion of 1916, which was beginning to view with sharp disapproval the use of any language but English in the United States. The churches were asked also for a comparison with 1906; at that time the concern had been still dormant. Their replies may be considered as emphasizing as much as possible the decrease of the use of German, but as being essentially factual. Here are their replies as transmitted by the Census Bureau editors. Each reply may be considered prefixed by the words: "In 1916, compared with 1906, there was:"

**Lutheran General Synod**: Decrease of 33 in the number of organizations reporting the use of foreign languages, but an increase of 1588 in the membership of such organizations.

**Lutheran Synodical Conference**: Including the organizations of the Slovak Synod for 1906, ... a decrease of 4 in the number of foreign languages used, a decrease of 1524 organizations with 278,080 members reporting use of foreign language only, and an increase of 1578 organizations with 366,283 members reporting foreign languages and English.

**Lutheran Ohio Synod**: Decrease of 36 in the number of organizations reporting foreign languages alone or with English and an increase of 91 in the number reporting English only.

**Lutheran Iowa Synod**: Nearly the same number of organizations
using German alone or with English, but a large increase in
the number using English alone.

German Evangelical Synod of N.A.: Using the foreign language
95.4% organizations and 97.1% of total members in 1916, against
98.6% of the organizations and 98.5% of the members in 1906.

Reformed Church in the U.S.: Increase of 2 (unspecified) in the
number of foreign languages reported, but a decrease of 79 in
the number of organizations reporting the use.

Evangelical Association: Decrease of 332 organizations reporting
the use of foreign languages, and of 12,158 members.

United Evangelical Church: Decrease of 109 in the number of or­
ganizations reporting a foreign language, with a membership of
6,690.

58.08 Lutheranism among Germans in America became established with
the arrival of the early 18th century immigrants from Germany.
In 1748, four German and two Swedish ministers organized into
what came to have the name of the Pennsylvania Synod. The Swedes
were still participating in 1762, but German prevailed.

About 1785, "the field was full of promise. Unfortunately,
however, the contest which arose in reference to the introduc­
tion of the English language in the services of public worship,
blighted our prospects and was the occasion of great discord
and serious evil. . . . It was natural that the Germans should
be reluctant to give up the language to which they had been ac­
customed from their infancy, and which they sincerely thought
could be perpetuated in this land of their adoption. But this
tenacious adherence to the exclusive use of their vernacular language was the great obstacle to our progress and success. Thousands abandoned their parental communion and sought a home in other churches because their children did not understand German, whilst many who remained, because of their limited acquaintance with the language, lost all interest in the exercises and became careless in their attendance upon the ministrations of the pulpit. . . . In 1785 the New York Ministerium was organized with 14 ministers and 18 congregations. The chief object contemplated in its formation was the introduction of the English language into the exercises of the sanctuary, a measure to which the Synod of Pennsylvania had always been violently opposed. In the year 1809 the first English Lutheran church in Philadelphia, and probably in the state of Pennsylvania, was established" (LA 7). This passage quoted from the Lutheran Almanac of 1855 represents a point of view rejected by good Germans for at least another half century. Georg von Bosse in 1908 speaks with some bitterness. "[About 1815] the language question came up which shook many German congregations to their foundations. But the Germans defended themselves and were in many places victorious. Those who desired English preaching usually withdrew and formed English Lutheran congregations.... Insofar as it [the Lutheran church] is English, it still owes its existence to the Germans, and it has lost along with the German language many worthy things which belong to the German-speaking sections. Luther's language is, so to speak, the
mother tongue of the Lutheran church, and as a stay upholding
the rich treasures of Lutheranism which are set down in the
writings of our forefather, it will never lose its value"
(B 452 & 457).

58.09 In 1803 North Carolina formed a separate synod because of
distance, and a decade and a half later "district synods" began
to multiply. In 1820 there was organized the General Synod.
Representatives of the Ohio Synod did not attend because "in
the General Synod English would soon prevail, whereas in other
places German must remain the dominant language. The German
element of Pennsylvania also made earnest protest. In the Gen­
eral Synod [the adoption of English] as the language of worship
proceeded with great rapidity" (RB 351). In 1855 the General
Synod included 25 district synods, coming as far west as Illinois
and Texas. The Joint Synod of Ohio had remained separate and
included 8 district synods; some acceptance of English had in­
filtrated, for the English District Synod of Ohio was a member
(to be distinguished from the English Synod of Ohio, which was
a member of the General Synod). At that time the General Synod
counted 1239 congregations and 583 ministers; the Joint Synod
of Ohio had 287 congregations and 153 ministers; the Missouri
Synod, which had never joined the General Synod, 73 congregations
and 108 ministers. Three independent southern Synods are not
included above, nor the Wisconsin Synod which furnished no sta­
tistics though it had been organized in 1846. In the years that
followed 1855 there were divisions in national organization so
that from the end of the Civil War (more exactly 1866) till the end of the First World War there existed three bodies with no essential doctrinal differences between them, and with a general approval of English as the language of worship, or at least toleration, more importance being attached to membership in groups with what may be called liberal doctrine than to choice of language. The three bodies were the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South. In the following states in 1916 membership was as follows (it might amount to as much as 900 more than the number shown):

**General Synod**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>165,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>39,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other states had less than 8,500; Kansas 6,780.

**General Council**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>1,578,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>998,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>362,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>287,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>268,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1918 the **United Lutheran Church in America** came into existence by the fusion of the three groups just mentioned. This organization was not changed until 1962, when the Lutheran Church in America was created by the merging of the United Lutherans, the Augustana Lutherans (Swedish) and Danish and Finnish bodies. In this work Kansas churches belonging to this branch of Lutheranism are referred to as part of the United
Lutheran Church or occasionally as belonging to the Kansas Synod. The Kansas Synod was made up exclusively of congregations that had been part of the General Synod. In 1962 there was synodical reorganization; all Kansas congregations in the LCA became members of the Central States Synod. During the twentieth century two specifically German synods existed within the United Lutheran Church, the German Nebraska Synod, which became the Midwest Synod in 1937 and the Wartburg Synod, both dissolved by 1962. This work preserves the names "United Lutheran," "German Nebraska," and "Midwest Synod" in referring to these organizations as making for ease of identification. Inasmuch as several German Nebraska churches are in Kansas it is the subject of a separate section below.

58.11 The German Nebraska Synod which became the Midwest Synod and the Wartburg Synod of the United Lutheran Church were, as said above, specifically German groups. Their Englishing was, until well advanced, unaffected by the English character of the national organization or of the "English Lutheran" congregations surrounding them. In 1936 according to the Census Bureau's Religious Bodies (II 953) the Wartburg Synod was made up of 45 congregations with 21,115 members and German Nebraska of 71 congregations with 15,715 members (one and a quarter million in the whole church then). The Wartburg Synod's member congregations were largely in Illinois but also in adjacent territory extending east for a considerable distance. In this Synod most, though not all congregations, transferred to the
territorial synods upon abandoning German entirely. The process of transfer began as a result of the pressures of the First World War. By 1951 there had been 156 such transfers. The congregations most ardently German at that time were composed of the Siebenburgers from Hungary usually employed as steelworkers. In 1962 when the Wartburg Synod was dissolved, its congregations joined other synods.

Because of its Kansas churches the **German Nebraska Synod** is of more direct interest to this work. The Synod was organized in 1890 and separated from the "English" Nebraska Synod because that body refused to grant rights of self-government to a German Conference that had existed within it for some time. The dissidents were not the oldest congregations among the Germans, but others, founded as long before as 1860, joined the Synod somewhat later. The oldest of the congregations in Kansas, that at Hanover, had its beginning in 1874, and Hanover was a charter member of the Synod. The organizing congregations were all Reich Germans and the majority continued to be, but Volgans were also attracted to the Synod in both Nebraska and Kansas. The German Nebraska Synod grew rapidly; in 1906 there were "71 pastors, 86 congregations, 6951 communicant members, and a total of 12,101 baptized members; [in 1919] 87 pastors, 114 congregations, 5869 communicant members and 18,792 baptized members" (WM 66). Beginning about 1910 the language question presented itself. It was "used as a pretext for proselyting among our people by our non-German sister synods"
The struggles within the Synod were the usual battle of the generations. But the proportion of foreign-born pastors in it was much higher in 1919 than in other branches of Lutheranism; without exception they had been born in Germany, and few could preach in English. Sentiment at the time of the First World War and afterward against sermons in German made securing new members difficult. It was not until 1922 that synodical reports became bilingual. "There were still numerous congregations preferring the German language, particularly among the more recent arrivals . . . from the Ukraine and the Volga region" (WM 83). The first application for admission to the synod of a congregation having no German services was hotly debated, though finally accepted. Such an admission meant debate in English at Synod meetings, in which the German-speaking Old Guard might not hold its own. The trend continued. In 1935 600 copies of Synodical minutes in German were mimeographed, in 1941 350, thus German persisted, though in 1937 the name change from German Nebraska to Midwest had been made. "After 1941 the secretary abridged the German minutes. German minutes ceased to be published in 1945" (WM 116). Such action did not correspond to abandonment in all churches. Nor did the final absorption of the Midwest Synod into the Central States Synod in the 1950's bring total disuse. Volgan churches continued German services, though synod organization was different -- at least till the late 1960's at Russell, Kansas, for instance.
An Ohio Synod was first organized in 1818. It grew and absorbed other synods so that through much of its career its name was officially the Joint Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States. At the origin of the Synodical Conference in 1872 it was a constituent member, but for doctrinal reasons withdrew in 1881. It was numerically inferior to the Iowa Synod in Kansas, with which it joined in 1930 to form the American Lutheran Church. The data for 1916 presented above show that at that time, the incidence of German services in the Ohio Synod was much less frequent than in the Iowa Synod. The census further states, "From its early history the Ohio Synod has been a German-English organization. While in some districts English has been the predominant language, and in others German, both are more or less used in all, and at the conventions they are by statute placed on an equal footing" (RB 381). In the following six states its membership in 1916 was superior to the number indicated by not more than 900: Ohio - 59,000; Wisconsin - 19,000; Minnesota - 14,000; Michigan - 13,000; Indiana - 9,000; in Kansas there were 1,544 members.

The Iowa Synod was organized near Dubuque in 1854 by pastors who had moved from Michigan after incurring the wrath of the Missouri Synod for doctrinal reasons. Its growth was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pastors</th>
<th>Congregations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>143, 90 parishes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The parishes were in 1873 distributed geographically as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ze 25, 44)

Its continued championship during the 1870's of theological views differing from those of the Missouri Synod drew around it congregations of like views; repelled them whenever compromise was suggested (Ze 44). The doctrinal difference remained a raging question among German Lutherans for well over a generation and still prevents serious progress toward union. In communities where congregations of the Missouri Synod and of the American Lutheran Church (of which the Iowa Synod became a part in 1930) both exist today, one of them, -- in Kansas, usually the American Lutheran church, -- originated because a portion of the church already established withdrew on account of the doctrinal dispute or at least with this dispute as an excuse. Attitudes on the language question were also a factor, those most faithful to German usually but not always retaining control of the older organization. There were other factors too, sometimes the district of origin of the Germans, sometimes things much more petty. In 1880 the synod became interested in Kansas and the Dakotas (Ze 52). The progress was slow in the next decade. The hard times of the 1890's forced deferment of efforts (Ze 53). They were given more attention as times bettered, and became quite vigorous in 1907 (Ze 57).

The adherents to the Iowa Synod were usually not many years re-
moved from immigration and the great number of churches with German services in 1916 as contrasted with those in the Ohio Synod was one of the results. On the matter of language the 1916 Census of Religious Bodies states, "In its early history the synod used the German language in its church work to a considerable degree, but of late years the use of English has increased notably. . . . A church paper in English is published, and a full set of graded Sunday School lessons has been prepared by the Synod" (RB 390). This statement smacks of an effort to cultivate favorable official opinion, but it nonetheless stated tendencies really at work. In 1948 only one seventh of American Lutheran services were conducted in German, and we may be sure that the attendance at German service was at the very best not more than a fourth of that at English services, more generally, one tenth. Territorially the German services were far from uniformly distributed. The table below brings out this fact. Kansas and the adjacent states form the Central District.
Language of Services, 1948, in the American Lutheran Church, Districts of Less than 6% German Services Omitted, also Canada. (They were: California, Eastern, Northwestern, Ohio)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Preaching Services</th>
<th>Percent of German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>8,401</td>
<td>1,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakota</td>
<td>5,861</td>
<td>3,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>8,563</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>10,522</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>9,458</td>
<td>993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>7,915</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>11,018</td>
<td>1,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>9,375</td>
<td>1,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The states having the largest numbers of members of the Iowa Synod were in 1916 (rounded by dropping all digits below 1000): Iowa - 26,000; Texas (which had had an independent synod that later joined Iowa) - 19,000; Wisconsin - 17,000; Illinois - 14,000; Ohio, Nebraska, and Minnesota each - 8,000; Michigan and North & South Dakota each 6,000; Kansas was next with 2,945.

58.15 The **Missouri Synod** instigated the formation of the Synodical Conference in 1871 and remained by far its most important member. The conference never achieved the unity of a single church and synods have repeatedly entered and withdrawn from it. As a unit, it needs our attention only when certain statistics concerning it cannot be broken down so as to show what was true
of the Missouri Synod alone. The story of the Saxon immigrants who came to St. Louis and then in large part moved downstream to Perry County, Missouri, has been sketched elsewhere in this work (Sections 56.94 and 57.01). The leader, Pastor C.F.W. Walther, was the moving spirit in the creation of the Missouri Synod and was its most influential member for many years. It was a dynamic even a pugnacious body, fired by a zeal that did its utmost to crush all contrary opinions, whether in or outside of Lutherdom. It could not subdue the Iowa Synod nor the Evangelical organization that finally became part of the Evangelical and Reformed church, but it grew stronger among Germans as it struggled with the other denominations, more frequently winning the battles than they. Its most notable acquisition among organizations was the Illinois Synod which merged with it some time after 1872. This work makes no effort to distinguish whether Illinois congregations were originally part of the Missouri Synod, or organized before union. English services were rare in the synod before the First World War, though they were not unknown. Georg von Bosse in 1908 said "The Missouri Synod has remained until today completely German, and has preserved German characteristics" (B 455).

It continued for a long time to do its best to remain German, but its devotion to the language gradually subsided. In 1923 its publication, Der Lutheraner, had 52% of the total subscriptions made to that journal and its English counterpart. The proportion held steady till 1931 and then sank rapidly to
In 1937, to 7% in 1947 (PH 140). Besides offering these data Hofman also analyzes the subsidence in German services, particularly for North Dakota-Montana and Minnesota districts (PH 143 ff). He includes the Kansas district in the "More retentive Heartland" along with these districts: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Northern and Southern Illinois (not Central Illinois), North Dakota, Texas and Northern Nebraska. This category includes those districts "at or near 30% Anglicification in 1920 (base line) and reaching the vicinity of 70% (1940 ceiling."

The Missouri Synod built a far more extensive system of parochial schools than any other Protestant church. Other German congregations sometimes maintained schools, but only the Missouri Synod and its synodical ally, the Wisconsin Synod, adopted a policy generally accepted by all congregations. Their school system was able to withstand the shock of the war years and the period of hostility to foreign language schools that followed. But outside pressures certainly hastened the elimination of instruction in German in these schools. Before the First World War Missouri Lutheran communities through them were able to maintain German as a cultural language, and Standard German as an entity was recognized alongside dialect. After that war bilingual instruction in the parochial schools revived in some cases, but the number of pupils instructed decreased, from 35,000 in 1927 to 17,800 in 1936 (FK 241; see also FH 141). Communities so served were thus likely to be more conservative linguistically than any others, not merely because German was
taught, but also because German-speaking children were isolated from other children to a much greater extent than elsewhere.

58.17 For many years no effort toward making conversions outside of German stock was made in American communities, but when the furor accompanying the First World War subsided, gradually a movement to spread the faith widely became important. As time passed and the mobility of American population increased, any town of four or five thousand became the residence of a kernel of Missouri Lutheran members, and congregations promoted by the Synod were established that attracted in part people of non-German stock. The proliferations were especially numerous in cities and in suburbs. Consequently congregations organized after 1925 are of very little interest to this study. Such congregations are often unaware how fundamentally German they are. But it is not surprising in view of this policy that in 1964 the Missouri Synod membership was 2,650,857.

58.18 The German Evangelical Synod of North America which eventually became part of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (later an element of the United Church of Christ) was frequently called Lutheran by non-Lutherans, particularly in communities where there was an Evangelical Association church (see H, II, 172). Indeed Ott in 1906 in his History of the Kansas Synod (General Conference) includes as much information about this organization as he does about the Iowa and Ohio Synods and almost as much as about the Missouri Synod. His attitude was typical of his branch of Lutheranism (Sch 375). In other words, the Rev. Mr.
Ott found that his General Synod was as nearly compatible with the Evangelical Synod as with the "German" Lutherans.

But German Lutherans and members of the Evangelical Synod had no such friendly feeling for each other. The hostility of the Missouri Synod for these Unierter was outright (see particularly Sch 371 ff. and Mu 107 ff.). The Unierter were so called because they were essentially the continuation of the Prussian state church created by a royal fiat uniting Lutheran and Reformed Churches (further explanation in section 51.10). The Missouri Synod Lutherans originated from the Saxon stock that had fought this merger.

On the other hand the Reformed churches recognized, much sooner in the east than in the west (Sch 377), that many of the members of the Evangelical Synod had origins similar to their own, thus making possible the voluntary merger of 1934. The gap between the Evangelical Synod and the essentially Methodist Evangelical Association was great, particularly as regards temperament.

The most important antecedent of the Evangelical Synod of North America, at least as regards Kansas, was the Kirchenverein des Westens, a Missouri body which was organized in 1840 and which by 1855 had spread into all the Upper Mississippi Valley. The Lutherans were hostile but sometimes involuntarily helped growth. When in 1867 the Wisconsin Synod condemned unionism, two smaller adhering bodies came over to the Evangelical Synod. The synod's early days were troubled not only by the rival
Lutherans but also and even more by the "rationalists," indifferent, even hostile, to all religion, belligerently hostile to pastoral control. In the 1840's and 1850's many of the immigrants, particularly among the educated and influential, were of this type. The churches in general and more especially the Unierter grew in power only as these early enemies diminished in numbers through old age and death. The Kirchenverein changed its name in 1866 to the Deutsche Evangelische Synode des Westens, and without further change of name, absorbed similar bodies throughout the area in 1872; again in 1877 when North America replaced West in the name, it added congregations. The use of the English translation of their name became more common, and before the union creating the E-R church the word German had been omitted. In 1916 when the total membership was 340,000 the seven states containing 80% of the members were: Illinois - 71,000; Ohio - 40,000; Missouri - 37,000; New York - 26,000; Indiana - 25,000; Michigan - 22,000; Iowa - 13,000; Kansas then had 5,456 members. The statistics quoted in section 58.05 show membership as very nearly static. The situation in 1948 was not greatly different.

The attitude of the Synod toward language in 1851 is shown by the prospectus of a collegiate institution at Marthasville. The lay section of the seminary closed after two weeks. The prospectus (in German) included: "Our language and habits are German, and we are not of a mind ever to renounce them; but we do not set them up in hostile opposition to American characteristics,
we regard the German and American elements (if the expression may be permitted us) as destined to mingle with each other and create something new by mutual penetration" (Sch 319). The churches of the German Evangelical Synod were as a whole quite conservative linguistically. The dates of the first synodical publications in English are testimony to this fact: a catechism in 1892, a hymnal in 1898, a periodical for children in 1899, a periodical for adults in 1902 (Mu 300). The congregations did not in most places, however, found lasting parochial schools and consequently the young seldom became proficient in Standard German, the ritual language. This factor for displacement of German was, however, balanced by frequent greater insistence than elsewhere by the old on maintaining the language with which they were religiously familiar.

In 1919 the pressures from outside and the resistance from inside the Synod was such that its officers felt compelled to issue this statement (quoted in part):

"We have the duty:

"a. To assure, in regard to their rearing, that we give the young people religious instruction in the language of the country. We owe that to the young people. The right to give religious instruction even in the German language, we can and indeed want to take from no one, yet we hold it our duty to counsel and to recommend that all congregations offer to the young people and popularize religious instruction in the language of the country.

"b. Where no divine worship in the language of the
country is yet held, there we recommend the introduction of the same in an appropriate manner, perhaps one divine service per month and later more, in any case, according to requirements.

"c. We also recommend in Sunday School, in Confirmation instruction, in the Young People's Association and with the entire congregation the practice and singing of the magnificent songs and hymns of the 'Christian Hymns' and the 'Evangelical Hymnal'.

"d. We are decidedly of the view that the German language should be used wherever the older element needs it.

"e. ... If we hold the service in the language of the country, it should not on that account, bear a less evangelical character."

This statement was evidently made in an effort to combat what was actually happening, decline of membership because of conservatism in language. In less frequent cases where English gained a hearing the Evangelical churches often flourished. The degree to which those preparing ministers understood linguistic needs is illustrated by the proportion of courses in which English was the language of instruction at the Eden Seminary in St. Louis, seven eighths in 1914, no more than one eighth in 1929. (FK 240). The feeling that loss of German meant loss of religion was still strong enough in 1939 so that Schneider in his history of the Kirchen-verein felt it necessary to speak defensively when treating of the triumph of English. For instance: "Notwithstanding the bona fide arguments which sup-
port the vital relationship between language and religion, it is disconcerting to note how, with the political ascendancy of Germany after 1870, new zest was given to the argument that with the adoption of the American language the indigenous spiritual genius of the German people would be destroyed" (Sch 472n.). And again: "It may well be questioned whether any vital religious values are intrinsically involved either in Germanization or in Americanization. . . . A vitally religious adjustment in accommodation to the prevailing American mores is testimony . . . [to] functional vigor. . . . Any preconceived committal, for example, to the perpetual use of the German language . . . would condemn the Church of God as an earthly institution" (Sch 473).

58.19 The Reformed Church in the United States (that is', German Reformed) which joined with the Evangelical Synod to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church was organized in 1846 as a synod after a chaotic sixty years of earlier existence. This early activity was almost exclusively in Pennsylvania, and that state has continued to be the main seat of activity, but a spread into Ohio began with its settlement, and Ohio has remained the next most important state for German Reformed churches. In 1833 the needs of Indiana began to be considered by the Pennsylvania Classis (Sch 70). One obstacle to missionary work among immigrants was pastors' weak knowledge of German. In 1836 "of the 39 students in the Reformed Seminary only 7 or 8 could speak German adequately" (Sch 79). In the east said the Rev. Mr.
Schmucker in 1836 "the American-Germans are very generally intermingled with foreigners" (quoted, Sch 63). The spread onward seems to have been undertaken with more vigor upon formation of a general synod in 1863; then "began the rapid extension of the work of home missions; the German work in the west rapidly assumed unexpected proportions" (RB 624). In 1916 when the total membership was 361,000, there were 209,000 members in Pennsylvania and 22,000 in Ohio, Maryland had 6,000, no other state more than 4,000, Kansas 1130. The Reformed Church was not among the bodies to be considered as the most conservative linguistically, but considering the whole course of their history many Eastern congregations persisted long with German.

58.20 The Evangelical United Brethren Church was formed from the Evangelical Church (Association before 1922) and the United Brethren in 1946 because both organizations are essentially Methodist and also have a very similar background of history. The United Brethren, however, though ultimately German in background, tended away from the use of the German language early enough and by home missionary efforts attained a membership sufficiently non-German so that it has not seemed necessary to consider that branch in assembling material for the present work. Faust said in 1909: "The church grew strong among the German element, and there still are German conferences, but gradually the German language was displaced by English" (Fa II 423). The Evangelical Association was created for Germans in 1800 because the main Methodist organization, believing "the German work"
would rapidly diminish and not develop, would not allow a German conference. By the time the authorities changed their minds, the Evangelical Association was an institution well enough rooted to enjoy its independence and to carry on its own missionary work. Until 1891 the church prospered. The Illinois conference, founded in 1844, was particularly active. It undertook missionary work in Iowa and Wisconsin and by 1854 had met with noticeable success in its efforts (Sch 426), which later extended to Kansas. In 1891 a schism began that lasted until 1922. The United Evangelical Church though much weaker in Kansas during this period than the Evangelical Association, (in 1916, 615 members to 6,210) was much the stronger in Pennsylvania (62,792 members to 14,674), practically equal in numbers in Nebraska and Iowa (respectively about 3,000 and 5,000 apiece) not overwhelmed in Illinois (6830 to 10,876) nor in Ohio (4,729 to 18,029). Elsewhere the Evangelical Association was dominant. The ten appointments of the United Evangelical Church in Kansas in 1901 included one named Oklahoma. None of the others was in a strongly German district and six of the ministers had non-German names; at least two were Ohio-born and three appointments were unoccupied. As reported in Section 58.06 only five percent of the congregations of the UEC worshipped at all in German. We may then safely put our attention almost exclusively upon the Evangelical Association.

58.21 The Evangelical Association was still young when the language question became serious. "By 1843, the Evangelical Church
was convinced that it no longer could afford to throttle the natural growth of the denomination among English-speaking people, and by action of the general conference of that year, decided to give more attention to this increasing group, planned to publish an English paper as soon as practicable, established a rule permitting the organization of English Conferences, and ordered the enlarging of the English hymnal. While there was no intention to slight the German work, there was in these actions a strong determination to begin working earnestly among the English. The few English preachers were encouraged and ... the English work of the Church soon proved to be most promising" (AE 283). The language problem came to the forefront again in 1875. "Once more the question of a bi-lingual church provoked much discussion when the formation of the German Conferences came before the general body. This problem was entirely different from that of 1850 when the Central Pennsylvania area was the first to become predominantly English. Now the question of properly caring for the German work came before a general conference which was reconciled to the fact that the major portion of the Church was English and that the future of the church lay in that field. The bishops recognized this trend and, as late as 1871 in the episcopal address, urged the ministers and congregations of the different language groups to be tolerant with each other. Just four years before, they had still pleaded for young ministers who could preach in both English and German" (AE 281).... In Kansas the first mission, specifically identified as being English was created in 1868 in Nemaha County (PK 61). In 1905
the Evangelical Association was already disclaiming German publicly insofar as it could. The United States Census Religious Bodies of that year stated, "Although in the beginning, the activities of the church were confined to the German language, the scope was soon widened by taking up work in the English language also." To this sentence the 1916 edition added, "and of late years English has become the dominant language practically displacing German" (RB 267). As set forth in section 58.06 the Association nevertheless reported that one third of its congregations still used some German in worship. The statement as quoted for 1916 was not changed for 1926.

58.22 The North American Baptist General Conference and its predecessor, the German Baptists of North America received no recognition as a separate religious body in the United States Census, Religious Bodies of 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936 nor any recognition in the Yearbook of American Churches until after the Second World War. The first congregation was founded at Newark in 1842. Faust wrote in 1909: "There are now about 270 congregations with over 26,000 members" (Fa II 422). The notice of the Yearbook of 1966 begins, "These churches emanate from German Baptist immigrants of more than a century ago. Many of them are still bilingual." Evidently the Yearbook received protests after 1952 when the second sentence had read, "Many of them were once bi-lingual." The statement of 1966 seems more fitting in an organization that then still continued to have a journal in German, Der Sendbote, first published in 1865. In a very few cases the present ministry in German dates back to mid-nineteenth century immigrants from Germany (as for instance, at the Shell Creek
church near Columbus, Nebraska). In a larger number of cases, as is found in the churches of the Dakotas, the membership is largely made up of Blackseamen who arrived between 1875 and 1914. In some cases as at Cleveland, Ohio, refugees from Hitler and from the Russians were the occasion of renewed services in German.

The activity of German Baptist ministers among nineteenth century immigrants began in 1839, but it was not until several years later that separate congregations began to spring up: St. Louis - 1847, Milwaukee and Watertown, Wisconsin - 1846-1852, Chicago - 1850, Concordia, Missouri - 1850, Mt. Sterling, Missouri - 1855 (R 16-20). Between 1851 and 1865 forty-three new congregations originated. A German conference was organized at Philadelphia in 1851, a General conference in 1865 with 57 congregations and 3,637 members (R 35). In 1895 there were 231 congregations with 20,804 members, in 1953, 274 with 45,121 members, in 1966, 347 with 53,346 members. In the east in 1953 the largest concentration of North American Baptists was at Newark, where there were very nearly 1500. Buffalo, Brooklyn and Pittsburgh had 500 each. Elsewhere congregations were small. Even Rochester, a sort of German Baptist capital, had only 209.

In the Mississippi Valley the distribution by states was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>2,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chicago)</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dakotas</td>
<td>6,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>1,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>4,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Detroit)</td>
<td>2,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>2,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The importance of Blackseamen in these statistics is great, as evidenced by the very large figure for the Dakotas; part of the membership in Detroit and Chicago can also be ascribed to them. However, none of the churches in Kansas had a membership from the Black Sea.

German Methodists never formed a separate denomination bearing the name Methodist, but beginning in 1845 there were German districts within the conferences and after 1864 conferences within the Methodist Episcopal General Conference until in the two decades following 1924 they were merged with the English conferences. Methodism made great progress among Germans in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but when they were allowed no separate organization within the church, those who could not tolerate the situation formed the Evangelical Association. A certain amount of preaching by Methodists in German began in Ohio as early as 1808, but it was not until Wilhelm Nast established himself in Cincinnati in 1835 that German Methodism became potent. The German paper that he founded in 1838, Der Christliche Apologete, exerted a very great influence and in 1924 still had over ten thousand subscribers. In 1845 there were eleven German circuit riders in Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa. By 1864 eighteen German districts had been organized with 306 preachers and 26,415 members.

In 1863 a committee of the General Conference was appointed to study the problem; the report read in part: "Although in most places the children of German Methodists rapidly become
familiar with our language and identify themselves with us, the continued immigration from the mother country will supply their places, and fresh fields be continually opening to our German ministers. To secure this harvest we should release our German work from its leading strings, admitting that Germans understand their countrymen better than we do" (DM 78). The arguments convinced the General Conference, and in 1864 four German conferences were formed; there were ten in 1924. The four of 1864 were:

- **Eastern**, with 80 preachers; extended to the Alleghenies.
- **Central**, with 82 preachers; Indiana, Michigan and Ohio, organized at Cincinnati.
- **Northwestern**, with 57 preachers; Minnesota, Iowa, upper Illinois, and Wisconsin, organized at Galena as the capital of the oldest district within it.
- **Southwestern**, with 87 preachers; 5308 members; the rest of Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and on to the Rockies, organized at St. Louis.

These conferences soon divided; Chicago for instance became independent. In 1879 the Western Conference was created with 37 preachers and 2811 members, headquarters at St. Joseph -- western Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and southwestern Iowa were included. Further statistics on the Western Conference display German Methodism as a stable and growing organization until stricken by the First World War.
In 1888, 1898 and 1908 the average membership per church was about 60 persons, 70 in 1918, 100 in 1926. Understandably the weaker churches collapsed first. No church gained in membership after 1917, many ceased to exist. For all years the impression of stability is perhaps exaggerated by the statistics. Rural churches once firmly established were stable. The same could be said for the churches in towns only when greater numbers of members existed; there was always at hand an English congregation to which those Americanized and Engl-ized could transfer if the conservatives were too strong within the German congregation.

German Methodist losses in this respect were to some extent counterbalanced by gains achieved because the Methodists were not hostile to secret societies. The degree of enmity to such organizations in other German denominations varied, but was generally existent, and in a town during the late 19th century, pressures to join such societies were great. The linguistic effect of both the drain and the intake was on the whole not conservative of German. The fear of losing the young worked strongly against the innate conservatism of the members.
ardent in preserving German. The newcomers from secret societies had already shown themselves conformist to a pervading social atmosphere and they continued to have the same tendency. Still the pull on German Methodists toward general American society must not be exaggerated. Even to ministers of English churches with German churches in the same town, the Germans seemed in some sense another denomination (DM vi). "The tragedy of the situation culminated in the indefensible attitude taken by many toward the German Methodists during the World War" (DM 76). The German Methodists were separate to the extent of maintaining their own system of higher education. In the Western Conference there were colleges at Warrenton, Missouri, and Charles City, Iowa, and from 1896 till the First World War the German Methodists maintained at Enterprise, Kansas, the Enterprise Normal Academy and Commercial School.

As already suggested the war was a greater shock to German Methodism than to other German religious systems. This was because the church structure instead of protecting this element helped persecution to the point of forbidding sermons and prayers in German. "The bishops might have insisted upon the extreme need of Christian brotherhood. Although a few general superintendents did stand by their German brethren, such Christian loyalty was not the dominant attitude" (DM 190). The shock was such that many local mergers or sometimes dissolutions took place, but the General Conference retained a very sizable number of German and Swedish churches. In fact in 1922, when there
were 467 German charges, there were fifty more to be supplied than in 1900 (MF 1661). One serious problem was the pastoral desertions of the sinking ship; between 1910 and 1922 sixty-four preachers transferred from German to English conferences. The German body could not supply its own pastoral needs. And yet there were many ministers much more at home in German. Of 347 more than half (178) had been born in Germany.

58.26 The Methodist General Conference set up a Foreign Language Commission to study the problem; it reported in 1924. By this time, at least outside of the American Legion and its allies, the hysteria was subsiding, and the Commission made a temperate report, implying rather than recommending that the German conferences and German churches should themselves determine when the time had come for merging (MF 1690). The General Conference then passed measures permitting but not requiring liquidation, which might or might not be preceded by conferences as units merging with English conferences. The liquidation began at once, and in 1933 was completed in all except the Eastern Conference, where there were still German churches in 1939. In the Western German Conference the liquidation took place in 1926 and 1927 (DM 209). The Commission in its report noted that in the German Conferences the churches with a great deal of English employed in the services were the strong virile organizations (MF 1686). The report which it made on the number of churches using various proportions of German did not take the size of the
church into consideration. In California and on the Pacific
71% and 84% of the German churches had services predominantly
in German. In the St. Louis conference and those near the
Great Lakes from 21% to 29% had the same predominance. For the
Western Conference and all German Conferences the statistics
were, more completely, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Conference</th>
<th>All Conferences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of churches</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. using only German</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. using much German at every service</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. using mostly German</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. using 2/3 English for morning services</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. using mostly English</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. using all English</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage using predominantly German</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>43% (MF 1688)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58.27 **German Congregationalists** first achieved organization in
Iowa. At Dubuque a church was established in 1847 after efforts
beginning the year before (EC xv). In 1900 there were twelve
congregations and two missions in that state. Except at Musca-
tine, the members were almost all people from Germany, at Mus-
catine too in early days, for organization there took place in
1855. The Iowa congregations did not immediately become large,
that at Des Moines counted 25 families in 1900; in Muscatine
there were then 113 members (E1 196). The real fortunes of the
denomination began in 1876 just after the arrival of the first
of the Russian Germans. Congregations grew up wherever these newcomers settled, as at Chicago and Michigan City. But the real strength of German Congregationalism was in the north-south tier of states in which Kansas is found, also on the plains beyond; it became most vigorous in Nebraska. The Pacific Coast states ultimately had many congregations. A Nebraska German Conference was organized in 1879, not exclusively Russian German, since their seminary, founded the year before was at Crete where the "Rooshuns" were not numerous. The congregations were mostly developed from the Bruederschaft, and since those were at their beginning largely small prayer groups, the congregations were often small. But the spirit of independence was great in them and hence they were attracted to Congregationalism (Eis 142 ff.) A General German Conference was formed in 1883. The First World War was a blow, but in many congregations the immigrants had arrived so recently that German persisted as the language of worship. Indeed when a Southern Conference, which included Kansas, was organized in 1926 the first minutes were in German (EC 309). The membership of the German conferences was 15,877 in 1916, 24,290 in 1930, 22,166 in 1937 (EC 134, 152, 161). Up to 1937, 37 congregations had existed in Colorado (largely in the beet sugar region), 15 in Kansas, 57 in Nebraska. In South Dakota the movement had begun in 1882 (Eis 145).

The distribution of the membership in 1940 may be judged by
the number of district conferences of the Bruderschaft, of which Kansas, where there were then four or five German Congregational Churches, contained one.

North Dakota - 5  
Nebraska and Michigan - 4 each  
South Dakota, Wisconsin, Illinois, California, Colorado - 2 each  
Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, New York - 1 each (Eis 113).

Popularly the terms German Presbyterian and German Reformed were often confused, with some reason, since the theology was the same. However Germans, working under the aegis of the Presbyterian church were active in Missouri by 1845, in Wisconsin by 1852, in Iowa by 1859 (Sch 135, 434, 435), in Illinois by 1854. In 1859 there was a convention of German Presbyterian preachers and elders in the West; in 1871 a similar meeting in the East. German Presbyterians, like German Methodists, became such after arrival in the United States. Unlike the Methodists, however, they had a theology and general background closely similar to religious bodies existing in Germany, that is the Reformed and the Prussian state churches. Consequently the number of German Presbyterian churches remained limited, their independence not greatly developed, and their assimilation into the general Presbyterian structure with consequent transfer to worship in English rapid.
Volga Germans formed congregations in various denominations which the present work will consider only incidentally. The persistence of German speech in them has sometimes been great because the social groups attracted to them have been those least likely to be thrown into the general stream of American life. The Seventh Day Adventist church, the Holiness church, and the Church of God may be mentioned as three such organizations. For the German Church of God, see #57.50. In spite of the linguistic conservatism of the members first attracted, ultimate Englishizing has been impossible to resist in view of the limited membership and the obvious inference that their fellow church members of other nationalities are worshipping as efficiently as they.

Mennonite religious bodies are numerous; not all of them will be considered here. For the present purposes they may be divided into two main groups, those made up largely of Penn-Germans and those whose members are mostly the descendants from immigrants of the latter part of the nineteenth century, in great part from Russia, but also from Poland, Germany, Switzerland, and Galicia. The Penn-German Mennonite bodies of interest to the present work are the Mennonite Church and the Old Order Amish. The late European group include the General Conference Mennonites, the Mennonite Brethren of North America, the Church of God in Christ (Mennonite)(Holdeman Church), the Krimmer Brethren, since 1960 merged with the M.B., and the Kleine Gemeinde. Consideration of the European groups before their emigration to
the United States is to be found in Sections 53.53, 54.00-54.41 for Mennonites in Russia and Poland, 52.21 for Mennonites from Switzerland, 52.71 for Mennonites from Galicia, 51.11 for Mennonites from Germany.

58.31 Mennonite Religious Bodies in the United States, Membership 1890-1926, as recorded by the Federal Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, Vol. II. Number of members to the nearest thousand.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Conference</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite Brethren of N. America</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krimmer Brethren</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>not given</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holdeman Mennonites</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kleine Gemeinde</td>
<td>1/5</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>no data</td>
<td>no data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those whose members are largely late immigrants from Europe

Members mainly Penn-German

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>77</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite Church</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Order Amish</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistics above are only for the United States. The Canadian membership has been substantial (GC 14,000 in 1955; MB 12,000; Holdeman 1,300).

58.32 Mennonite Bodies reported language usage to the Bureau of the Census in 1916 as follows:
In 1906: General Conference had 8 organizations with 959 members using Eng. only. Mennonite Brethren had no organizations with English only.

Holdeman & Krimmer had German only.

Mennonite Church: English with German, 122 org. with 16604 members, only German, 32 organizations with 4529 members.

Old Order Amish were all using German (with or without English).

58.33 The General Conference of Mennonites came into being in 1860 through the union of various groups who regarded themselves as progressive and had left the Mennonite Church at various times after 1847. The impetus for uniting these groups came from the Mennonites from South Germany who settled in the mid-nineteenth century in southeastern Iowa and in Illinois opposite St. Louis. These people were part of the Mennonites who arrived in Kansas shortly before or at the same time as those from Rus-
sia and who gave them aid. Those Black Sea Mennonites who were part of the majority organization on the Molotschna were naturally attracted by these early relations into the General Conference and so were most of the new arrivals from Western Europe.

The Mennonite Encyclopedia analyzes the congregations as made up of German stocks as follows: **Swiss-South German stocks**: Penn-German (still in Pennsylvania) - 28, South German - 12, Swiss from Switzerland - 11, Swiss from Volhynia - 12, Swiss from Galicia - 5, Penn-Germans formerly Amish (not in Pennsylvania but in Illinois and Indiana) - 27, former Hutterites (South Dakota) - 7; **Dutch-North German stocks**: those direct from Danzig area - 6, from South Russia - 70, from Volhynia and near - 11, Canadians from South Russia - 40. Kansas, as we have seen, has congregations of all stocks except former Hutterite, former Amish, and the first and last groups. The variety of stocks has made for Englishing in the General Conference as a whole. As soon as Standard German grew weak the multiplicity of dialects required the use of another lingua franca.

Among the Black Sea Mennonites the General Conference has generally been regarded as containing the more liberal group, or the "faster lot" depending upon point of view. To an outsider the compromises seem minor; for instance there is no giving away on the contention that members be pacifists to the point of being conscientious objectors. The consequence is that few from outside are attracted even into this liberal branch of Mennonitism.
Among General Conference Mennonites, linguistic solidity has been maintained, Engl-izing reduced in speed since invasion is so limited. An element in the general Conference has, however, advanced Engl-izing. Exit into the general population is more frequent than from other Black Sea Mennonite groups, particularly among those capable of entering the professions, and ties with the old stock have less frequently been severed after exit than in other groups, even when the Mennonite faith has been abandoned. On the other hand individual members of other branches of Black Sea groups, if they become discontented within their own sub-denomination have tended more frequently to join the General Conference than to go elsewhere. Such behavior has exerted a somewhat conservative linguistic influence.

The Mennonite Brethren, reaching formal established status in Russia in 1860, were represented in the immigrations to the United States in the middle of the 1870's, and then established congregations in Kansas and Nebraska. Their evangelistic work among other Mennonites continued, but they hardly numbered more than 2000 in 1900. Their numbers grew mainly by population increase. During the troubles necessitating removal from Russia after the Soviet triumph, a great many Mennonite Brethren established themselves in Canada. Their presence has had a very considerable influence in preserving the use of German as an official language of the M.B. Church, and to a certain extent has been a force for maintaining Low German among the young in the United States through students who came to Kansas to study. As
population grew by natural increase, the Brethren tended more frequently than General Conference Mennonites to take care of that increase by establishing agricultural settlements elsewhere and thus settlements in the Dakotas and adjacent states and Canadian provinces grew up.

Mennonite Brethren minutes in both English and German were published for the General Church Conference of 1968; whenever a committee report was included, the German section referred to the English minutes. The report of the Publication Committee then contained this passage: "We still have kept the Zionsbote to a great extent German, but the leaning to the English is definitely felt since many of our churches in the United States are being conducted in the English language" (p. 85). Action on this matter was: "That we continue to publish the Zionsbote, as much as conditions permit, in the German language. This should, however, not bar obituaries and missionary reports written in the English language" (p. 88). Discussion and action taken on Sunday School and hymnal publications makes it clear that the demand for German was from Canada; 5 cents per pupil was allowed for German material in Canada, the same for English material "in the States." A German hymnal was being assembled in Canada; one exclusively English was planned for the United States. "The majority of our churches [in Canada] continue to give one or two Sunday nights each month to the "Jugend-verein." "Christian Fellowship [for young people] has spread to the majority of the churches in the States" (p. 93). By 1966 all services in German had ceased in the Southern District.
58.37 The Kleine Gemeinde, born in South Russia in 1814 (section 54.22) and the Krimmer Brethren, who originated in the Crimea in 1869 (section 54.23) were doctrinally closely related, and both were generally regarded as conservative. After emigration to America (they were among the early,-- the Kleine Gemeinde in Nebraska, the Krimmer people in Kansas --) the Kleine Gemeinde became more and more isolated and withdrawn; Engl-izing was for them retarded. The Krimmer people eventually joined the MB, and Engl-izing was similar to that in MB.

58.38 On Holdeman Mennonites, see Vol. II, #41.27.

58.39 The strength of the Mennonites from Europe in resisting English has lain in the solidity of the district in Kansas occupied by emigrants from the Molotschna area and the non-conformist tradition of the whole group. Among the Molotschna people in the heart of the concentrated Mennonite district in 1966, persons who had learned to talk by the beginning of the Second World War still were proficient in Low German. Engl-izing of the Black Sea Mennonites has gone on more rapidly elsewhere, but with less speed in the Dakotas and Minnesota than in Oklahoma. The other groups, the Swiss, the Prussians, the South Germans were smaller units and resisted less firmly than the Black Sea people, but more firmly than many Protestant Volgans. The Mennonites were hampered in their resistance, however, by the fact that after the first great movement later emigration went to Canada rather than Kansas and the states near it.
The Mennonite Church was firmly established as a Penn-German institution in the 18th century and nearly all other Mennonite organizations in North America may be regarded as separations from it (MB, KMB and Kleine Gemeinde are exceptions, but not the General Conference Church nor the Holdeman Church). Therefore, its members are called "Old Mennonites." It spread with some strength through all the states west from Pennsylvania as far as Kansas and into Michigan and Ontario. It is stronger in Kansas than in any adjacent state, though Nebraska approaches Kansas. In 1916 there were 16,000 members in Pennsylvania, 5,000 in Ohio, 3,000 in Indiana, and something like 1,000 in Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Virginia. Unless Amish in preceding generations or living in the heart of the Penn-German district, "Old" Mennonites gave up "Dutch" before the First World War.

The Amish separated from other Mennonites beginning in Europe in 1693, so that they were distinct from Old Mennonites from the beginning of settlement in America. They spread into the same states as the Old Mennonites and are usually to be found, if well established, in the same areas or at least closely adjoining ones. In 1916 they numbered roughly 1,000 in Pennsylvania, 2,000 each in Ohio and Indiana, roughly 500 in Iowa, Illinois, and Kansas. In a study of Englizing they are most interesting. They have almost all become bilingual, but German remains firmly in their culture, so that in 1966 Old Order Amish children were proficient and active in its use. "The Old Order Amish have continued to grow because of their high birth rate and
high retention of children in the group" (ME III, 43). The numerical count provided in section 58.25 and above in this section is for baptized members; with children the Mennonite Encyclopedia estimates 50,000. The birth rate is higher than the retention of children, for more than one community (for example, Kalona, Iowa) has Old Mennonite churches largely made up of persons who have left the Amish. Such families usually continue the use of Penn-German at least for another generation, longer on farms. The Old Order Amish are "distinguished by their non-conformist attitudes and resistance to social change, and characterized by worship in private homes, a strictly rural way of life, a horse-and-buggy culture, the use of a dialect of the German language, and 'plain' dress" (ME III, 42). This quotation savors of some impatience of other Mennonites with the Old Order Amish; non-conformity seems to them carried too far, but this non-conformity, which sometimes leads to clashes with school authorities, is undoubtedly what has preserved the use of German.

58.42 The Defenseless Mennonite Church of North America became the Evangelical Mennonite Church. It originated in Indiana, Adams County, in 1864. In 1954 it had 19 congregations, Ohio - 4, Indiana - 5, Illinois - 3, Kansas - 1. The Kansas congregation is in Reno County (247-I 2) south of Sterling not far from other Mennonite groups.

58.43 Dunkard (or Dunker) is a popular name for a member of the Church of the Brethren. They were also called and called themselves German Baptists until long after their establishment in
Kansas. The group originated among pietists in Germany very early in the eighteenth century and they were represented among immigrants to Pennsylvania in 1719. In 1729 Dunkards from Schwarzenau near Berleburg where the denomination was born formed a congregation near Germantown, Pennsylvania (M 10). They resembled the Old Mennonites in many respects, but were enough different so that close personal alliances were rare. They spread into approximately the same areas as the Old Mennonites but became somewhat more numerous than that branch of Mennonitism: in 1916 Mennonite Church - 77,000, Church of the Brethren - 105,000. They did not remain without schism, but the Church of the Brethren is the main section, both in the United States as a whole and in Kansas. They were in 1916 numerous in these states: Pennsylvania - 27,000, Virginia - 12,000, Ohio - 11,000, Indiana - 12,000, Illinois - 5,000, Kansas - 4,940. The Dunkards became Engl-ized in church services faster than the Old Mennonites. In 1916 only $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the members of the Church of the Brethren were in churches with some services in German, while German had not been eliminated in $48\frac{3}{4}\%$ of the Old Mennonite churches. The Dunkards had no branches as saturated with German as the Amish and as the immigrants from Russia.

River Brethren are officially known as Brethren in Christ; they originated in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and spread westward especially to Ohio. The Kansas contingent, however, came mostly direct from Lancaster County. In 1906 of 3,397 members, 1,872 dwelt in Pennsylvania, 517 in Ohio, 450 in Kansas.
In 1916, 44% of their members dwelt in congregations using German and English; in 1906 it had been 48%. The usage of German among them is quite similar to the case among Old Mennonites.

58.45 Among German stocks the members of the Penn-German churches exhibit more variation, considering the dates of their arrival in the United States, than any other stock, but conservation of German after the First World War existed only among the Amish or families that had previously been Amish. In general the "plainer" the members of a church were, the more conservative of German were they.

58.46 The Apostolic Christian Church has been an essentially Swiss church. Though no inconsiderable number of its members come from German states neighboring Switzerland, it distinctly has a regional character as well as having the traits that the name would suggest. In Switzerland in 1832 Samuel Fröhlich organized a congregation. "His first followers were equally from the Reformed church and from dissatisfied Mennonites." The relationship to Mennonites has been close enough so that outsiders frequently refer to the denomination by that name. Indeed, the first congregation in the U.S. was organized among Amish in New York in 1852. However, Swiss emigration soon displaced the center of activity to Illinois, particularly to the section east of Peoria. In 1916 the church had 4,766 members. Of these 2,165 were in Illinois, 437 in Kansas, 428 in Ohio, 290 in Iowa and the rest scattered.
Free-thinking Germans in the middle half of the nineteenth century were a common phenomenon among immigrants to the cities of the United States. They furnished the intellectual elite for some time, and, as their thirst for proselytes was as great as that of ardent church members, their ideas found wide expression. They were passionately certain of the superiority of German civilization and worked vigorously for the preservation of German speech, but they also became bilingual as soon as possible in order to influence Americans and thus they set a model for their fellow countrymen. Their scorn of religion ordinarily prevented cooperation with the churches, and thus their leadership was exerted largely over the tumultuous young, who were later quite willing to desert their liberalism as part of the process of settling down. The Wisconsin German company that during the Civil War stabled its horses in the German Catholic church at Leavenworth expressed the free-thinking spirit, but those soldiers, on returning home after the war, doubtless abandoned such behavior along with the looting habits that accompanied their invasion of the South. The leaders themselves in many cases became much more sober in later years. Hense-Jensen describes this process thus: "The somewhat arrogant scorn with which the liberal portion of the Germans here used to be accustomed to look down upon German Protestantism has with time given way to better understanding. The naive belief, which reigned for long years in these circles, that all the intellectual talent, education and knowledge Germans possessed was to be found in their ranks naturally had to weaken,
as it gradually became clear that many men of great intellectual significance were taking part in Protestant efforts" (H, II, 181). The Free-thinkers sowed the seeds of Americanism involuntarily but were of minor importance in Engl-izing the generation that arrived in the 1870's and 1880's.

58.50  **Fondness for societies** outside the churches among the German immigrants to the United States was widespread if they dwelt here in towns or cities. The rural groups usually contented themselves with religious affiliations, or if they did not, soon lost their German character, immixed in the general population. This urban tendency manifested itself by membership sometimes in societies meant for Germans of all stocks, sometimes in societies to which only immigrants from one German state belonged, sometimes in chapters of "American" lodges set aside for Germans. Not infrequently Germans, besides belonging to organizations created by themselves, were members of groups where they were indiscriminately mingled with the general population. Such membership of course promoted Engl-izing. The ostensible aim of the societies was usually specific; singing, gymnastics, military drill, mutual aid were among the most usually declared activities. But whatever the most publicized activity might be, fellowship was ardent, and the flow of conversation was promoted. The Germans were always declared enemies of prohibition -- a hostility that held together men of the most varied background. In the mid-twentieth century no contemner of Puritanical behavior has been more eloquent than the spokesmen for the German immigrants were. The
manner of observing Sundays was a matter of mutual contempt be-
tween the average Protestant American community and any German
community whether Catholic or Protestant. The German laxity in
Sunday observance seems to have been considered by "Americans"
a greater flaw in them than in other stocks, at least in part
because organized non-religious activities on Sunday were more
obvious among them than elsewhere. Linguistically there was
here an isolating factor.

58.51 German Societies for people born in specific states or re-
gions were more flourishing during the earlier period of the
nineteenth century immigration than later. The formation of the
German Empire drew together Germans abroad as well as at home so
that progressively after 1871 there was less attention paid to
their local origins than in Europe, where geography still made a
Bavarian acutely aware that he was a Bavarian. The relative
smallness of great numbers of mid-western towns also made the
preservation of provincialism among Germans more difficult. The
one line that was sure to be finally drawn till well after the
First World War was that dividing the immigrants from the Water-
land from those who came from Russia or indeed from any other
land not immediately adjacent to Germany. Except among the
Mennonites the prejudice against die Russen was very nearly on a
par with that felt by "Americans" for "Roosh'ns." Among the Men-
onites a similar attitude was reserved by all for"die Polen."
If religious differences were to be maintained among Germans, and
class distinctions, for the prosperous immigrants soon formed an
élite separate from the newly arrived and the economic laggards,
there was hardly room for organized divisions based on provinces. The importance for Kansas of the existence of these provincial societies in centers like Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis and Cincinnati was that men who came out of the societies in the cities to Kansas communities felt less drawn to Germans from other regions, and therefore were more ready to associate with the general population when they found that there were few other Wurtemburgers or Hanoverians at hand. Consequently they were more exposed to Engl-izing than those who came from places where social organizations were almost always for Germans in general.

German chapters of lodges such as the AOUW and the Odd Fellows were widespread at the end of the nineteenth century. For instance, at Leavenworth, Kansas, there were in 1882 three German chapters of IOOF and one of AOUW (Andreas F 436). The Germans who wrote about their fellows in the thirty years before the First World War seldom mention these lodges, but the biographies in the subscription histories make clear their prevalence. Evidently, membership in a lodge composed partly of non-Germans required the use of English. In the all-German chapters the relations to the national organization did not allow Engl-izing to be much delayed.

Though the German military company had little development in Kansas, in the two or three decades before the Civil War marching together was a favorite pastime of young immigrants from Germany. And these companies, where disciplined response to an order was already well instilled before the first shot at
Fort Sumpter was fired, were of very great help when they joined the Northern army. Their importance at St. Louis has been freely acknowledged. The military company at Hermann, Missouri, marched to Mexico a decade and a half before. These martial experiences made for Engl-izing especially in the Civil War when friend and foe ordinarily spoke nothing but English. The linguistic influence of the German military company, which had imposed isolation before the war, was reversed in actual campaigning. The veterans were proficient in English.

German singing societies -- they were usually for German men -- sprang up even more widely than companies exercising as soldiers. Whether they were called Sangverein, Männerchor, or Liederkranz, they drew Germans together in response to the same need for integrated behavior that gave rise to the military companies, and singing activities could more easily be attended by generous libations than could military drill. By the 1830's they were in existence (Pa II, 272). Here of course was a social manifestation that could easily be joined to religious fervor; separate clubs might keep Catholic Germans separated from Protestants, and both out of the dangerous influence of Free Thinkers. Here was an activity distinctly preservative of German speech. Songs always perish last as an immigrant stock abandons the language it brought with it, and choral singing impresses words for life even upon dull memories. The German choral societies were perhaps less effective as rallying points than the corresponding phenomenon among the Welsh, but it was only because the Germans
could rally about several different standards.

Mutual aid societies, as predecessors for first, business, and then government controlled social insurance, were widespread among all immigrant groups. They could be joined to campinalismo, as among the Italians, and sometimes too among other stocks, including the Germans. Such societies were often indistinguishable from lodges. They might also be replaced when churches or organizations subsidiary to the churches assumed their function. But they were always a means by which isolated men in a strange environment could join together so as not utterly to be crushed by misfortune. Early German immigrants who frequently arrived without family connections and in many cases without membership in any group, sought the mutual aid society as a means of security as soon as they had the money for the dues. Settlement-forming societies such as those that founded in Kansas the towns of Eudora, Humboldt, and Windhorst grew up in American cities among Germans more frequently than among other stocks except possibly Swedes. Since they concentrated Germans together at specific points, they were a very active force in propagating the use of German. Mutual aid societies of the more ordinary type furnishing support in time of illness or for burial were also numerous among Germans. These groups were avid of membership, and consequently drew together Germans who otherwise might soon have been dispersed in the general population. Their linguistic effect, though it might be transitory, was still a force preservative of German.
Page 550 is Missing
in the Turnverein, rather it increased it as a means of flouting the Puritans, but it separated Germans from most "Americans" of that day, who, whether they drank or not, could not approve such a public stimulation to riotous conduct. And the separation promoted the preservation of German almost as much as did the opportunity for its use without loss of prestige at Turner meetings. The feeling for group support of the use of German -- incidentally of Standard German, for the Turnverein had no provincial limitations -- was increased by the regional contests between societies which in the palmy years were well attended by considerable delegations from all member units.

Two things, however, worked against the power of the Turnverein for preserving German unity and the German language. One was the hostility of the churches, at least officially, not so much of their members as individuals. The hostility was greatest in the early days, because the Turnverein was dominated by the free thinking Forty-eighters, who did not hesitate to use the society as a forum. Hense-Jensen said squarely in 1902, "The Turnvereine are of course, on account of their out-spoken anti-ecclesiastical tendencies, totally impossible for Catholics and Lutherans" (H, II 208). The other reason certain powerful Germans did not belong to it, and more were kept from joining by their wives was that, especially as time went on, the Turnverein had low social status among Germans. Vulgarity was thought to be universal there and virtually unrestrained. The following jingle says something on this score as well as on the
persistence of provincial patriotism.

Hans Breitmann shoined de Turners: --
Mein Gott! how dey dranked and shwored!
Der was Swabians and Tyrolers
Und Bavarian's by de score;
Some vellers coomed from de Rheinland
Und Frankfort-an-der-Main
Boot dere vas only one Sharman dere
Und he vas a Holstein Dane.

The Turners, of course thought that they could make out very well without the snobs, but the loss of this element, which is always likely to be a guardian of the purity of as well as of the modesty of language, promoted linguistic slackness among the Turners, and if at a social hour their children ran among them shouting to each other in the language of the school playground, their ears were seldom offended.

The first Turnverein in the United States was founded in 1848 and by 1850 the chapters had become so numerous that a national organization came into being. Nativism was becoming very strong and rowdy opposition to the societies became such that in several places the Turners "were forced to defend themselves with mighty fists" (Cr 351). Undismayed, the Turners added political participation to their other activities. In all its history the society did not eschew political involvement, but it cannot be said that the members as a body became vitally interested; rather the Verein furnished a forum to ambitious can-
candidates. The enlistments during the Civil War carried away so many members that reorganization afterward became necessary. As immigration increased, the society thrived. A training institute for gymnastics teachers was founded in Milwaukee in 1860 where it lasted until 1907 and then was transferred to Indianapolis (Cr 353). About 1900 there seems to have been a weakening among Germans of the taste for team gymnastics; at the same time the general American public became enthusiastic for gymnastic education, and public schools and colleges introduced it into their curriculum. Thus the other activities of the Turnverein became relatively more important. The cultural promotion had begun before the Civil War and had been thereafter an abiding feature. The fortunes of the society as a whole became less firm with the passing of the era of great immigration and the coming of the hard times of the nineties. The basis of the society in physical exercise made it a young man's organization by definition. When the young men were almost all of the second generation, they had no great ambition to take over from their elders an organization that made them different from Americans; thus the leadership grew old, and the habits of the members tended more toward the easy chair and gossip over their beer. In 1908 in the Union of Turners there were 236 Vereine and about 40,000 members. The armchair tendency is illustrated by the statistics from Iowa in 1900. There were then 16 Vereine with 1,422 members which was an increase of 147 over the preceding year (the economy was becoming stronger). Of the 1,422 members 127 were
"active," that is, presumably participants in gymnastics, and this was a decrease of \(34\) or \(21\%\) from the preceding year. As possible replacements for these "actives" there were 482 boy pupils of gymnastics -- 282 girl pupils. Only 6 Vereine maintained teachers (Ei 292). The Turnverein was even worse hit by the First World War than the churches. The societies had openly participated in politics and were fair game for politicians. Their beer-dispensing gave their enemies an easy ground for legal action -- within Kansas and numerous other states before 1919, nationally afterward. Practically everywhere the influence of the Turnverein for the perpetuation of the German language collapsed with the First World War.

58.56 The Hermannssöhne was another national German society, founded in New York in 1840, achieving national organizations in 1857, and with some 30,000 members in 1900. Its growth was slow, and only after 1870 with the rise of German nationalism did it begin to flourish. Even so it reached Iowa only in 1886 (Ei 271) and never received great extension in Kansas. Unlike the Turnverein it did not have an underlying activity parallel to gymnastics. It was frankly a lodge, and an instrument of propaganda for German and Germans. The meetings were to be conducted in German forever, and it was to be "a powerful factor in the maintenance and the advance of German language, manners and customs" (Ei 285). Its characteristics doomed it at the time of the First World War.
The German-American National Union was founded in 1901 and met in national convention biennially in the years before the First World War. In 1909 it had a membership between one and a half and two million (Cr 609). It made no commitments to political parties and it outlawed all consideration of religious questions. Its aims were frankly propagandistic, and its intentions were to exert political pressures. It was against restriction of immigration; it advocated "The repeal of obsolete laws no longer in harmony with the spirit of the times, which hamper free trade and diminish the personal freedom of the citizen" (Cr 608), that is, protective tariffs against German products and laws implementing prohibition. It is not difficult to see where the sources of financial backing lay. For the present purpose what is most interesting is the advocacy of "the introduction of instruction in German into the public school . . . [and of] the foundation of adult educational groups as nurseries for the German language and literature" (Cr 608). These proposals seem to treat German as a foreign language whose study is to be recommended rather than the language of a great group demanding parity for it. By implication English is accepted as "the language of the land."

* For German consumption alone, propagandists were less reserved. E. Mannhardt wrote as follows: "The National Union concerns itself with all German common interests; in the first rank, the preservation of the German language and German mores
and maintenance of the spiritual tie with the old Fatherland. As a means it strenuously endeavors to advance instruction in the German language and in gymnastics, the German theater, and the German press [also personal freedom]" (Ma III:4:60).

Ad hoc organizations of Germans were a common phenomenon from quite early. The German conventions at Pittsburg in 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1841 were an early example. The defeat of Van Buren whom the conventions were supporting ended the sessions. But German political meetings were common. In Kansas the German conventions of 1867 to work against prohibition are examples (see section 9.24). National or regional singing festivals supported by no permanent organization also began in the 1830's.

The German propensity for societies on the whole greatly favored the preservation of German. The societies in this respect had, however, at least two weak spots. Their tendency to enter into politics made the use of English in that domain imperative at least in treating with allies and in arguing with their opponents. The very fact of their organization, often with visible real estate, made them obvious targets for their enemies in the First World War, especially as most of them made no secret of their pro-Germanism in the years preceding America's entry into the war. The wrecking of the societies allowed public opinion to work directly upon individuals to forbid them the use of German.
Education in German was not uncommon in the elementary public schools through much of the nineteenth century, but in the 1880's, it gave way before attacks (FK 233-236). In early years German schools unsponsored by a church were founded, for instance at St. Louis in 1837 (K 326), at Milwaukee in 1851 (K 288). They were likely to have their chief support from the free thinking element. Such schools became weak as the free-thinkers became less numerous, particularly because of the economic advantages of public school education which for a while sometimes included the teaching of German. An example of this weakening was the Zions-Schule in Baltimore. Founded before 1836, in 1870 its enrollment exceeded 800, "The school declined in numbers when the German-American public schools started in Baltimore... The free-tuition of the public schools attracted" (Fa II 243). About 1890 "after a long struggle" the school closed. German Catholic parochial schools were numerous in districts where all Catholics were Germans (Ba 272, Sch 31), more numerous than parochial schools for other stocks including Irish, and they were efficient, but there were as soon as possible likely to be pressures from the hierarchy, or from elsewhere with the backing of hierarchial benevolence, promoting extensive use of English. The process is well illustrated in Kansas among the Volgan Catholics of Ellis County (#47.03 ff.). The effectiveness of the school systems of the Missouri and Wisconsin Synod Lutherans has been discussed in Section 58.16. The vigor with which both Catholics and Lutherans resisted
laws attacking their school was treated in Sections 56.41 to 56.45. Summer schools and Sunday schools in other denominations taught pupils how to read German, particularly the German needed for confirmation, very commonly into the early years of the twentieth century. In 1962 Kloss estimated that in the late 1930's 90,000 children were receiving instruction in German (FK 242). Schooling in German, provided by the churches, naturally tended to impress the vocabulary of religion upon the pupils, and boys and girls thus taught continued to be linguistically German in this domain long after they had been Engl-ized in other respects.

58.7 The German press was strong, and the newspapers were numerous, also journals, particularly religious publications (see inter alia FH 55). Since German was the language that they employed, their bread-winning language, the editors were practically always ardent propagandists for its use and in general for the maintenance and exaltation of German culture. The papers themselves were documentary proofs of the editor's convictions, and so were most vulnerable to attack. Therefore, during the furor of the First World War the German press collapsed except for some religious publications. Though, in a few cases, there were survivals and revivals it was no longer a major force after 1918. Still the daily Chicago Abendpost had a circulation of 26,000 in 1962 (FK 245). Leaving aside all eighteenth century publications, the earliest German newspaper was the Lancaster, Ohio, "Adler des Westens" which appeared in 1800. Beginning
in the 1830's newspapers that became well established and widely circulated sprang up in the cities, the "New Yorker Staatszeitung" (1834), the Cincinnati "Volksblatt" (1836), the St. Louis "Anzeiger des Westens" (1836), the Chicago "Illinois Staatszeitung" (1847), the Milwaukee "Wisconsin Banner" (1844), are sufficient examples. The best known religious journals were the Catholic "Wahrheitsfreund" established in Cincinnati in 1837, the Methodist "Christliche Apologete," 1838 in the same city and the Missouri Synod's "Lutheraner," first published in St. Louis in 1844. The German papers, including the church publications, were in the forefront of political action, and argued furiously with each other as well as with "American" publications. Forty-eighters with "rationalistic ideas were frequently editors of the non-denominational papers and there was often debate between them and the church papers." In 1908 there were printed in the United States over 700 newspapers and magazines in German, of which some 100 were dailies; several of them put out editions of from 25,000 to 100,000 copies (Cr 444).

58.8 The families of German emigrants were peculiarly susceptible to Englizing forces when they were exposed to them, and only in solid German rural districts were they relatively immune. The susceptibility was perhaps no greater than that of the Scandinavians, but the latter were more solidly Lutheran and therefore could not be attacked from so many different angles. The ease with which these Germanic peoples have been accepted by the general population is the probable explanation
of this phenomenon. Children tending to revolt against their elders, as is the wont of adolescents, by rejecting the marks that made them German -- their language was the most evident -- were welcomed by "Americans" as one of the elect without further ado, at least among people at the same economic level, partly because of their complexions, partly because the changes in mores that were necessary were small compared with those needed by "new immigrants." For immigrant fathers the shock of this independence of the young was much greater than for mothers, who themselves benefited from the less marked ascendancy of husbands in the United States. The women as always in immigrant groups preserved the language of their mothers better than the men, but they were not the agents who sought to require the children to speak German. Persons of the second generation who tell of household use of German maintained by authority invariably refer to the paternal rule. Fathers were sometimes stubborn, but they had their point of vulnerability. They had themselves become bilingual and they knew that their children needed English. They easily surrendered to "the language of the land" for use outside of home and church.

Von Bosse records in 1908 that John B. Beaslee was surprised at how many Germans deliberately gave up that language (B 391). Von Bosse himself voiced an appeal for bilingualism:

"What in the first place separates to some extent the German from the native-born American is the difference in language. This obstacle to mutual understanding should be eliminated in
so far as possible. . . . Every German who wishes to make America his home... should learn English. He owes it to his own interests and to the country. But if I am asked whether to accomplish this he must throw aside and forget the German language, I say...'No!' He should above all not become a pitiable creature who becomes despicable because of his thoroughly barbarous English and his affectation of having forgotten and renounced German" (B 320).

58.90  Englishing among Germans went on at different rates during the two centuries of important German immigration. The descend- dants of the 18th century immigrants outside of the rural dis- tricts where both geographic and religious isolation protected German were nearly Englished during the period beginning with the Revolutionary War when immigration was nearly at a standstill. Beginning in the 1830's until after 1890 the Englishing forces seemed overwhelmed by ever growing mass of the German-born present in the United States. But the acquisition of English went on rapidly and as soon as a group could not profit by exploiting later comers -- again always excepting isolated rural communities -- that group abandoned bilingualism for English. Still bilingualism was highly regarded by the Germans of mark. All their writings demonstrate a sense of superiority in being able to deal with all comers.

During the 1890's the unfaithfulness to German of the younger generation became more and more evident. By the 1900's in a great many heavily German communities the most benevolent attitude toward their language that one could find among people
under thirty was that it expressed more in religious contexts and was a source of camaraderie. More frequent was the attitude that it was old-fashioned, an attribute of the old and the backward.

The First World War assaulted German more fiercely than other foreign languages, and the assailants were sometimes of German descent themselves. Even among communities of almost solid German stock, Germans were cowed by a minority that lived among them and by marauders from communities near-by. The smaller the community the greater the hysterical pressure from outside. The Atchison Lutherans, who were numerous, could compromise by featuring the amount of English being introduced into their services, but near Worden, south of Lawrence, the E-R minister was tarred and feathered. There were no general school-housing burnings, only isolated cases, but yellow paint was widely used, putting a stigma on businesses with German proprietors, sometimes even on businesses with entirely non-German ownership known to have many German customers. Public use of German was the object of hostile demonstrations even when only casual phrases slipped out. President Wilson in addressing both the General Public and the Germans themselves affirmed that language usage had nothing to do with patriotism, but often the hostilities of politicians were as great, though more prudent, as those of their electorate. For instance in the Topeka Capital, Senator Capper of Kansas, who in 1916 had found the disapproval of certain early 100% Americans less important than the good will of the pro-German voters of Wash-
ington County, called shortly after the declaration of war for the suppression, at least the cessation, of all journalism in German. Fortunately most Germans were prosperous and could buy a sort of tolerance by liberal investment in Liberty Bonds. Except among late arriving Volgans most German settlements had little trouble in satisfying linguistically the demands of their neighbors. There were people who had remained monolingual who suffered, but to the younger generations this was a very easy way of proving patriotism and putting pressure on their elders to show less "backwardness." In other words the crisis of 1917-18 hastened natural tendencies in many cases, and in many others merely made official what was already true.

The German linguistic situation in the United States after the First World War did not ease for half a decade, for the returning soldiers, organized into the American Legion, assumed the duty of suppressing everything un-American and more especially everything German. The prohibition by law of the teaching of foreign languages, that is, German, in elementary schools was broken by the Supreme Court decision of 1923, but by then church members and ministers, formerly skeptical, had become rather well convinced that religious terms in English could be as meaningful as the corresponding forms in German and felt less need for schooling in German. Except in the strongest settlements Germans of the second or third generation came to feel in this period that the use of German was really
a sign of inferiority and this attitude was prevalent until after the Second World War.

The manner in which at the beginning of the period between the wars temperate Germans regarded the linguistic situation is well expressed in this excerpt translated from Report of the Synod Officials and Administrators to the Districts of the German Evangelical Synod of North America, 1919, pp. 13-14) on the language question:

"1. The linguistic situation in the nation (for example, large German, Italian and French parochial schools, etc.) as they have prevailed before the war, will probably not return.

2. The youth approaching adulthood feel uncomfortable in the use of the German language. One can hardly say less.

3. The school children will react against everything that is associated with the country with which our country was at war, not excluding the language, with a heartfelt antipathy.

4. The language of the country will become and be more than ever before, the colloquial language.

5. No one will readily give himself up to the disdain and chicanery of his neighbor on account of his language. Mature people perhaps treat this with indifference, the young do not. The use of the language of the country daily takes hold in the family and becomes the family language. However, that is no disgrace. We need not be ashamed of the language of our country.

6. Never has the transition from the German to the lan-

-564-
made such progress as in the last couple of years.

7. Where a change in the Minister occurs in any district, there the congregation demands, and with justice, because they do not want to lose their young people, a pastor who can fluently make use of the language of the country, not only that necessary in the exercise of his ministry, but also in society."

Remembering their troubles in 1917-18, most churches and families who were continuing to use German switched to the use of English without any pressure in December, 1941. None developed, but even the most persistent communities generally abandoned German speech except for the old after 1942. Many of the old were still alive in 1966 but many had become so accustomed to speaking English with the young that they used it with each other.

58.93g The rôle of German dialect in the linguistic developments in the United States has been important. There is not the same attitude toward dialect as among Italian Americans. The prestige of German dialects is much greater. But only by education could the standard language be maintained in all rural communities, for it was seldom used in the home except by the pastor and his family. As soon as education ceased, therefore, English became the only cultural language available, a situation little different from that in immigrant stocks where illiteracy was common upon arrival in the United States. The effects were the same. For instance intermarriage between people of different dialectal stocks meant the employment of English as a lingua franca. Even before the standard language was lost, such intermarriages very frequently set up English in the household rather than standard German, for English was more profitable elsewhere, and standard German seemed too dressy for familiar purposes.
59.00 Bibliography for Dutch


La - Landheer, Bartholomew, The Netherlands, Berkeley, 1943.


LN - Lucas, Henry S., Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, University of Michigan.

P - Pieters, Aleida J., A Dutch Settlement in Michigan, Grand Rapids, 1923.

Z - Van der Zee, J. Hollanders of Iowa, 1912.

59.01 Statistics concerning immigrants from the Netherlands to America did not, in the nineteenth century, become significant until the latter 1840's. United States records of passengers arriving from the Netherlands show an annual average of a little over 200 persons for the period 1840-1845. In the next six years the average was 1200 with a high point of 2,631 in 1847; for the period 1851-5 the average was nearly 1400 with a high point in 1855 of 2,588. Beginning in 1869 American statistics, with which Dutch data conflict only to a minor degree, show the country of origin for immigrants. For the first decade the annual average of immigration was not superior to that of the 1850's, though there was a highpoint of 3,811 in 1873. For the
Dutch as for the other stocks of the "Old Immigration" 1882 was a high point with a swift rise to it and a slow fall. The Statistics are:

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<td>1880</td>
<td>3340</td>
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<td>1899</td>
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<td>1881</td>
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<td>1885</td>
<td>2689</td>
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<td>1904 4822</td>
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<td>1887</td>
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The hard times of the 1890's brought a sudden fall; in 1898 there were 767 Dutch immigrants. The United States records of the country of last residence beginning in 1899 show progressive annual increase of immigrants until in 1913 there were 6,902 arrivals, 6,321 in the following year, but the Dutch records show a great difference. In 1910 U.S. records show 7,534 from Holland, the Dutch records 2,984 to North America, similarly
for the decade surrounding 1910; temporary residents were leaving the Netherlands, but the Dutch were not catching all departures, for United States records on Dutch and Flemish "race" show for 1910, if Belgians are deducted, a minimum 7,600 speakers from Holland, more if Walloons were among the Belgians. As with other immigrating stocks there was a wave in 1920 and 1921. In other words many rural Dutch settlements in the United States received recruits in the twentieth century, though probably the most of late arrivals became urban.

The location of Dutch settlements in the United States is to some extent indicated by these figures on persons born in the Netherlands in the censuses of 1900, and those for foreign-born of Dutch mother tongue presented in 1930.

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<tr>
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<th>Born in the Netherlands</th>
<th>Of Dutch Mother Tongue</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1910</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>105,098</td>
<td>120,063</td>
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<td>30,406</td>
<td>33,471</td>
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<td>Illinois</td>
<td>21,916</td>
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<td>New Jersey</td>
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<td>12,968</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>9,414</td>
<td>12,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>9,388</td>
<td>11,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>6,496</td>
<td>7,379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1900 Ohio, Indiana and South Dakota had between 1500 & 1700 Dutch; none others more than 1015, Kansas 875, Nebraska 885. Locations within Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin will occupy us later. In Illinois 11,414 were in 1910 in Chicago's Cook
County 2,118 in three counties on the lower Rock River (Rock Island, Whiteside and Henry 61-130, 120, 131).

59.10 Conditions in the Netherlands sent emigrants to America before the Mayflower brought its freight to New England, but this study considers only the movement that took place in the 19th century. The Dutch immigrants into Kansas were part of the movement that brought their fellow countrymen from the Netherlands to the United States beginning in 1846 and 1847. Following the Napoleonic wars the Netherlands were left with a commerce badly maimed by the English blockade, a heavy national debt incurred to meet Bonapartist demands, and manufacturing conditions that had not yet been affected by the industrial revolution. Economically the country was nearly stagnant for many years; even agriculture was not prosperous, for population was continuing to increase and land reclamation could accompany only general prosperity; not until then was capital available. About 1846 conditions were particularly bad because of successive failures of the potato crop (LM 648, LN 55). This state of affairs improved very slowly, though finally with gathering impetus, so that by 1890 there was little need to send away excess population.

59.11 In the years following Napoleon's fall the religious situation was also calculated to promote emigration. Indeed the two important colonies established in 1847 with centers at Holland, Michigan, and Pella, Iowa, were in their first days very nearly theocracies. The leaders in them were Albertus C.
Van Raalte and Henry Peter Scholte, two of a small group of young pastors who seceded from the state directed Reformed Church in 1834. Their revolt, which became open in 1834, was the product of a movement for return to Calvinistic purity, called the Awakening, which had manifested itself among prominent ministers of an older generation as soon as Napoleon fell. The humbler followers of the Seceders or Separatists (Afgeschiedene) were brought to them by the final wave of Pietism that created religious unrest in northern Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. The sentiment for emigration did not originate with the theocrats. It seems rather to have been communicated among the humble by reports of the formation of emigrant societies across the German border. But the separatist ministers, who had suffered persecution from the royal government until 1839, and a continuation of local hostility when the central authorities became more liberal, in seeking for some way both to relieve the pressure of poverty in their congregations and to achieve religious freedom, accepted emigration as the solution, and chose the United States because the Dutch royal colonies were in the tropics and state policies discouraged settlement there. Scholte's congregation was at Utrecht not far south of Amsterdam and the Zuyder Zee. Among the company who joined him were men of some property, but in general the emigrants, both then in the 1840's and in the later period that provided population to Kansas, were largely poor people. Van Raalte was at Arnhem somewhat to the east. The emigrants in
these congregations were nearly all townspeople. Another con-
gregation emigrated from Zeeland, the islands just above the
Belgian border.

59.12g  Both in Kansas and at other points in the United States
the immigrants were from all the provinces of Holland, but many
of them in all our states and far the greater part of those who
came to Kansas were of the farming or small town class in the
region east and southeast of the Zuyder Zee, largely agricultural
country, where returning prosperity arrived latest. Conditions
in this area were such that in the 1850's an investigation of
agricultural labor was instituted in Groningen (the northeastern
province), and Sloet's Tydschrift published articles on the life
of field workers in the area along the eastern shore of the
Zuider Zee (Friesland, Salland, Utrecht and the Veluwe). I.J.
Brugmans remarked in De Arbeidende Klasse in Nederland that this
was especially noteworthy because "only the agricultural crisis
of about 1880 brought up for general discussion this feature of
the social problem" (B 261). The mid-century crisis in eastern
Holland stimulated emigration from that area and explains the
origins of the first Dutch arrivals in Kansas. The situation
following 1880 brought more immigrants to Kansas, sometimes di-
rectly. Marshes and heaths were common in much of the area
furnishing emigrants; sand and water were the great obstacles to
cultivation.

59.20  Van Raalte chose Michigan as the site for his colony be-
cause wood for fuel and construction was ready for settlers
with no capital. Scholte chose Iowa because most land was ready for the plow, and money for initial establishment was sufficient. The Michigan group grew in population faster than that in Iowa because many just arriving agreed with Van Raalte; doubtless also because Michigan's climate seemed less of a contrast to that of Holland than central Iowa's. Van Raalte's colony in Michigan began at Holland near the shore of Lake Michigan some 60 miles from the Indiana border. It grew to furnish large population elements in the neighboring counties, quite large in the cities of Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo. Scholte's Iowa colony did not spread greatly in the immediate neighborhood; Pella is fifty miles downstream from Des Moines (61-52). In the twentieth century between three and four times as many immigrants from the Netherlands went to Michigan as went to Iowa. For the two states the proportion of these late arrivals to those already established was nearly the same.

59.21 After all the land was taken up near both groups, continued immigration and population increase through reproduction led to the establishment of other settlements, sometimes very early. Indeed there were Dutch in Milwaukee in 1845 (LD, II 131); the ninth ward of Milwaukee was Dutch by 1857 (LI, 175). "In 1848 three shiploads of Catholic Hollanders... started the tide of Catholic immigrants who settled in the Fox River Country in Wisconsin" (LDI, 3) [At and near Little Chute in Outagamie Co. (61-210).—In 1960 there were 1946 present born in Holland
in Brown and Outagamie Counties. The first Dutch settler at Alto arrived in the same year and was joined by others the next year. The large towns of western Michigan attracted laborers early. "There was a considerable group in Chicago and near Thornton and Hope south of the city, a few at Galena and Ainsworth, Illinois [on Illinois see 59.02g above], Cincinnati, Ohio, Lafayette, Indiana, St. Louis, Missouri, Paterson, New Jersey and in New York at Rochester, Pultneyville, Clymer and New York City" (LI, 176). The push out from Pella, largely into Northwestern Iowa, began shortly after the Civil War. There have been settlements too in other states. In Faribault County on the south border of Minnesota for instance there is a concentration of Dutch, at Lyndon in most northwestern Washington another.

59.22g In the more immediate neighborhood of Kansas, settlements were established in Nebraska above our Pre-West at Holland, Firth and Adams southeast of Lincoln in northeastern Gage County (next above Marshall County, P3) and just beyond. The foundation of the Nebraska settlement occurred in 1868. It was nearly contemporary with that of Dispatch in Kansas. This Nebraska colony provided a way station for settlers who went to Prairie View, Kansas. Its first years were hard, and it was just reaching prosperity when it sent people on to Kansas in 1877 (LN 357). The overflow occurred so early because no urban center for the Dutch developed in Nebraska, and part of the people moved on toward free land. It was, however, able to and
did support a much larger population than that of 1877 (over 300 families in the church at Firth in 1948).

59.3 Though the Kansas settlements did not draw much population from Pella, that town is regarded by the Kansas Dutch as a sort of western capital. It was there in 1867 and 1868, according to Van der Zee's *Hollanders of Iowa*, that Jelle Pelmulder began writing land agents, and emigration associations were formed, one for Texas, one for Kansas. "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" (Z 123). Van der Zee cites *De Volksvriend* of July 23, 1874 as evidence (1874 was the grasshopper year). Dispatch and Prairie View were not founded in territory recommended by land agents. The Dutch chose areas outside of the railroad holdings where claims could be 160 acres instead of 80, even 320 when timber claims could be added to homesteads and where they could settle beside each other on homestead land and form solid settlements without being obliged to purchase from railways to fill in the gaps between them and their neighbors. The settlements in Kansas and Nebraska did not grow large because the climate was too greatly different from what the Dutch were used to. During the free land period, the states to the west were "drouth-ridden" at crucial moments, and Pella disseminated reports of the worst years (1873 and 1874, as Dispatch was becoming established, and 1800 and 1881, when Prairie View was beginning to grow, were bad years). Most of
the population in the Kansas settlements after the very first then did not come directly from Pella. Even the immigration from Pella was made up of families gathered from elsewhere. The censuses show that more people at Dispatch came from Michigan than from elsewhere in the United States. The Nebraska settlement provided the first people at Prairie View. Later there was some contribution from Iowa, but more from Michigan, Wisconsin, and even Minnesota. But Pella, nevertheless, largely because of the organization of the churches, has been the intellectual capital.

Van Raalte almost immediately after arrival, that is by 1850, caused his congregation and consequently the neighboring congregations to unite with the Dutch Reformed Church which had developed in New York. It later became the Reformed Church in America. Scholte's congregation remained independent but eventually it too was absorbed into the same denomination. The practices were, however, not sufficiently strict to satisfy all the Dutch immigrants, and in 1856 a new denomination came into being soon to be called the Christian Reformed Church. It developed first in Michigan, but established a church in Pella in 1866. Both denominations were then flourishing when the Kansas settlements were made. Both founded churches in Kansas, the Dutch Reformed first, but was earlier only by a year at Prairie View. There the Reformed has become the more numerous; at Dispatch the Christian Reformed has outlived its competitor. The Reformed Church in America is however nationally the larger.
In 1954 it had 200,000 communicants, and the Christian Reformed 106,000. In the west, however, the two churches have been comparable in size. The Particular Synod of Iowa in the Reformed Church, which included all churches west of the Mississippi numbered 29,000 communicants; the classes of the Christian Reformed church covering the same area had a few hundred more communicants. All through its history as well as at its beginning the Christian Reformed has been the more conservative of the two churches, and this is also true as regards linguistic use. At Pella, Iowa, in 1951, out of four Reformed Churches, only one had Dutch services at all -- an occasional communion service, regular preaching in Dutch had been abandoned in 1948, while both of the two Christian Reformed Churches were still having a service in Hollands every Sunday afternoon in 1954. In 1966 there was still some psalm singing in Dutch, and sometimes, but very seldom, a union service in that language.

Neither Van Raalte nor Scholte was conservative linguistically. In 1849 Van Raalte "lost an infant and conducted the funeral service himself in English" (LD, I, 396). Of those present only three were Americans. Scholte knew English early, perhaps from the beginning and because of this fact, of his general tastes, and of the needs of a wife worldly enough to draw disapproval from the congregation he participated in many business enterprises and was often using English. Van Raalte stood for Americanization, including Enql-izing, as a matter policy rather than personal expediency. By his influence the
schools in Holland, Michigan, though sustained directly by the Dutch, used English as the basis of instruction. Not all the active Dutch were as realistic as these two leaders. Later the General Dutch League organized efforts to preserve their language (LN 592).

59.51 **Engl-izing in Iowa.** What Van der Zee in *Hollanders of Iowa* refers to as the "terrible language question" (Z 296) began to affect churches in Dutch daughter colonies very early, but he reported, 1910; "English is the language preached in only four out of fifty congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church in Iowa, while the Dutch language has been preserved in all other congregations and especially in the Christian Reformed Church....[the people find it difficult] to understand how the omnipotent God can be trusted to reveal the truth in any language but the Dutch" (Z 314). In the Christian Reformed Church as late as 1900 there were only two English-speaking congregations" (LN 597), both in Grand Rapids, none in Iowa. Van der Zee reports that in Iowa there were many dialects of Dutch, and that the Frieslanders had a language of their own. "Children of Dutch parentage, therefore, learn the mother dialect at home and English from their playmates -- they soon speak English almost exclusively among themselves, and only converse with their parents in Dutch. At a very early age children of one family are forced to use English when they cannot make themselves understood in dialect to children of another family..., and so the prevalence of dia-
lects in the Dutch communities of Iowa has come to be responsible for the use of a common language, English." (Z 364 see also LN 595). Henry S. Lucas in *Netherlands in America* emphasizes particularly the corrupt state of the Dutch that came to be used in American settlements (LN 582-589). The Dutch were no more lax than other immigrant groups, but neither were they more strict in this regard. Though one informant affirmed that dialectal differences did not impede communication, at least the Frisians, suffered from this barrier in speaking Dutch to others. By 1951 the use of Dutch in public was very limited, though people born before 1900 might use it together on the street. Such of these people as were alive in 1966 were using Dutch still, but any one younger able to speak Dutch used it only in addressing the very old, of whom there were a very few unable to speak English. The use of Dutch in cemetery inscriptions at Pella was never great, but isolated examples occurred till 1914. In Pella in 1966 no services in Dutch took place regularly in either the Reformed or Christian Reformed churches, but there was a union service in Dutch sometimes at festal periods; there was also some singing of psalms in Dutch. In northwestern Iowa at Boyden schooling in Dutch with textbooks from abroad was carried on until about the time of the First World War, but children born about the beginning of the Second World War learned only a few words of Dutch.

59.52g Michigan had in some places been more conservative than Iowa. In 1897 numerous accounts of pioneers were collected
for the semi-centennial; Most of them though not all were written in Dutch. The proportion of Dutch accounts was still high in a series printed in the Volksvriende in 1911 and 1912. In 1923 more than a decade later than Van der Zee's account Aleida J. Pieters in A Dutch Settlement in Michigan, after reporting on the advance of Englishizing in cities, continues, "Outside of the towns in the country communities, the transition from Dutch to English has been much slower... The rural schools attempt to aid the movement toward Americanization by using only English, but the six hours at school cannot successfully compete with the hours at home" (P 183). She attributes the condition to the territorial solidity of the rural population. The result was that people spoke all Dutch or broken English. Habits in Michigan were reported to be much the same as in Iowa in the 1950's and 1960's, but speakers of Dutch in absolute numbers were more numerous because the settlements were larger. In the Waupun settlements in Wisconsin late usage was about the same as in Iowa and Michigan. The conservative churches at Friesland and Randolph dropped Dutch about 1948.

59.60 Bibliography for Flemings

E - Engelbeen, Karel, Flämische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Jena, 1943.


Flemish immigrants to the United States as distinguished from the generality of Belgians or from the totality of the speakers of Dutch are rather difficult to measure statistically. Those arriving from Belgium did not number more than one hundred till after 1840 and suddenly grew into 1,473 in 1847, averaged annually over nine hundred for three years then practically ceased until 1,506 came in 1855. After the United States began to report the country of origin of its immigrants in 1869 for a decade the statistics were very similar to those of the period 1847-1855. From 1880 through 1886 the annual average was nearly 1500, for the next five years 2800 and reached a maximum of 4,026 in 1892. The annual average 1893-1896 was 1300 and for 1897 and 1898 about 700. The American data on arrivals of immigrants of Flemish and Walloon race between 1899 and 1914 were distributed thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Flemings</th>
<th>Walloons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>2452</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>2588</td>
<td>1284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When immigration resumed in the period 1920-1924 the statistics are still more difficult to interpret but it seems that the Flemings reaching the United States totaled over 25,000 in the five years.

The United States Census is more helpful in identifying Flemings than immigration statistics. In 1930 it distinguished Flemish from Dutch as a mother tongue and gave data for 1910 and 1920. The states holding in 1930 more than 1,000 speakers of Flemish were California, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. Additional statistics for those states where more than 2,100 resided follow (also for Kansas):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>25,780</td>
<td>45,696</td>
<td>42,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>6,684</td>
<td>9,411</td>
<td>8,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>1,438</td>
<td>2,106</td>
<td>2,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>4,713</td>
<td>9,784</td>
<td>12,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1,411</td>
<td>2,777</td>
<td>3,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1930 in Illinois (11,564 born in Belgium) besides Cook County (4506) the greatest number of Belgians were in Rock Island County (61-130) (3594) and adjoining Henry County (61-131) (969). No other counties held more than 400. In Michigan the Belgians were not highly concentrated; in Indiana they were most numerous in St. Joseph County (2,513) where South Bend is located.

Belgium's political history in the nineteenth century did not affect population in the United States before the establishment of the kingdom in 1830, for earlier emigration was negligible. After 1830 its greatest importance for our purposes lies in the contention that, as Flemish authors maintain (e.g. E 64) with some justice, Flemish interests were regularly sacrificed to those of the wealthier south where industry was developing. The struggle carried on by the Flemings to bring Flemish to an equality with French as a national language doubtless had its basis partially in this neglect of the interests of the north. The language question, though it became of great political importance, had not, before the First World War when emigration to the United States nearly ceased, become a passion with the emigrating classes. Indeed one may say that Flemish political training led toward Englishizing among emigrants to the United States, for the concept that language and geographic location were closely related grew stronger in Belgium.
The Flemings along with the Walloons have throughout the period interesting us been almost universally Catholic without any disturbing movements anywhere in Belgium. In the early years of the Kingdom the Jesuits were strong there and to Jesuit missionaries in Kansas can be traced the origin of the small Flemish settlement at St. Marys, but settlement at Kansas City developed before religious sponsors appeared. Emigration from Flanders then is almost wholly to be explained by economic conditions.

Belgium Economically till 1880. Belgium on the whole prospered after becoming a nation in 1830, but this prosperity meant only bare subsistence for the great majority of the population. Wages were so low that Belgian products could compete successfully in almost any market. Industrialization was important, but was confined largely to French speaking areas. There was a depression in the making of cotton cloth because of the American Civil War (V313). For the Flemish this industry furnished employment in not very distant areas, and in Flanders itself it led to the disappearance of home manufacture so that the farms became smaller and farm hands more numerous. Because of the internal migration (which did not mean the spread of Flemish speech because migrants soon adopted the language of their new region), emigration from Belgium was comparatively small except for seasonal agricultural work in France, but some Flemish farmers preferred to seek conditions in foreign
lands more advantageous than those existing in Flanders. Agriculturally all Belgium is a land of very small holdings. In part of the area that furnished population to Kansas the holdings were so small that in 1846 in West Flanders fifty five percent of the holdings were of from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $12\frac{1}{8}$ acres in size; in East Flanders the percentage was 70% (V 126). In 1895 in every 100 cultivated square miles there were at least 5200 holdings of from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $12\frac{1}{8}$ acres (R 152). Many holdings were as small as an acre or even smaller. 

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FN In 1846 in West Flanders there were 15,000 holdings of from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $12\frac{1}{8}$ acres, 57,000 that were smaller. (V 157)

---

Industrialization had led particularly to a rise in tenant farming, but less in Flanders than in the industrial areas (V 254). However most families combined other work with farming. The proportion of Flemings engaged in agriculture is shown below:

Percentages of Agricultural Workers in Belgium (E 330)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Flanders</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Flanders</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increase in West Flanders between 1846 and 1866 was caused by the transfer from home industry (V 332, P 128,
The transfer was possible because of the rise of the prices of farm products between 1822 and 1880 (V 333). Rye and potatoes gradually doubled in price between 1830 and 1846 (V 151). The total result was rural congestion. The whole family was obliged to work to wrest a living from the small holdings; the yield per worker was small. "More than 80% of the workers belong to the farmer's family. Their work requires no money outlay, and in most cases it does not even mean a loss in earning power, in view of the lack of adequate possibilities for work elsewhere" (V 335). The effect of this established custom of family labor when applied in America was linguistically conservative. In spite of the crowding and low income the Belgian lower classes were tranquil during most of the 19th century (P 282).

Beginning in 1880, however, Belgians suffered extremely from the general European agricultural depression. "Then the crisis broke out, by which agriculture in all Western Europe was sorely beset. It was caused by the competition of new, extensively cultivated lands in North America, Argentina, and Russia, which through the improvement in transportation gained the opportunity to flood the European market with cheap grain" (E 71-2). This agricultural depression explains the coming of most of the St. Marys contingent of Flemings and of the people of the Kinney Heights settlement who were present by 1895. Most of the Flemish emigration of that period went to northern France (V 313), but the United States received a small number of
emigrants. The competition with foreign grain caused Flemish farmers to turn very generally to market gardening.

FN R. pp 189-198, depicts market gardening in Belgium at this time. Belgians transferred to Kansas the work habits R. describes: "A market-gardener generally makes a living, too often, it is true, by dint of excessively hard toil, in which his wife and children join. In busy seasons it is by no means unusual for work to begin at three or four in the morning, and to continue, with brief interruptions, until 8 or 9 at night" (R 194).

to some extent to dairy farming. This fact in part explains the increased immigration into the Kinney Heights settlement. Experienced truck gardeners could prosper near a growing American city where no other population was really prepared to compete with them. The demographic situation in Flanders is also an explanation of emigration. Population continued to increase rapidly in Flanders and in Belgium in general until the First World War (V49). In Flanders industrial opportunities to take care of the increase were small, and agricultural needs were saturated. The birth rate per thousand in West Flanders stood at 32 per thousand from 1875 to 1890 and rose to 35 in the next decade (V60) while the death rate descended from 25 to 23 (V66). Those reaching maturity in the first decade of the twentieth century often chose to seek new opportunities. Net emigration from West Flanders in thousands was as follows (V77):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846-56</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-66</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-76</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-90</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1900</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-10</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Industrialization in southern and eastern Belgium found more difficulty absorbing this excess as time went on. The forebodings of war decreased the outflow to France somewhat in the early 20th century. Thus some Flemings came to Kansas.

In the United States, says H.S. Lucas in Netherlanders in America, "there were sizable colonies of Flemings in Moline [Rock Island County], Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, South Bend, Detroit, Paterson and Rochester" (p. 595), that is, in Missouri, along the south edge of the Great Lakes, in New York state and New Jersey (compare #59.62g). Missouri, however, was the only other state in which many Kansas Flemings resided before reaching Kansas, and there, it was in the settlement in the East Bottoms of Kansas City only a few miles from Kinney Heights that they resided sometimes, before moving into Kansas. A few Flemings mingled with the Germans at Taos, east of Jefferson City (see #57.15); they were apparently connected with the few near Scipio, Kansas. On the Mississippi 60 air miles below St. Louis is Belgique, which, despite its French name, is reputed to be Flemish in background. In general the immigrants to Kansas may be regarded as directly from Belgium and their linguistic evolution as all Kansan.
60.0g Bibliography for Scandinavians


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FD - Flom, George T. "The Danish Contingent in the Population of Early Iowa," same journal, IV (1906) 220-244.

He - Heckscher, E.F. *Svenkst Arbete och Lev*, Stockholm, 1941


J - Johnsen, O.A. *Norwegische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Jena, 1939


Kn - Knudsen, J., "The Danish Lutheran Church in America," *The Danish-American Immigrant* (Knudsen and Mortensen), Des Moines, 1950


For the whole United States, Scandinavian immigrants from 1820 to 1830 numbered less than 300. By decades for the next 80 years United States immigration statistics show for Scandinavians by thousands as follows:
Denmark Norway Sweden Total
1831-40 1 1 2
1841-50 5 14 19
1851-60 4 21 25
1861-70 17 109 126
1871-80 32 95 116 243
1881-90 88 177 3922 657
1891-1900 53 95 231 379
1900-10 65 191 250 506

The most cursory analysis of these statistics as compared with those presented in Volume I (10) shows that Kansas did not receive nearly as high a proportion of the Scandinavian immigrants after 1900 as it had before, not even among the Swedes. Kansas attracted few Scandinavians after free or very cheap land had disappeared.

61.1 The statistics on emigration kept by the Scandinavian countries accord roughly with American immigration records. As presented by Helge Nelson (N 36) and Dorothy Swaine Thomas (T 89 and 110), the Swedish statistics show in round figures the following peaks and troughs.

Emigration from Sweden by Thousands
Peak Trough
1852 and 4 4,000 each year 1860 zero
1868 32,000 1877 2,000
1882 45,000 1884 18,000
1887 46,000 1889 22,000
1892 42,000 1894 19,000
1895 15,000 1898 9,000
1903 35,000 1908 9,000
1910 24,000 1918 2,000
1923 25,000 1924 7,000
1926 10,000 1932 1,000
and so till 1940
From these figures should be subtracted during both peaks and troughs approximately 5,000 from 1890 till 1932 to account for returning Swedish-born. Through the 1930's the returnees exceeded in number the emigrants. The three peaks cited in Section 42.16g for Swedish settlement in Kansas correspond to the first three shown in the above table. Less marked correspondence to these pulsations begins with the bursting of the Kansas boom in 1886 and coincidental exhaustion of profitable homestead and railroad land, but some parallelism continues.

Nelson and Mrs. Thomas as well as others point out that the variations in emigration over short periods correspond more nearly to the ups and downs of the American business cycle than they do to changing conditions in Sweden. Taken as a whole the curve of emigration from Scandinavia shows a steep rise till the mid 1880's and as steep a fall till the First World War except for a comparatively flat place at the turn of the century. This general rise and fall over the period 1850-1914 is to be explained by conditions in Scandinavia, since opportunities in the United States may be considered as averaging nearly the same throughout it.

61.2 The causes of emigration are complex. Sometimes the will of the individual is a factor neglected in considering them. B.J. Hovde brings out its importance thus: "For one [emigrant] the legislation governing debts may have been the deciding factor; for another the intolerable uppishness of the officials. Some emigrated to afford their children a happier lot than that of a crofter; some to avoid burdensome taxes..."
Religious controversy and persecution played no small part in the beginnings" (Ho 615).

The economic motive was certainly the strongest factor causing emigration. Next after it should be placed, not the considerations listed by Hovde, but the influence of a long tradition that accepted departure from Sweden or Norway as no very serious matter. Emigration from Scandinavia had been going on for centuries; the Viking expeditions were one feature in a long history.

No treatment of the causes of Scandinavian emigration omits the mention of "America letters." (for example Ho 651 ff, N 133, HN 24, K 361). Their influence was more potent and longer continued in these countries than elsewhere. They were passed not only from family to family but from community to community. The rosiness of the picture painted by the new American was doubtless the greater because he was justifying his own behavior, but people preferred to believe him rather than pastors or officials who attempted dissuasion based on reasoning instead of experience. Agents from America and printed propaganda from states and railroads backed up the letters.

A most effective reason for emigration is revealed in the report of Consul Gerh. Gade in 1866 from Christiania: "The annual emigration statistics show that no less than about 60% of the emigrants are provided with tickets sent them from America" (EI 322) [For EI see German Bibliography].
61.3 Conditions in nineteenth century Sweden rather than in Norway or Denmark must occupy us primarily because of Swedish preponderance among immigrants to Kansas, but many of the features discussed for Sweden have their analogues in the other two countries. This statement is particularly true as regards population pressures.

61.4 Swedish population increased steadily from the mid-eighteenth century on. In 1817 it passed 2½ million, a half million gain in fifty years; in 1851 it reached 3½, in 1864 it passed 4 million, and in 1924 reached 6 million (T 32). Only toward 1890 did industrialization, which developed somewhat tardily, begin to take adequate care of the increase. From 1750 till 1840 agriculture occupied 80% of the people (T 50). By 1890 the proportion had sunk to 62% and in 1930 to 40% (D 93). While these percentages were falling during the last half of the nineteenth century, there was a gain for some time in the absolute number of persons supported by farming. The number climbed from over 2½ million in 1840 to over 3 million in 1870. It stood at 3,102,000 in 1880 and after the decade of heaviest emigration it had in 1890 fallen only to 2,973,000 (T 93); thereafter the methods had improved so as to sustain the people in a better life. The population increase of the nineteenth century was caused by a birthrate that remained high, though it sank from an earlier summit of 33 per thousand to 30 per thousand in 1870 (H 339) as compared with a death rate falling still faster, from 23 to 18 in the same period. The result during the period
of heaviest emigration expressed in terms of persons per year per thousand was as follows (H 341):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Excess of births over deaths</th>
<th>Population increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881/85</td>
<td>11.83</td>
<td>5.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886/90</td>
<td>12.40</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891/95</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>5.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between line one and line two was caused by emigration.

The increase in farming population in the first part of the 19th century took primarily the form of the development of a large class of landless workers who were naturally a restless lot moving readily from place to place. The habit of movement persisted after emigration and had its linguistic effect in the United States. Few Swedish communities in America developed the characteristics of isolated communities.

The restlessness also helps to explain the extraordinary circulation of America letters and oral and printed accounts. People carried them from place to place.

Three major economic factors combined to bring about the great migration. Two of them are expressed in a question that for a while approached the nature of a proverb. "Which is better, Swedish flesh and blood in America or Swedish skin and bones in Sweden?" (H 340 "Fragen är vad som var bättre, svenskt kott och blod i Amerika eller svenskt skinn och ben i Sverige")

The pull of opportunity, the push of want are here. The improvement in transportation was the third. The crowded steerages of the steamships in the 1880's was a vast improvement over the
yet more crowded conditions found earlier in sailing vessels during a voyage lasting three or four months. In 1825 the sloop Restoration which bore the first immigrants from Norway after more than three months on the sea was attached in New York because with 45 passengers it violated the law requiring a tonnage of five tons for each two passengers. It was listed for 39 tons and should have had $112\frac{1}{2}$ (B 40 & 51).

61.51 The origin of the wave of emigration in the mid-1850's may be explained by three factors: (1) The United States was prosperous until the panic of 1857; (2) the early Swedish settlements established in the preceding decade had passed through their period of first adjustments and were ready to absorb newcomers; (3) after a series of extraordinarily bad harvests from 1842 to 1847 Swedish farmers were experiencing an alternation of bad and good years (1850, 1852, and 1854 were bad, S 104) that provided some resources for movement, but constantly kept in sight the prospect of want.

61.52 The origin of the much greater wave of the late 1860's is by many authorities attributed to a series of bad harvests stretching from 1866 through 1869 (N 35, A 381, H 34). Dorothy Swayne Thomas is inclined to minimize the influence of bad crop years on emigration, but admits it for this case both by her chart and by saying "harvest failures played a very slight rôle after the seventies" (T 92). She is doubtless right in attributing an important rôle to American prosperity at the time, especially as western states, including Kansas, engaged in a
burst of propaganda inviting immigration.

61.53 The combination of forces, mainly economic, influencing those who came to Lindsborg, Kansas, is well brought out by Pastor O. Olsson in his letter of 3 Feb. 1869 written in Molkom and Noretorp, Sweden: "When I first wrote to New Stockholm, I thought that I could not journey with my family down to the wilderness of Kansas without staying in Stockholm with my family for some time to see where [in America] I might later find firm footing. Now, however, the Lord has brought it about that many of my dearest friends are settling in Kansas. Many are there, and more are coming who have long been part of my flock. We have been to many mission meetings where discussions were held. We are all united so that we can pull together beneath the yoke. This is, I believe, a great advantage in America. I know that many Värmlanders from my neighborhood are coming to Kansas. Emigration is on the increase. It is a necessity for the people, so that they may earn their living. It is a necessity for Sweden, which is suffering from overpopulation in many sections. In Sweden there is a threatening economic situation. The majority of our farming population is ruined by mortgages and uncontrollable free trade. Legislation here has gone so far astray that, if God does not cause a new leaf to be turned, it will end with bankruptcy. I see God's grace in this, that He among your people still has room for many needy. We are overrun with beggars. In Småland famine reigns in frightful proportions. Unemployment
throughout the country." The immigration to Lindsborg from Värmland and Småland was indeed considerable.

61.54 The great wave of the 1880's is commonly ascribed (A 381, H 342), for Scandinavia as for the rest of western Europe, to the agricultural depression brought on by the competition of American grain.

61.55 Improvement in the channel for emigration, i.e. faster and cheaper ocean transport, and the pull of a prosperous United States are, it seems, of more importance than the push of bad conditions in Sweden, for agricultural wages remained practically constant in this period and the cost of living decreased (T 97), presumably because of cheaper grain, -- which would of course discourage the entrepreneurs among farmers who in Sweden did not readily shift to other crops or to livestock raising (H 343-344).

61.56 Dorothy Swaine Thomas summarizes thus: "Not until reports of the expanding opportunities in the New World had achieved a certain credibility, and access to this goal had been facilitated by improvements in transoceanic transportation did the movement attain magnitude. Once under way, however, it proceeded with great rapidity, not the least important factors in its progress being reports of success, and financial contribution towards the cost of the journey, from earlier emigrants; solicitation by American agents; and growing dissatisfaction with certain non-economic conditions of Swedish life, among
them compulsory military service, limitations on political participation and lack of religious freedom" (T 90). "Life histories of emigrants (published in Emigrationsutredningen [a source not utilized by this study, which she and others frequently mention]) are replete with complaints about these aspects of Swedish life. It is, however impossible to determine the extent which they reflect American ideologies assimilated after emigration to the United States."

61.57 Compulsory military service, which was of negligible impact in Sweden until 1892, scarcely affected Swedish immigration to Kansas. Limitations on political participation in Sweden had no real bearing either, though Swedes became politically active at once in their new country.

61.58g The resentment at a lack of religious freedom was a more important matter, not so much as a motive for expatriation of masses as a factor in determining the immigrant's conduct when he found himself free to choose his own church and pastor. The pastors whom he chose were sometimes potent forces in directing religious, moral and even political and economic life. (See particularly the Lindsborg Settlement history.) The functions that they held in Sweden persisted. Laws granting religious freedom in Sweden were passed about 1865. Free church agitation, the most marked demonstration of pietism in Scandinavia, had begun in the preceding decades. It was more important in the early years than the later. Then "Sweden experienced a
spontaneous and heterogeneous pietistic revival, most of which remained within the State Church" (Ho 651), but created congregations dissatisfied with smug pastors. The Baptist and Mission movements in Sweden somewhat later were as much caused by American influence as by any native urge. Most Swedes wished to remain good Lutherans, but the established Lutheran church in Sweden, especially before 1861, was not sensitive to the demands of the pietists within it, who charged the entrenched ministers with formalism and self-complacency, impenetrability to deep religious feeling, greater concern with political power than with matters spiritual.

Helge Nelson analyzes the areas in Sweden furnishing emigrants to America (N 35-40). The heavy emigration was all from regions south or west of Stockholm, but not from close to the city. So it was for Swedes coming to Kansas, but not all came from the regions of heavy emigration. Falun in Kansas was settled largely by people from Dalarna, northwest of Stockholm, and a number came from the borders of the main regions. Värmland, on the border of Norway west of the capital, furnished more emigrants early than late, and people from there were important in founding Kansas settlements. The dialect of Värmland does not seem to have been as much of a hindrance in communicating with the people of Småland and most of its surrounding provinces as was the dialect of Skåne, situated opposite Copenhagen, and that of the island of Gotland. Some future citizens of Kansas
were born in these two areas, but the majority first saw the
day not more than 90 miles from the city of Jönköping. Areas of
low productivity furnished the most emigrants.

62.0 Denmark and Norway have had populations of nearly the same
size (in the neighborhood of two millions at the end of the emi-
gration period). Denmark contributed far less than Norway to
the population of the United States (240,000 Danes between 1870
and 1900, over 575,000 Norwegians), but it furnished more people
to Kansas, where there were 5,600 Danes, 3,000 Norwegians, 31,000
Swedes in 1895.

62.1 Denmark's population increased as the Swedish did in the
nineteenth century; it went from 1.7 millions in 1864 to 2.8
millions in 1914 (S 670), but the push for emigration was less
than in Sweden because the agricultural population in Denmark
was 54 per cent of the total in 1864 (S 672) instead of 80 per
cent as in Sweden, because the Danes shifted from grain-farming
to livestock-raising rather promptly when competition with Amer-
ican grain grew sharp (S 517), and because industry took care
of the excess agriculturists to a great extent; between 1880
and 1890 the farming population decreased from 51 per cent of
the total to 46 per cent, and to 41 per cent in 1901 (S 547).

62.2 The waves of immigration of 1867 and 1882 did bring Danes
to Kansas, however. The pushes were aided by a rather potent
political factor. The German conquest of Schleswig in 1864 led
to a large emigration of Danes from that province. First the
young men fled to avoid service in the Prussian army, and then their parental families often followed. The movement began in Als, the island nearest the Danish isles and spread north and west (Sc 102). Between 1871 and 1895 the population of the Haderslev area fell from 52 to 47 thousand (S 155). Schleswigers reached Kansas; in fact they were numerous enough so that in 1914-16 dissension arose in Kansas communities between anti-German Schleswigers and pro-German Northern Danes. The emigration was, however, in the first place from Schleswig to Denmark proper and then under economic pressures some emigrés moved on to America.

62.3g Denmark witnessed in mid-century a struggle between the followers of Bishop Grundtvig (1783-1872) and the majority of Lutherans, reinforced by the followers of the Inner Mission, a "great revival movement (which) characterized the latter half of the century" (Kn 7). The struggle had its echo among immigrants in the United States. Both political and religious dissension had their linguistic effects: they advanced Englishizing. Until 1849 religious freedom was not legal in Denmark; for ten years after a beginning in 1839 Baptists suffered persecution and did not thrive. In 1864 there were some 1600 members (WF 291). They prospered more beginning in 1865. Their influence in the United States was probably not so great as the influence in reverse.
63.0 Norway felt at least as acutely as Sweden population pressures of the nineteenth century. The increase was from 883 thousand in 1801 to 1.7 millions in 1865, to 2.2 millions in 1900 and 2.8 millions in 1914 (B 464 and J 496). The push for emigration was similar to that in Sweden but more vigorous, more long-continued. The emigration per 1000 inhabitants was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>From Sweden</th>
<th>From Norway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851-55</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>8.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>11.05 (BI 22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-06</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63.1 The arrivals in the United States from Norway in the first decade of the twentieth century numbered more than 190 thousand as against less than 177 thousand for the decade 1881-1890 -- peak years 1903: 25 thousand; 1882: 26 or 28 thousand (B 454, K 359, L467). The trickle to Kansas from the later period was perceptible. The reason for the long continuance of heavy emigration lay: 1) in the late date in the improvement of farming methods (the shift from grain-growing to stock-raising and dairying took place in Norway in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but stock raising was not too profitable [J 500-502]; ultimately methods received a considerable impulse from returning emigrants [Bl 474]); 2) in the delay, comparatively speaking, in industrialization; 3) in great social restlessness in Norway (Einar Haugen says of the immigrants of the last two decades of
the nineteenth century that they "were children of a new age in Norway, an exciting era of industrial expansion, democratic agitation, and broadening education." [Hn 27]); probably, too, in the relatively greater ability of Norwegian settlements in the United States to assimilate additional increments of people because the Norwegians furnished a higher proportion of American farmers who moved on into Canada.* Norwegian settlements re-

* Einar Haugen, in his analysis of motives for Norwegian emigration (Hn 18-23), emphasizes psychological factors more than other analysts. "It seems clear, then, that Norwegians did not emigrate primarily because they were oppressed, or persecuted, or poverty-stricken. It is true that many of them were underprivileged; but so had their ancestors been and had humbly accepted it as the will of God. Economic and social conditions in Norway were actually better than in most European countries; and it was not the poor alone who emigrated. But the men of the nineteenth century were like Adam and Eve after they had tasted the apple of knowledge: they suddenly discovered that they were hungry. The apple they ate was the news of America which came to them through their newly-founded newspapers, their improved school systems, their previously migrated relatives, the letters and books about America. They emigrated because they had learned to be dissatisfied, and because a changing world had provided them with a hope of escape from their dissatisfaction." (Hn 22).
A. They emigrated because they had learned to be dissatisfied.

Receiving the twentieth-century immigrants found use for the Norwegian language longer than other settlements.

63.2 Economic life in Norway apparently reacted to political conditions. While there are few claims that the union with Sweden during the nineteenth century was an economic depressant, the sudden swing upward after the dissolution of the union in 1905 (L 498) suggests that energies previously had been expended in politics or in dissension which might have been applied to the solution of socio-economic problems.

63.3 Dissatisfaction with the state church in Norway was more acute than analogous emotions in Sweden. Hans Nielsen Hauge labored at a pietistic revival in the early years of the nineteenth century, and Haugeanism endured. Lay preachers were common. In America Norwegians, though almost all persisting in Lutheranism, became especially disputatious and divisive.

63.4g Norwegian emigrants to the United States came mostly from southern Norway, but to make such a statement is little different from saying that they came from Norway. Three fourths of Norway's people live south of the sixtieth parallel of latitude, the point at which, coming from the north, Norway attains its full width; a good half live south of Bergen. The first Norwegian emigrants, the Quakers who came in the Sloop Restoration in 1825, were from Stavanger on the southwest coast. From the same region came both early and late settlers to Brown County,
Kansas; some from a little further south yet, from Sogndal. In Greenwood County there was another immigrant from Sogndal, also one from Toten somewhat north of Oslo.

64.0g Scandinavian immigrants into the United States very nearly

* For a complete description of the location and history of the various Swedish settlements the reader is referred to Helge Nelson's work (N). Vol. II is an atlas.

took over Minnesota and the Dakotas. In 1890 North Dakota with 1/8 the population of Kansas, and South Dakota with 1/2, each contained half again as many Scandinavian-born as Kansas, and the numbers in these states were to increase greatly. Their presence there, however, hardly influenced developments in Kansas. Nor did that of the Scandinavians in six other states each containing in 1850 more than two hundred persons born in Scandinavia—California, Louisiana, Texas, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, though in most of these states, as well as in some of their neighbors and in Utah, the Scandinavian population increased notably. In the eastern and far northern states because of a larger proportion of late arriving immigrants, there could be cited instances of conservation of Swedish or Danish into the mid-twentieth century more impressive than most that will be discussed below. Four other states in 1850 contained more than two hundred inhabitants born in Scandinavia, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and Wisconsin. The Scandinavians in these states and in Nebraska
had close relations with those in Kansas (See 26-28 for population figures in these states.) So did those at one point in Indiana, Laporte. Kansas was too warm for most of them and the lands that were newly opened after 1870 were usually too dry for those who were willing to endure the hot summers.

For the Swedes Illinois was always a favorite state. As late as 1890 there were 7/8 as many Swedish-born in Illinois as in Minnesota. Climatic conditions made the northern third of the state the preferred area. Chicago throughout the period of Kansas settlement contained many Swedes. For a great number it was merely a way station or a temporary residence while accumulating capital. But the permanent urban element was large, became bilingual rapidly, and exerted Engl-izing influence on all Swedes who tarried there even briefly. Still in the suburbs there were linguistically conservative spots. In Austin near Oak Park about 1918 a boy of good background entered school able to speak only Swedish. In Chicago itself confirmations in Swedish were occurring about 1915. Other urban centers grew up at Rockford on the north edge of the state in Winnebago Co. (61-102), at Galesburg (61-14) and at Rock Island (61-130) on or near the Mississippi River. The last two towns, especially Galesburg, were of much importance to Kansas. One hundred miles south of Chicago there was a center founded in 1863 at Paxton which spread to towns near by primarily in Ford County (61-155) (some connection with Osage County, Kansas). In Kane County
(61-113) 35 miles west of Chicago along the Fox River between Elgin and Aurora Swedish settlements grew up about 1850. In DeKalb County, the next county west, Swedes began to appear around Sycamore at nearly the same time. In the region near the Mississippi Swedish settlement around Galesburg and in the area between Galesburg and Rock Island in Knox and Henry Counties (61-142,131) has been important, particularly in a district measuring about 13 x 20 miles centering at Andover, where the first Swede appeared in 1840 and mass settlement began in 1849. At the south edge at Victoria there were Swedes by 1838 (FS 100).

65.01 Swedes who became Kansans had usually lived in Illinois if they had lived first elsewhere in the United States. Over 60 percent of the Swedes whose biographies appear in the Cutler-Andreas History of Kansas (1883) and who recorded other states than Kansas as the place of their first residence in the United States had dwelt in Illinois. Iowa, Indiana, and New York each furnished 6 or 7 per cent of the remainder. The others were scattered from California to Massachusetts, though none had lived in the South. The founders of the Kansas Swedish settlements begun in Territorial days (Axtell, Mariadahl, Enterprise, Scranton) were all from the Rock Island-Andover-Galesburg complex of settlements (including Davenport across the Mississippi River). The settlers of the late 1860's and 1870's also came mostly from this area, or if not, usually from Chicago. The first organized group at Lindsborg came from Chicago; the members of the second
composed the Galesburg Land Company. Other Swedish Americans who came to the Lindsborg area were 90 per cent from Illinois. The settlers at Scandia organized their land company in Chicago. Part of the Savonburg people were from near Galesburg. The settlers of 1870 in Osage County were mostly from Princeton, Illinois, on the east edge of the Mississippi complex. In 1878 the settlers at New Andover named their settlement for their old home at Andover, Illinois. The data concerning those who founded Swedish settlements in Kansas are similar.

Later comers to Kansas had often spent a few years in Swedish states contiguous to Illinois, but Illinois continued to be a principal American source of Swedish population in Kansas.

The following passage from Helge Nelson's work illustrates linguistic development in the central part of the Rock Island-Andover-Galesburg area. "Dr. Philip Andreen, who was born in the Andover-Swedona district, made a visit there in 1916. He writes: 'It is the third generation, the grandchildren of the first settlers, who now begin to take the leading places in the community and in the activities of the church. Many of the families are rich and prosperous, they all seemed to be independent. The majority of the American descendants, who, a generation ago, were the foremost farmers and greatest landowners, have had to yield place to the Swedish-Americans who have bought their farms. On the whole the Swedona region of to-day is more Swedish than it was when I was a child there."
Also the fourth generation is learning Swedish, because everywhere in the homes Swedish is still spoken. This description is interesting from the point of view that the Swedish stock has kept and is developing its position as farmers. But it was somewhat too bright a picture that Dr. Andreen gave of the district regarding the persistence of the language. In any case the Swedish language was rapidly dying out, in spite of the fact that in Swedona in 1914 the morning church service was held only once a month in English. For evensong and Sunday School English alone was used. In 1925, when I visited these parts, the young people used only English when talking with each other. According to Pastor G. E. Hemdahl most of the sermons and the schooling in Andover had been held in Swedish until the middle of the 1890's, when however, English was introduced together with Swedish in the Sunday schools, confirmations and evensong, and at the meetings of the youth associations English was the most frequently used language. At the same time the Christian summer schools gave up using Swedish. About 1911 English commenced to be used at the morning services. In 1926 Swedish as a church language was heard in Andover only at one morning service per month and, according to Lic. Alb. Widén, in 1935 a Swedish sermon was preached once every fourth Sunday. And in 1939 the Swedish evensong had been given up altogether. . . . The Swedish stock now belongs to the third and fourth generations after the first immigrants" (N 167-8). In 1910 for the sixtieth anniversary of the An-
Pastor Edbloom wrote a history of it. In 1950 when the centennial celebration again produced a history, Pastor Bexell praised his predecessor's effort and added: "The only trouble now is that it was written in Swedish and few of our constituency are conversant with the language." Still in the three-day centennial festival a place was found for a Swedish service on Saturday. Pastor Laure, who served the congregation from 1912 to 1923 was in charge. Pastor Bexell, despite the quotation made above, believed that the members of his congregation born before 1918 knew Swedish. To reconcile the two statements we may assume that very few could read, and fluency hardly existed.

Bishop Hill, near Andover and 25 miles northeast of Galesburg, was the scene of a very early (1846) settlement of communalistic character. In 1951 the active church there was the Methodist, labeled in glass, "Swedish M.E. Church 1869-1900." The bulletin board called it the "Community M.E. Church."

In the First Swedish Lutheran church at Galesburg Swedish services were abandoned in 1940, but in 1951 many old people took communion privately in Swedish. In 1951 a half-hour radio program in Swedish, for which there were listeners, was broadcast at Galesburg every Sunday.

The First Lutheran Church in Rock Island discarded Swedish for services in 1935, but here too in 1951 Swedish was used in pastoral visitations to the old, mostly sons and daughters of
immigrants. Many young girls knew Swedish ca. 1930. Preaching in Swedish at Moline near by had not been abandoned so soon. It disappeared at the Salem church there in 1950, but was still continuing at the First Church in 1951.

65.03 At Rockford, Illinois, Swedish had greater longevity than elsewhere. Immigration begun there by 1852 (N 155) continued to the mid-twentieth century. At Zion Lutheran church in 1951 there was preaching in Swedish every Sunday attended by some 125 persons. Attendance at English services was 700. One tenth of the Brotherhood and Dorcas society meetings were conducted in Swedish. The ceremonies for weddings and baptisms were sometimes in Swedish. There had been no instruction for confirmation in Swedish, however, since about 1925. In years just preceding, the catechetical school had served principally in teaching the language. Zion was far the largest Augustana Lutheran church in Rockford; there were seven others. Of these only First had services in Swedish -- once a month, poorly attended. But there was Swedish elsewhere in town. At the Salvation Army there were often Swedish speakers, and the organization sponsored a regular radio service in Swedish. People of the second generation were frequently able to speak Swedish, and these persons might be young -- in their twenties.

65.04g Swedes in Indiana were most numerous in the towns along the lake front near Chicago. Of these, La Porte and Gary have the largest Swedish churches. La Porte was a way station for certain
future Kansans, specifically at Brantford. Like the other cities in the neighborhood, LaPorte holds other immigrant stocks of yet more importance, here Germans and Poles primarily. Still, Bethany Church, organized in 1851, did not begin its transition from Swedish to English services until about 1916 and completed it in 1939. In 1933 there were Swedish services in addition to English twice a month. At that time the young there knew no Swedish.

There were also early Indiana Swedish settlements in Warren and Tippecanoe Counties (62:40,41) which seemed to have furnished settlers to Paxton, Illinois, when the Illinois Central line was built.

After Illinois the state contributing most to the Swedish element in Kansas has been Iowa. But through Iowa there is a link with Illinois. For instance, in 1880 in Scandia Township one Swede from Iowa had children born in Kansas and Illinois. He had two sons born in Iowa (aged 10 and 13); their mother was born in Illinois. In neighboring Courtland Township there were two Swedish families with children born in Iowa. In one of these families (Elenburg) the older children had been born in Illinois; in the other there was a child born in Ohio. Similar facts, as examples, are revealed by the 1880 census for the Swedish townships in Saline County, sampled for the Lindsborg settlement and in Murray Township in Marshall County. Iowa's contribution was close to Illinois' as a source of Kansas Swedes in 1885 in Brantford Township. There adult Swedish-born who came to Kansas but not directly from Sweden were distributed as follows:
The Swedish settlements in Iowa were concentrated in four areas: the south-east, Burlington (61-66), and the country to the west and south, first settlements 1845-1846 (FS 601,607); middle-most Iowa, Des Moines (61-41) and, settled earlier, 1846-9 (FS 609,612) the country to the north of it, "the largest and most influential Swedish community in Iowa" (FS 614); the south-west, the Halland settlement, mostly in Page and Montgomery Counties; and finally in and near Sioux City. Southeast Iowa areas seem to have furnished a temporary abode for more Swedes coming to Kansas than other areas; the immigrants sometimes earned money in Burlington or Keokuk. Farmers who came from Illinois, if they spent some time elsewhere before coming to Kansas, seem most frequently to have lived in this section of Iowa. Kansas summers seemed less formidable to these people than to those farther north.

Linguistic development among Swedes in Iowa followed much the pattern recorded above for the Illinois area between Rock Island and Galesburg. For example in the southeast area at Swedesburg some thirty-five miles northwest of Burlington, the Swedish inscriptions in the cemetery which prevailed in the 1880's, become rare after 1900. The last one appears on the stone of whom one spouse died in 1917, the other in 1935, Swedish had disappeared from Lutheran services here before 1951, but those born before 1918 knew some Swedish. Swedish was abandoned in
church services except for the Christmas Ceremony, Julota, by 1923. Neighboring missions at Mount Pleasant and Washington, retirement centers to the south and north, persisted long in Swedish and perished in 1936 and 1926. Still, records at Mount Washington which were kept in Swedish in 1906 were set down in English in 1912. At Boone in the central district some 40 miles upstream from Des Moines in 1951 most of those of Swedish stock aged more than fifty were able to speak Swedish. Half were immigrants, half of the next generation. Most of the 627 of the congregation lived within this town of 12,000 inhabitants. In Iowa's southwest section, the Lutheran church founded in 1869 in Fremont Township in Montgomery County and on the edge of Page County was in 1951 having Swedish services once a month. The other Swedish churches of the area had discarded services in Swedish by 1951, partly because of ministers incapable of preaching in it. Immigration had continued until 1910. About half of the members of the Mission Covenant church at Red Oak born about 1920 were in 1951 able to speak Swedish. Confirmations had gone on in Swedish till 1930. The first minister incapable of using the language arrived in 1936. Near Sioux City, a boy later to become a minister studied his catechism in Swedish but was confirmed in English in 1928.

Missouri, though favored by few Swedes, furnished a number of Swedish settlers to Kansas in the northern pre-West, most notably at Kackley in the great Scandia settlement. These people came straight west from Bucklin, half way between Han-
nibal and St. Joseph in southeastern Linn County; the settlement there was founded at the end of the 1860's and was described in 1870 as a rather promising colony with 60 to 80 Swedes: "The Swedes who first came to Bucklin in 1869 belonged to the party of Pastor O. Olsson (see Lindsborg) proceeding to Kansas, but they had separated in Glasgow, Scotland, from the other emigrants. By a railroad agent they were persuaded to come to Bucklin. The settlement also extended into Macon County east of Linn County. In 1870 there were more than 200 Swedish-born in these two counties" (N 264), 311 in 1890. The Swedes, almost all Värmlanders, came first as railroad workers, declaring to Pastor Olsson their intention of going on to Lindsborg after they had earned some money. They were persuaded to buy land in two areas, one north, the other south of Bucklin. The people who eventually went to Scandia were almost all from the southern group, which thereby was nearly eradicated. Few came from Sweden after the first arrivals. The center and the churches of the northern group were some ten miles north of town. E. Lindquist wrote of the Lutheran Church (in existence 1870-1927): "The records are in Swedish throughout the history of the congregation. The last entry is for 1927" (Li 143). Of 1955 he added, "Swedish is seldom spoken by the few children of the pioneers who remain. . . . The new generation knows only a few words of the language. . . . The older generation will respond in Swedish when addressed in that language. . . . The language is unique and quaint with accent and vocabulary belonging to the
1860's and 1870's and identified with a province" (Li 148). In 1964 a few of the old able to speak Swedish were still to be found, but all were past sixty. The cemeteries contain only one stone with an inscription in Swedish.

65.30 The Swedish settlements in Nebraska sent part of their population to settlements in northwestern Kansas, particularly Enne. In 1895 adult Swedish-born who came to Kansas from other states were distributed as follows at Enne (Laing and Union Townships, Rawlins County):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Nebraska, as at more eastern settlements in Kansas the early settlers very often came from the Galesburg-Rock Island area in Illinois (Al passim). At least part of the people from Nebraska at Enne came from Saronville, one of the minor Swedish settlements of the state. It is in Clay County in the second tier of counties north of Kansas, longitude of western Republic County (P l). Another somewhat larger settlement begins some 10 miles to the south, stretching from Edgar to Schickley. Its beginning was at first called Stockholm founded in 1872 (Al 83). Saronville was established in 1871 by Gottlanders, who had lived in Illinois; many were Methodists (Al 83; see also N 279). After the First World War this community was not very conservative of Swedish. But until 1910 many of the inscriptions in the cemetery were in Swedish.
Like Saronville, the other Nebraska settlements are all nearly contemporary in dates of origin with those in Kansas. The settlement at Oakland in Burt County (the second county north of Omaha) dates back to 1856, though significant settlement did not develop until 1864 (Al 82/). In 1919 Oakland had six Swedish denominations represented: Lutheran, Baptist, Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Methodist, Mission Friends, Free Mission; in 1951 its Lutheran church had nearly 1,000 members. The settlement at Wahoo and Swedeburg was founded in 1867; that at Swedehome and Hordville in 1870 to 1872; that at Axtell and Bertrand in 1875-1879. The last three settlements are spaced along the Platte River at 70 to 80 miles from each other. Wahoo is in the county next west of Omaha. Oakland and Wahoo-Swedeburg are at the longitude of Mariadahl (founded 1855); Swedehome-Hordville at the longitude of Lindsborg and Scandia (founded 1867-8) and Axtell-Bertrand at the longitude of Ogallah (founded 1879). Linguistic development of these settlements in eastern and southern Nebraska is parallel to that in Kansas. In 1951 in Wahoo and Swedeburg (their area includes Malmo, Ceresco, Mead, and an element in Fremont), only the very old used Swedish habitually.
Those born about 1900 were capable of speaking. Those born later up to the period of the First World War had learned some Swedish but forgotten it. There were no services in either Augustana Lutheran or Mission Covenant churches in Swedish. At Wahoo there had been occasional Swedish services until about 1948. In the Swedehome-Hordville Area, which includes Stromsburg and Osceola (in the same longitude to the north are the settlements whose present post offices are at Genoa, St. Edward, and Newman Grove. The first comers were Methodists from Galva, Illinois, who arrived in 1872.—Al 83), and in the Axtell-Bertrand area, including Funk, Holdrege and Minden, also Norman still further to the east, and an element in Kearney, conditions in 1951 were reported to be very similar, perhaps even less linguistically conservative in the east.

Settlement advanced to the north of the Greater Omaha Region later than it did to the south and west. Wausa, some 25 miles from the state's northern frontier somewhat west of Yankton, and its area were settled from 1882 to 1885 with a very stable Swedish population (Al 83). Only the immigrants had any real knowledge of Swedish in 1951. There were four or five of them; the number had greatly decreased since 1945. Swedish settlement finally reached Boyd County, near the point where the Missouri River first reaches Nebraska. This was in 1890 by people from Oakland. At Wakefield, much further east in northeastern Nebraska, 35 air miles southwest of Sioux City, Lutheran
services in Swedish had been occurring in 1932 every other Sunday. In 1939 there was one Swedish service a month in addition to English; fifty attended out of 700 members. In a far western settlement in the northeastern corner of the panhandle at Chappell there was a Swedish Sunday school class until about 1950.

In Omaha in 1951 the five Swedish Lutheran churches had all become community churches with a high proportion of non-Swedish members. One of the two largest, the Augustana congregation nearest the business center, had been the last to give up Swedish completely.

65.4 Other states which furnished Swedes to Kansas require little attention. The Ohio Swedes were usually in urban centers, where the land-hungry earned money before going west. "Only Ashtabula has a Swedish stock worth mentioning" (N 121). The larger Swedish settlements in Wisconsin except for those at Milwaukee and Racine are in the northern half of the state. Such Swedish immigrants as came on to Kansas thus came from groups of low concentration. A similar statement applies to Michigan.

65.5g The mobility of the Swedes is revealed by statistics cited in Vol. II concerning Brantford and Enne in Kansas. See also Section 42.21. The characteristic was by no means limited to Kansas. This taste for movement made for great homogenity of culture and was on the whole an Eng-lishizing force, because of the contacts with the general population while in transit. Even when immigrants left a community with the express aim of joining
one more faithfully Swedish, the effect was to make easier the triumph of English in the settlement quitted.

66.0 The early history of Swedish churches in America is complicated. It is presented in a short and reliable form in G. Westin's introduction (pp. 7-32) to Emigranterna och Kyrkan, 1932. Fortunately for those who do not read Swedish the account in the Augustana Synod's centenary book, A Century of Life and Growth (pp. 15-19; 28-43), is short and also reliable, allowance made for the emphasis proper in such a publication. The matter is presented still more briefly here. Important immigration to the United States began about 1840; the seeds of various movements were then at work leading to modification of or separation from the Lutheranism of the dominant State Church. These movements progressed further among the emigrants, and leaders returned to work in Sweden after relatively short stays in America. The religious developments here and abroad were to a great extent parts of a single complex, even in having a close connection with the English-speaking world, for the movements in Sweden were partly fostered in the very beginning by Americans and English, and the movements among Swedes in the United States depended in part on money from mission-minded Americans.

66.1 Jonas Hedström had for several years before 1850 been riding circuit for the Methodists from Victoria toward Galesburg. The Baptists gained a trained minister by the conversion of Gustaf Palmquist. He established a congregation at Rock Island in 1852. The Swedish Methodists and Baptists were always
closely enough linked to their American counterparts so that in the hard days following the First World War their organizations could be absorbed into the "English" groups; thereby they lost their linguistic identity. Many of their members did not relish such a fate, and these people for the most part joined with the Mission Covenanters, concerning whom there is more below. In 1911 Swedish Baptists numbered 28,000, Swedish Methodists 18,000. The Lutherans had 260,000.

66.2 The great majority of the Swedes remained Lutherans and the proportion which was tranquilly convinced that such should be their faith increased as time went on, particularly in the twentieth century. The earliest organized Lutheran congregation (1848) among the mid-continental settlements was at New Sweden in southeast Iowa. The people were poor, and their minister was a shoemaker. They were a group functioning suspiciously like the "readers" (läsare) who had existed in Sweden for some time and who provided a breeding-ground for non-Lutheran sects. The people at New Sweden remained Lutheran, but in such communities, where the population has not been strong enough to support trained ministers all the time, churches other than the Lutheran have sometimes become the primary religious focus of the community. Examples in Kansas are Stotler, west of Osage City, and Enne and Lind. The first regularly ordained minister to organize a strictly Lutheran congregation was L.P. Esbjorn. (I. Unonius was active earlier, but he elected to be at once an
Episcopalian and a Lutheran, an effort which made his career in America short.) Esbjorn founded his church at Andover in 1850. He was at once in competition with Swedish Baptist and Swedish Methodist ministers in the same settlement, also, with Erik Jansson who had founded his communistic religious colony hard by at Bishop Hill in 1846. The disillusioned Swedes who separated from it were not often ready to return to Lutheranism and were a yeast for other sects.

The Scandinavian Lutherans needed the help of the "English" Lutherans during the 1850's and cooperated with them. After organization of a conference of all Lutherans in northern Illinois a cooperative seminary was created and Esbjorn became a professor. There were disagreements, and suddenly after a year and a half of operation, he walked out one March day in 1860 followed by all the Scandinavian students. In the same year there ensued shortly the organization of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod with thirteen Norwegian and thirty-six Swedish pastors (Norwegian members, 1220; Swedish, 3750). The Norwegians separated in 1870, but "Scandinavian" remained part of the name until 1894. There was no need to substitute Swedish; "Augustana" had come to mean "Swedish" to the members, so nearly so that the connection between "Augustana" and the Augsburg Confession must be explained to them now (0 22). Within Lutheranism the Swedes remained more unified than the other Scandinavians or the Germans. Nationally, from 240,000
members in 1906 and 275,000 in 1916 the Augustana Lutherans had come to number 413,692 in 1947.

66.31 When K.C. Babcock wrote in 1914, "The church services in the great majority of cases are still conducted in the mother-tongue," (B 122) he was speaking of the Swedes along with other Scandinavians. The word "still" indicates that the complete abandonment of Swedish could already be foreseen. The Augustana centenary book of 1948 chose to regard the process as completed:

"The use of the English language increased rapidly after the turn of the century. In 1908 the English Association of Churches was formed and virtually constituted an English conference within the Synod. World War I greatly accelerated the use of English, in some instances through drastic state actions, since the use of any foreign language was considered 'un-American'. It is interesting to note that the Augustana Observer in 1882 officially urged the exclusive use of the English language in the General Council. Use of the Swedish language was maintained longest in the East and in certain Midwestern sections among the later immigrants. Since immigration from Sweden has virtually ceased, the Americanization of the Synod has been complete. Today the Augustana Synod is an American Church in language, as it always was in spirit" (0 38. See also Lu 101).

As regards regular services the statement of the Centenary Book was virtually true in 1948. Religion in Swedish was only for the very old. (See also # 65.02 -- 65.32g.)

66.32g Although a need for parochial schools was expressed in early synodical meetings, such schools did not truly take root among the Swedes. Instead there was the "vacation Bible school, first carried on mostly in Swedish. [It] reached a
peak in 1903 with 21,900 pupils, dropped to 8,622 in 1922, and has since rallied with the use of the English language."

66.4 A more important rival for the Augustana Lutherans than the Baptists and Methodists were the Swedish Mission Covenant people. The organization in Kansas had in 1917 the official name of Kansas Svenska evangeliska Missionskonferens and called themselves "Mission Friends (missionsvänner)". Of the twenty-three churches in Kansas in 1949, twelve had the word "Mission Covenant" in their name, eight the word "Mission" alone and three the word "Covenant" alone. At that time the official name of the national organization was the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America. By 1961 the word Mission had been dropped from the title. The shifting in the name was the reflection of shifts in organization and of the occurrence of mergers. From a very fluid collection of "activities" in the beginning, the original movement, congregational in character, evolved into a rather rigidly constituted church. The Mission Friends were usually in sympathy with the ideas of Free Churchmen and they can all be considered as one group, though sometimes discordant organizations for each existed side by side. Mission Friends gained importance only about 1868 or 1869. Their work was inspired particularly by P.P. Waldenström (1838-1917) who did not originally intend to form a denomination and remained a pastor in the State Church until 1882. The Mission people were conservative
linguistically. In the early 1930's their seminary at Chicago still conducted part of its courses in Swedish.

66.5 Swedes were less given to the organization of purely social societies than Danes or Germans or Czechs. Companies for founding settlements were useful and frequent. A few with little connection with Kansas were the Western Migration Company, the American Emigrant Company, and the American Aid and Homestead Company. Social adjuncts to religious observance were welcome. But other organizations were not outstanding, and seldom helped in conserving Swedish.

66.6g Linguistically, Swedes of the immigrating generation were somewhat more ardent for their language when they arrived late in the nineteenth century than they had been earlier (Lu 114). Most members of the second generation were, however, perhaps on this account, somewhat more scornful of it than the second generation in other early arriving stocks. "A reaction [against the immigrant generation] was inevitable, and it became most extreme during and immediately after the [First] World War" (Lu 114). The clash had meant contrasts of usage, but relatively little survivance after the death of the immigrants.

67.00 Danish settlements in the America of the nineteenth century originated at nearly the same time as the Swedish (there was a church at Muskego, Wisconsin, by 1843) and occurred in the same general area as those of the Swedes with less emphasis on escape from hot weather and less preference for the long winters of the
northern states. There seems to have been no early settlement among the Danes that served them as a center of early concentration and dissemination as was true for the Swedes in the Andover-Galesburg area. The Walnut Danes in Marshall County, Kansas, had their start from a 49er returning from California who brought a brother and a sister directly from Denmark. Such itinerants, though not so numerous in absolute numbers as among the Germans and other Scandinavians, seem to have played a disproportionately large part in the early history of Danish settlement. Religious organization played a smaller part, though still significant.

The most frequent source of Danish population in Kansas, though not so important as for the Swedes, was Illinois. A great many Danes had sojourned in Chicago before moving on. Even at Jamestown, Kansas, where the prime mover in collecting the Danes together was Nels Nelson, who had spent three years at St. Louis, the majority of the families who joined him came there from Chicago. At Denmark in Lincoln County, Kansas, the magnet, C. Bernhardt, had himself lived in Chicago. In 1885 two large families at Denmark, Kansas, were from Iowa, but Iowa was less noteworthy as a source of Kansas Danish population elsewhere. Next after Illinois, Wisconsin was the first residence in the United States of Kansas Danes, but they came to Kansas from no one center; instances of settlers from Racine in the southeast, from Fond du Lac much farther north, from Dane County in the central south, and from Vernon County in the west occur. Set-
tlers from Wisconsin were especially numerous at Greenleaf, Kansas. At Tescott, Kansas, in 1885 six came from Michigan (there was a Danish center at Grant, 40 miles inland from Muskegon); the only other Dane at Tescott not directly from Denmark was from Ohio, but Ohio does not figure elsewhere, and Michigan seldom. The number arriving from Missouri was not eventually numerous, but was important in the early days, particularly for Doniphan County, to which Danes crossed from St. Joseph, and for Kansas City, where Danes from Jefferson City settled. The Nebraska settlements, which became relatively important, though founded late, greatly influenced Kansas.

67.10 As a means of locating Danish communities and characterizing them, their churches are important, though "only one out of 15 of the Danes in the United States belong to some church... one out of five of the Swedes, one out of \(\frac{3}{2}\) of the Norwegians, and one out of 3 of the total population" (B 64, quoting Nelson, History of the Scandinavians). Churches did lead to the foundation of certain Danish communities, however, as was largely true for the Jamestown Danes in Kansas. Certainly, as for other immigrant groups, religious life influenced linguistic development and church usage furnished an index of Engl-izing.

67.11 In the Lutheran church the Danes remained united with the Norwegians for some time. Beginning in 1870, their united organization, the outgrowth of another founded in 1851, was called the Norwegian-Danish Lutheran Conference. Then in 1872 the Grundtvigians among the Danes separated into what became the
Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, usually called the "Danish Church," largely followers of Bishop Grundtvig. The Danish ministers who remained with the Norwegians, "mostly from Inner Mission Circles in Denmark" (Kn 11) did not leave that conference until 1884. Their organization grew and in 1896 joined with a group who separated from the "Danish Church."

67.12 They founded the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America usually called the "United Church." It became "by far the largest Danish church body in America" (Kn 16). (In 1938, U.D. 34,363 baptized, D. 17,031) In 1946 the word "Danish" ceased to figure in its official title. It is represented in Kansas by the church at Kansas City (q.v.). "The emphasis of the church was on evangelism and missions. . . (It) has been ably administered and much of its success is due to the men who have been at its helm. . . During the second quarter of the twentieth century the United Church moved rapidly toward the complete transition to the English language " (Kn 18-19). In 1949 Løkken said that the United Church "went over to the preaching of English years ago. . . so as to gain souls among those who no longer understand the Danish language" (Lo 228). Nationally the transition may be said to have been completed when in 1960, the United Church merged with the American Lutheran Church (#58.01).

67.13 The "Danish Church," of which the church at Denmark, Kansas, is a member, had a "dread of strongly centralized authority. . . [and featured a] strong emphasis on [Danish] culture and folk
life." Early manifestations of this emphasis were the establish-
ishment of "folk schools" and "peoples societies," a part of
Grundtvig's conception of social organization. "Danish language
parochial schools prevailed for quite some time in several lo-
cations. . . Vacation schools were very common with their
double program of religious instruction and instruction in
Danish. . . The Danish language program has now [in 1950] dis-
appeared in almost all places" (Kn .23). Disapproval of the
"Peoples Societies" led to the withdrawal of the group that went
into the "United Church" in the 1890's. The Danes at Lyndon,
Kansas, were never numerous enough to organize a church but "a
Grundtvigian 'Peoples Society' existed there" (C 301). In the
Danish Church there was "a prolonged emphasis on the Danish
language with the resultant loss of many young people. . . The
Danish Church has given many good members to other churches.
The language controversy is now [1950] a thing of the past and
the church is moving ahead in its American environment, but there
is still [in 1950] a good work carried on in the Danish language"
(Kn .23; see also Lo 61, 229). Eventually the Danish Evangelical
Lutheran Church became the American Evangelical Lutheran Church
and merged later in 1962 with the organizations forming the Lu-
theran Church in America (#58.10).

67.14g Danish congregations which were not Lutheran were sometimes
Baptist as with Jamestown Danes of Kansas. Noteworthy also are
Danish Adventists and Danish Mormons though these sects had little
influence on Kansas.
Chicago, as implied above, dominates all Danish settlements in Illinois. There are Danish elements mingled with others in Kankakee and at least at Clifton to the south of it. There is another group close within the bend of the Illinois River as it turns south. But Chicago dominates. Thomas Løkken, who, innocent of English, traveled in America in 1948, was told that there were 20,000 Danes in Chicago. He spoke at women's church auxiliaries, evidently finding a few who understood him. His most revealing experience was his attendance at a festival of the Dania Lodge, one of the largest and most highly regarded Danish societies in Chicago. About 100 men and women were present for a banquet. "The welcome was in English, one speech after another was in English. Everyone at my table talked English... I sat silent of course, because I felt I was a foreign guest. I was much astonished that not a single Danish word was spoken in a Danish lodge" (Lo 54). Løkken himself and the Danish consul spoke in Danish. Apparently enough understood to give an appropriate audience response.

In Wisconsin Racine was the most favored city. The first Danes arrived in the neighborhood in the early 1840's (FD 232); in 1948 Danes were 16,000 of the 80,000 inhabitants (Lo 57). In 1954 in Racine the United Lutheran Church (Danish) had four congregations with 995 members. In no other city were there nearly as many members as in Racine. The "Danish church" was well represented here, two congregations. In 1948 "not one of these Danish churches had a service in Danish" (Lo 57); so remarked
Løkken ruefully, explaining that every one knew English, and there were rather a large number of spouses not of Danish stock. Løkken, however, found many with whom to speak Danish, first at a banquet given in benefit of a home for the old by the Dania Lodge, and at amateur theatricals. "Danish culture received better care in Racine than in a great many places in America" (Lo 58). Kenosha, near Racine also had Danes. Except for Racine none of the places mentioned in Section 67.01 appears to have achieved noteworthy settlements. West of Milwaukee some 25 miles near Hartland a Danish center developed beginning in 1845 (FD 232). Several settlements attained a certain importance in the latitudes of the eastern part of the state between the lower end of Lake Winnebago and Green Bay, notably at Wau-paca, Neenah, the city of Green Bay, and the town called Denmark, founded in 1848 (FD 232). In the same latitude farther west, 40 miles east of Chippewa Falls, is Withee, and much to the northwest of it, almost to Minnesota, some 90 miles north of St. Paul is Luck, formerly called West Denmark. These two have "Danish Church" centers and Løkken visited them both in 1948. Of Withee he says, "It is only the old who in this place as in so many other places have any interest in speaking Danish" (Lo 59). At Luck, settlement began in 1869; so Løkken was informed in Danish by the sons of the first settlers (Lo 62). At and near Luck besides the "Danish Church" five "United" churches exist. Still farther north but in Minnesota, Askov,
which also received Danish settlers about 1869, was quite conservative of Danish. At a women's meeting attended by 40 or 50, Løkken felt himself "almost as if I were at home in Denmark" (Lo 69). He did not visit Michigan where there is a well-known Danish colony in the center of the lower peninsula at Gowen in Montcalm County. It was settled in 1850 (FD 232).

67.22 The largest Danish Minnesota settlements, aside from the Danish element in the twin cities, were at Hutchinson some fifty miles west of Minneapolis, at Albert Lea a hundred miles south of the metropolis, and at Tyler in Lincoln County in southwestern Minnesota. There was another settlement south of Minneapolis in the neighborhood of Farmington and Northfield. Løkken visited Hutchinson in 1948. The "Danish Church" had perished there, and the "United Church" had become a community affair. There was a group of 35 old people who gathered for a party for the guest and evidently spoke Danish. As a contrast he was invited to a family gathering where everybody spoke English for an hour, though they had asked him to talk of Denmark. They explained that there was a daughter-in-law who understood only English, though the others could speak Danish. There arose a sharp argument on how much it was permissible to speak a language different from that of the land (Lo 72). At Tyler there were still Danish services in 1951. Indeed when Løkken visited there the "Danish Church" had Danish services every Sunday (Lo 102). He noted, however, that as he left church "just as many
stood waiting for the English service" (Lo 99), and that summer schooling of the young was in English (Lo 100). But he was happy; Danish was common.

In Iowa the Danish settlements that grew and remained strong were those near the 95th degree of longitude (U.S. Highway 71), that is in western Iowa but not as far west as the border. Historically the settlements at Clinton on the Mississippi, (small settlement in Center Township in 1856 -- FD 238) and at Cedar Falls (founded 1860-- FD 243) had their importance. Løkken describes Clinton -- 1948 -- as "sleeping on its laurels... half forgotten... Danish culture had great traditions here, mostly from the time when Grundtvig's son, Frederik Lange Grundtvig was the pastor of the Danes" (Lo 83). Løkken lectured in Danish to a group gathered around tables. Des Moines received its first Dane in 1867 (FD 242). In that city was founded Grandview College, sponsored by the "Danish Church". Because of it and a home for the aged the city was a nucleus for Danish culture. The president of the college from 1942 to 1952 was Johannes Knudsen who is quoted in other sections. He received Løkken in 1949 and expressed the conviction that Danish was dying out (Lo 81). Løkken's reception by the students and old people restored his cheerfulness. For his lecture at the college the room was full. In 1951, President Knudsen stated that about 30 of the 200 students had proficiency or quasi-proficiency in Danish, and none of them were from Des Moines.
Among the settlements at longitude 95° the area occupying the most territory and most frequently spoken of is that with its focus at Kimballton some fifty air miles northeast of Omaha. Babcock calls it "the largest Danish settlement in the United States" (B 65) and says that it was sponsored by the Grundtvigians. Still, seven "United churches are within fifteen miles of Kimballton; there are five more in the neighborhood to the south. Besides the Lutheran churches in 1904 there were also Danish Baptist and Adventist churches; the Baptists were then having their morning services in Danish, those in the evening in English (Ls 229). The original point of settlement was at Elk Horn, three miles to the south. Real settlement began in 1867 (Ls 219); some Danes in 1857 (see also FD 240). The church there which became "United" was organized in 1875. In 1904 a Danish college existed there (courses at high school level -- Ls 222). Danish summer school was still going on in 1938. In 1949 Løkken's lecture in Danish at Kimballton was so welcome that he was asked to repeat it for those who had been absent (Lo 85). Løkken was not, however, well satisfied with the area. He laments that, though the telephone directories reveal mostly Danish names, "all these people who thirty years ago spoke only Danish, now talk English together and have forgotten Danish; it is understood that Danish, even if it is a feather in one's cap, is only a feather" (Lo 80). In 1951
could go into the stores and talk Danish. In 1904 this had been true almost everywhere in Shelby County (Ls 219). In 1966 men of Danish stock at Avoca on the south edge of the area reported that at Kimballton Danish was still spoken. One informant at Avoca born in 1915 had learned Danish, but was more at home in English, another born about 1945 knew only a word or two of Danish. The Danes at Council Bluffs date back to 1850. Løkken was disturbed at finding two old ladies who declared Danes themselves totally indifferent to Denmark.

Seventy air miles to the north of Kimballton is the area of Newell and Storm Lake. At Newell in 1949 an old lady thanked Løkken for his talk and stated: "I am very sure that this is the last real Danish lecture we shall hear in Newell. Our old pastor is leaving. The young people are demanding a new man, and now a new man is coming who can preach only in English. Now Danish is finished here in our old Danish colony. It's all over. We have said good bye to Denmark" (Lo 81). She was unduly pessimistic. The pastor who was just then leaving was "very Danish", and had had Danish services with no English twice a month. The membership had fallen. In 1951 every second Sunday there was, however, a Danish service for half an hour before both the children's and the regular service. From 20 to 55 people (average 32) were attending out of a congregation of about 400. It was estimated that twelve families were using
Danish daily; some of these were headed by the sons and daughters of immigrants. The third generation was never using Danish. Four immigrants from Denmark had arrived in 1950, and had already left.

Still in the same longitude and near the Minnesota border, a Danish area developed with a center near Graettinger and Ringsted. Løkken visited it, but seems to have had few Danish contacts except for his host. Four "United" churches are in this area; that at Graettinger had 728 members in 1954.

To the east of Storm Lake about 49 miles are a group of "United" churches along the Des Moines River at Rolfe, Rutland and Humboldt. All are viable but none large. Rolfe received Danes about 1860 (FD 243).

67.26 For Danes in Nebraska we shall consider four areas. The first, the city of Omaha and the district to the northwest, stretches from Blair on the Missouri to Fremont on the Platte. This is largely "United Church" territory and hardly conservative of Danish. The college sponsored by the church, Dana College, was established at Blair in 1884. In 1949 Løkken gave no lecture at Dana College; he was told that the students could not understand Danish (Lo 98).

67.27 The second Danish Nebraska district is less defined; it is located where the Missouri River divides Nebraska from South Dakota and may be said to include Viborg and Beresford northwest of Yankton. Fifty-five road miles southwest of Yankton is
Copenhagen, no longer a post office (now it is Plainview); 36 miles to the east of it is Laurel. Viborg is the best known of these places. Løkken was more interested in a cornsheller than in language during his visit here (Lo 98).

67.28 For the third area Dannebrog, 18 air miles northwest of Grand Island, may be designated as the focus. Nysted is hard by and Dannevirke 12 air miles farther northwest. Swinging to the southeast and then clockwise there is Kronborg or Hampton (49 miles), Cordova (70 miles), Minden (45 miles), Cozad (80 miles on the Platte) and Mason City (40 miles). At Dannebrog and Nysted settlement began shortly after 1870. In 1951 an old man born there in 1881 thought he was forgetting Danish. "So many of the old fellows are gone that there is no one to talk to." The most recent inscription in the cemetery containing Danish was to Niels (1812-1881) and Anna (1818-1906) Nielsen. The population of Danish stock had been largely displaced. Earlier the population had been able to maintain a Folk School at Nysted until about the time of the First World War (Kn 14).

67.29 The fourth Nebraskan Danish area is small, in some sort an adjunct of the third area but much farther from Dannebrog than from the Jamestown Danes in Kansas; it is on the state border 30 miles to the north of Jamestown. Hardy and Ruskin are the focal towns with a noteworthy element in larger Superior. In 1954 the "United Church" at Ruskin had 372 members, 218 adult. In Hardy in 1964 the church that had been "Danish" had 120 adult members. At that
time those born before 1910 knew Danish, but it was very seldom heard.

67.3 **Danish societies and lodges**, particularly in the cities, even small ones, were vigorous. They were for a generation promoters of Danish culture. Løkken thus describes the weakening of this activity in the sphere of language. "The first generation, which founded the fraternal lodges for mutual help and support in case it went ill with a man, was of course purely Danish. After that came their sons, who had gone to American schools. Their child as a rule did not understand the Danish language. For the second generation it was natural for lodges to discuss business in English, play cards in English, drink beer in English, and dance in English. Danish which was outdated was the mark of the oldest attenders" (Lo 228).

67.4g **The Engl-izing of the Danish stock** in the United States was practically complete in the regions influencing Kansas in 1960. Near the two coasts recent immigration was in a few places more marked, and Danish was not there as near extinction as in the region between the mountains, but the second generation was behaving there as elsewhere. Later generations everywhere were as in other stocks developing a nostalgia for the past (see for example Lo 229), but the language was beyond resuscitation.

68.0 **Norwegians** formed a nineteenth century settlement in the United States earlier than other Scandinavians. The first group to come was the "Sloop Folk" of 1825, Quakers from near Stavanger,
the area in southwestern Norway which was to furnish much of the Norwegian population in Kansas. They settled first on Lake Ontario near Rochester; then in 1834 most of them moved on to the American frontier in Illinois, and began the Fox River settlements some fifty or sixty miles west of Chicago. Others joined them, and soon Norwegian settlements began to radiate to the west and north. Only one small settlement grew up farther south in Illinois; in Iowa, though there was some settlement south of the Chicago latitude, approximately 42 degrees, it was not numerous. The same thing was true in Nebraska; the only county containing more than 100 Norwegians in 1880 and south of the Platte River was Lancaster, in which Lincoln is located. Norwegians in Kansas then must be classed with those in Texas and in the Missouri settlement cited below as venturers into the tropics. The sort of Norwegian empire that grew up in Minnesota and the Dakotas is then for the present treatise of no direct interest, but developments in Wisconsin are of some concern.

In 1839 Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin began near the Rock River on the Illinois-Wisconsin line and almost directly north of the Fox River settlement. The nucleus grew northward up the river. In the same year settlement began at Muskego 20 miles southwest of Milwaukee. Farther west near where Madison grew,"in eastern Dane County [61-252] and western Jefferson County, Wisconsin, there was established, beginning in 1840, perhaps the most important of the early Wisconsin settlements.
It took its name from the beautiful Lake Koshkonong” (Q 52). This settlement, farther up the Rock River, was the first really to prosper, and it and its neighbors provided settlers to Kansas. Settlement also worked up along the lake shore. In 1848 a settlement began in Manitowoc County (61, 227), 75 miles north of Milwaukee (Q 63). In 1850 it numbered 203, in 1870, 2468. The earliest settlers in Brown (1855) and Greenwood (1858) Counties, Kansas, were from Wisconsin, particularly from Dane and Manitowoc Counties (61, 252 & 227). It too furnished people to Kansas. Further expansion in Wisconsin northwestward after it reached the Mississippi interests us less, but it was great.

68.2 The states furnishing the early Norwegian settlers to Kansas besides Wisconsin were Missouri and Illinois. In Missouri the significant settlement was in the immediate neighborhood of St. Joseph and was begun in 1846 by immigrants coming up the rivers from New Orleans. Part of this population founded the Moray settlement in Doniphan County across the Missouri River (1856-7) (R 112) and contributed to the Everest Norwegians in Brown County. The Norwegian element in the Scandia population was drawn there from Norway largely by R. Rimol who had lived in Illinois. Two settlers of 1858 came from the Fox River settlements, specifically from Leland, LaSalle County, Illinois. (61,133) (Q 34).

68.3 Though Quakers came first from Norway, Norwegians in the United States with few exceptions persisted in Lutheranism.
The Lutherans at Muskego had a pastor by 1844 (Q 61). Lutheranism among Norwegians was of a much more varied character than that found among the Danes. In Kansas, however, only one nationally organized variety acquired churches, — that called through most of its career the Norwegian (or United Norwegian) Lutheran Church. In 1946 it replaced "Norwegian" by "Evangelical," and in 1960 it became part of the American Lutheran Church. In 1914 it was one of five Norwegian Lutheran branches. The sub-divisions had been more numerous early.

Nationally, Norwegian congregations were linguistically conservative. "In the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, in 1905,... the services in Norwegian numbered 30,407 as against 1,542 in English, and out of 1,300 congregations, no more than six held services in English only" (B 122 ). In 1917, 73 per cent of the services were in Norwegian; in 1933, 30 per cent; in 1944, 6.6 per cent. The percentages in the Iowa district to which Kansas belongs were slightly less (Hn 263-266). In Kansas Norwegian services had ceased by 1942. The earlier abandonment of Norwegian in Kansas is a function of the small size of congregations there and the mixture in most of them of non-Norwegian elements. The abandonment of Norwegian in church services lagged much behind its disappearance in religious instruction. In 1917 over 80 per cent of the church summer schools gave instruction in Norwegian, in 1928 less than 15 per cent. "By 1925 religious instruction of the young had practically
ceased" (Hn 262). 1926 marks the end of confirmations in Norwegian in Kansas.

Both in the area of religious usage and in all other fields the matter of the employment of Norwegian in the United States is extensively treated by Einar Haugen in The Norwegian Language in America. For conclusions regarding the relative rate of the disappearance of Norwegian in geographical units he depends on church data, noting for instance that the "farming areas of North Dakota and northern Minnesota were notably higher in their retention than South Dakota and Southern Minnesota... As the years passed, however, the difference between the districts was rapidly disappearing; Norwegian appeared to be approaching extinction at about the same time everywhere" (Hn 268). He seems to be in complete agreement with the Minnesotan he quotes as saying in 1942 concerning the Norwegian language: "I think it will only be this generation that keeps it up. Twenty-five years from now I think there will be awfully little left" (Hn 274)

* The observations gathered from informants interviewed for this study are essentially in agreement with Haugen's reports (which is a justification of the reliability of this work rather than of Haugen's -- no one doubts his).

For Luther Valley, Wisconsin, Haugen says of 1948: Middle generation still speaks a good deal of Norwegian, particularly in the central part of the Luther Valley area."

Our informant said in 1951: "A small mission society meets
once a month speaking Norwegian. There are a few couples speaking Norwegian, not so old -- 50 to 55" (Hn 607).

For the Coon Prairie area in Wisconsin of which "Westby is the chief trading center," Haugen says of 1942: "Norwegian is still actively spoken, even by many of the youngest generation particularly on the farms" (Hn 610).

At Westby our informant in 1951 said: "Men 25 will all know Norwegian. You hear it every once in a while on the streets still." The investigator observed that English was the usual language of the town; children were addressed in English -- that sometimes had a strong Norwegian accent. In the Coon Prairie cemetery, English began to be used for inscriptions about 1900 and became common in the 1920's. The family of T.T. Lee shifted from Norwegian to English between 1906 and 1923. The Luther Valley cemetery has no inscriptions in Norwegian after 1902. English became common early in the 1870's.

69.0g Scandinavians linguistically cannot as a group in the United States be said to have been conservative of their immigrant languages. The language question raised as much heat as in other groups, but the tendency for the Engl-izers to regard those slow to convert as pitiable was probably more marked. The objects of such an attitude were likely to yield to the pressure. When the days of nostalgia came, the new respect for the ancestral languages could no longer act effectively.
The greater part of the Slavic languages have been spoken in settlements of sufficient size in Kansas to be examined more or less extensively in this study. The speakers of Russian, White Russian and Ukrainian here receive but scant attention because, though present, they have been few in Kansas. The Czechs are discussed at greatest length in sections immediately following, the Poles somewhat more briefly (#76.0 - 76.9), the Slovaks incidentally (#79.0 - 79.4 and 72.0, 75.8) (though more numerous than Czechs in the United States, they were much less numerous in Kansas). Among South Slavs, only the Slovenians and Serbo-Croats occupy us (#77.0, 78.9). The Baltic languages, Lithuanian and Lettish, are frequently classified with the Slavic in a larger group called Balto-Slavic. The Lithuanians with a small settlement in Kansas City receive brief treatment below; the Latvians are hardly represented and are passed over.

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SB- Swehla, F.J. "Bohemians in Central Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections, XIII (1913-14) 469-512.

TZ- Thomas, Wm. T. and Znamecke, Florian, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, New York, 1958. Two volumes with one pagination. (This is the 3d edition; the first, Chicago and Boston, 1918-1920.)


Wi - Wittke, Carl. We who Built America. Cleveland, 1939.

In other states of the United States the number of Czech inhabitants in the period 1870-1920 was superior to that in Kansas in the cases of Nebraska and all states along the Mississippi above the confluence with the Ohio (see 26-28) also, of minor interest to this work on the background of Kansas there were a great many Czechs in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio (especially Cleveland), and Texas. In the western states the population was preponderantly rural, as it was overwhelmingly in Kansas, except that in Illinois and Missouri, Chicago and St. Louis, and their suburbs contained almost all the Czechs; out of 56,000 in Illinois in 1910, Chicago proper contained 50,000; St. Louis, 4,000 out of 5500.

Czechs came to Kansas largely from Iowa, Wisconsin, Chicago, and, later Nebraska, rarely from Minnesota and Missouri.

The United States Commissioner-General of Immigration did not begin to report on Czech immigration specifically until 1882. In the next four years arrivals averaged 6,500. Then for five years the annual increment varied between 3000 and 4500. There was sudden increase in 1891:

1891 - 11,758 1892 - 8535 1893 - 5548

During the rest of the 1890's it stayed below 2700; then rose successively. Between 1903 and 1908 seventy thousand Czechs arrived, over 10,000 a year. The next six years, 1909-1914, were lighter, totaling fifty-five thousand, with a peak in 1913 of
11,091. Czech arrivals in Kansas followed the same curves as for the United States in general during the period for which statistics are available except that very few of the seventy thousand immigrants of 1903-1908 reached Kansas. Indeed the immigration authorities recorded as leaving the ports for Kansas only the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1903</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1907</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Austrian statistics on emigration are lacking for the period following the insurrection at Prague in 1848, and those published later do not always distinguish between emigration over-seas from Bohemia and Moravia and that into other parts of the Austrian Empire and Germany. "Austria" besides the Bohemian kingdom included crown lands to the east, Galicia (largely Polish) and Bukovina and also the provinces containing the Slovenians and Italians so that we should not expect that figures for Austria should be particularly significant for the Czechs alone, except as they give some notion of the waves and troughs in the currents of emigration.

Statistics quoted by Imre Ferenczi (Fe 594) and by Ivo Sasek (Sa 30) from a 1913 article of Karl von Englisch state the emigration from Austria to the United States as follows:
Years          Thousands of emigrants
1876-80        42
1881-85        95
1886-90        128
1890-95        182
1896-1900      180
1900-05        386
1905-10        519

Comparing these data with those which the Report of the Commission of Immigration makes for all Austria for the period 1881 to 1890, we find that the correspondence is close. Ivo Sasek estimated on the basis of other statistics that from 100 to 130 thousand emigrants left Bohemia and Moravia for foreign lands between 1890 and 1900 and in the next decade from 150 to 200 thousand (Sa 39). Elsewhere (Sa 30) he says that something over 80 per cent came to the United States. This would mean that about 100,000 reached the United States in the 1890's and about 140,000 in the next ten years. The Commission of Immigration said 50,000 for 1891-1900 and 92,000 for 1901-1910. We shall not try to reconcile the European and American statistics; nor did Sasek, remarking, "The degree of precision in these statistics is far from reaching 100 per cent, even in the United States, France or Germany." (Sa 113). Still all statistics show similar pulsations as regard emigration from Bohemia and Moravia.

71.3 The population in Bohemia and Moravia increased greatly during the 19th century. Under Maria-Theresa in the middle of the 18th century, Bohemia possessed about 1,200,000 inhabitants.*
So says Stamm (St 51), Blazhek (Bk 73), says in 1754 in the Czech provinces there were more than 3 million inhabitants. Blazhek is quoting Dvořáček. Blazhek says Czech population between 1800 and 1860 doubled.

In 1846 there were nearly four times as many.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Czechs</th>
<th>Germans</th>
<th>Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>4,347,962</td>
<td>2,598,774</td>
<td>1,679,151</td>
<td>70,037 (St 53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>4,778,693</td>
<td>2,925,982</td>
<td>1,766,372</td>
<td>86,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,877,029</td>
<td>1,351,982</td>
<td>483,518</td>
<td>41,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>330,449</td>
<td>92,326</td>
<td>234,843</td>
<td>3,280 (Le Tableau 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1857 Slovaks numbered 1,621,912. The Czechs and Slovaks had increased another 10 per cent by 1870. According to Ficker's estimate, quoted by Lévy, they numbered then 6,690,000, that is, the Czechs alone amounted to 5,000,000. Official sources quoted by Drage (DA 31), for 1890 put Czechs at 5,181,000. He presents these statistics for 1900:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Czechs</th>
<th>Germans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>6,267,106</td>
<td>3,930,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moravia</td>
<td>2,403,212</td>
<td>1,727,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silesia</td>
<td>452,836</td>
<td>146,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9,113,154</td>
<td>5,803,628</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even the heavy emigration of the beginning of the twentieth century did not prevent growth. The last census before the war showed in 1910:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Czechs</th>
<th>Germans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>6,770,000</td>
<td>4,280,000</td>
<td>2,490,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moravia</td>
<td>2,600,000</td>
<td>1,860,000</td>
<td>740,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silesia</td>
<td>757,000</td>
<td>188,000</td>
<td>332,000 (rest mostly Poles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10,127,000</td>
<td>6,328,000</td>
<td>3,562,000 (Mü 17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Austrian census distribution by language was made on the basis of "usual language in public life" (Umgangsprache), and could thus be weighted, and by government officials apparently was weighted, in favor of a superiority in number of speakers of German (E 30). The population was in 1930:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>7,109,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moravia and Silesia</td>
<td>3,565,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10,674,386</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Slovakia        | 3,329,793  |
| **Total**       | 14,004,179 (Sa 8) |

71.4 The increase in the number of Czechs is sufficient to explain a push for emigration caused by over-population; at Milligan, Nebraska, for instance, 92 of 117 immigrants left Bohemia because of poverty and large families (Ku 11). Still the push was not so great as elsewhere -- as in Norway, Slovakia or Italy, for example; so much is clear from the comparatively small number of Czechs who emigrated. In 1904, there were
12,000 Czech immigrants to the United States, 24,000 Norwegians, 28,000 Slovaks, 164,000 Italians. Norway's population was less than half of that of Bohemia and Moravia, and Slovakia's was less still. The push was reduced in force through Bohemia's early industrialization.

71.50 **Bohemia** counted its enslavement from the year of the Battle of the White Mountain, 1620, after which their sovereign became Ferdinand II, Arch-Duke of Austria and Emperor of the Germans. By it and the destruction following it in the Kingdom of Bohemia which included Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, the population was greatly reduced, the culture was well nigh obliterated, and the will of the people numbed for almost two centuries. The Hungarians fell under the Hapsburgs at about the same time, but the Magyar will was never thus broken. Before the battle, Bohemia had been Protestant; after it, the land became almost totally Catholic, at least exteriorly. Literature in the Czech language, which had been flourishing and important, was literally in large measure destroyed; many works are known only through allusions to them.

71.51 **German** became the language of culture and of record, the everyday tongue of everybody of higher class than petty shop-keepers. Hermann Münch speaks thus on the matter:

The mother tongue was German! In the first decades of the 19th century, when the first efforts of the Czech Renaissance were at work, Czech was reduced to the rank of "Kitchen Bohemian," that is, a language spoken by
servants in the kitchen or by the lower classes. Leopold von Hasner, Kultusminister in the Bürgerministerium and for a short time Presiding Minister, born in Prague in 1818, says in his "Memoirs" that he mastered the Czech language, if not altogether completely, at least for daily usage, from the Czech servants. "At that time," he continues, "not only was the language of our family and throughout our social circle German, but also the habit current among the educated classes of that time, of regarding everything Czech as inferior was customary with us too." "People sent their servants to the Czech theatrical performances;" says Edward Hanslik (1825-1904), the celebrated composer and adversary of Wagner, in his memoirs; "nobody in society would have gone there. To doubt the superiority of German, even its exclusive rights in the domain of art, science, education, and government, this idea would have occurred to no one. The theatrical performances in Czech had been forbidden in 1817, were permitted again in 1820; their level according to Denis was pitiful. At the turn of the century the members of the Academy of Science spoke German together. The first volume of the history of Bohemia by Palacky [the great Czech patriot] was written in German; the wife of the celebrated historian used the German language even in Czech society... ." Przibram, born in Prague some twenty
after Hasner, speaks no differently. "In the best families people spoke Bohemian with the servants -- the term Czech was not yet current --, and as nurses and girls who tended children mostly originated in the rural population of the Bohemian districts, it was altogether natural that we children should learn Bohemian in the nursery. The small tradesmen also used this language, and Bohemian was preached in many churches. Only it can not be imagined how, beneath the countrified Czech of that time, lay that speech as it has since developed. The terminology barely sufficed for the objects and ideas of daily intercourse; as soon as it was a question of other concepts and relationships German had to be called upon, to which Bohemian citizenship was granted by means of Bohemian suffixes. In normal school, where instruction in the second national language was already obligatory, we still wrote it with German letters." Przibram could however observe that on entering the school the farmers' sons from Chrudim, Czaslau, Benatek and other localities were not masters of German, therefore, that Czech was still maintained in the country (Mu 86-87).

The passage above has been quoted at length not only because it explains the status of German as a language of record among Czechs in the United States, but also 1) because it represents language conditions very similar to those that existed in set-
tlements of various types about 1890 with German here playing the role that English played in America, and 2) because it shows how far linguistic degeneration may go without a language succumbing completely. By creating a new vocabulary for scientific and artistic purposes Czech was able to recover its place as a cultural language of importance just as English recovered during the Middle Ages from a similar assault by French.

The Czechs began to stir as a people under the enlightened despots of the 18th century, and particularly in the reign of Joseph II, 1765-1790. Other aspects of nationalism developed more swiftly than devotion to the Czech language; indeed the German language gained ground for a while. Under Maria Theresa obligatory education was installed. Czech was the language in the village elementary schools, but all those who advanced further were taught in German. Rising commoners thus became expert in German. What first developed to advance Czech nationalism was rather the dislike of an industrializing people among whom ideas were fermenting for being the pawns of bureaucrats appointed by a prince whose main interest lay in agriculturally centered Austria. As an intellectual center Prague strove to become a rival of Vienna. The resurgence of nationalistic feeling was also accompanied by a rise in the masses of resentment against aristocratic domination. In most of Bohemia and Moravia the masses spoke Czech; the great landowners and often the rich merchants were German in origin as well as speech, and, as we have
seen, the educated classes all used the language of these aristocrats. Since the aristocrats were greatly favored by the elective systems of the 19th century, they and the truly German dominated the diet of Bohemia for many years and their tendency to ally themselves with the Austrian monarchy and to conserve their own interests, endangered by democracy, made their language, which was also that of the exasperating Austrian officials, the badge of reaction. Liberal-minded intellectuals therefore became desirous of using Czech for all purposes and developed its cultural vocabulary so that it could express all ideas as well as German. František Palacky published the first volume of his History of Bohemia in German in 1836. A Czech version appeared immediately and succeeding volumes were in Czech. In 1882 at the University of Prague where German had been the only language of instruction since Latin was abandoned, the Austrian government allowed a Czech faculty to be set up -- a separate university in effect with Czech as the language of instruction. Czech had evidently reached maturity as a cultural instrument at some time between these two dates. It became the language of instruction in areas heavily Czech, and its use for this purpose was in certain areas the occasion for bitter nationalistic struggles (E 65). Though German schools in proportion to German population remained more numerous, common people began to find that the use of their language was no mark of inferiority, and the immigrants to America, who were of the people, were proud of it and very seldom illiterate. Since they had successfully resisted the displacement
of Czech by German, they were more unwilling than most immigrant stocks to allow it to be displaced by English. Still bi-lingualism seemed not unnatural to them and they readily acquired English to the extent that they needed it. The cultural situation in Bohemia and Moravia provided to a moderate degree both a push for and a restraint upon emigration. These people who were struggling — on the whole successfully — to make their ideology and their language triumph were held more closely together as they grew stronger, but the desire to escape to freedom was a cultural desire as well as a political.

53 The political situation provided a stronger push for emigration, a considerable one, though not generally regarded as the essential motive except in early days. Not until the twentieth century did the Czechs manifest any important desire to divorce themselves from the Austrian crown, but in the post-Napoleonic era the demand for autonomy grew ever stronger. They admitted that the Emperor of Austria was King of Bohemia, but maintained that their legal status was one of independence. Austria and Bohemia simply had a common sovereign. Austria claimed Bohemia by right of conquest because of the Battle of the White Mountain. Factually Bohemia did have a special status but was ruled by Austria until 1848 and, after the revolutionary impetus subsided, for a decade more with irritating though not devastating tyranny. In 1867 Bohemian resistance had not yet become strong enough to frighten Austria, though that state was weakened by the recent
Prussian War, into giving Bohemia the same independence as Hungary. The Magyar struggle of protest perhaps won, for one reason, because it had gone on longer, but largely because the Austrians recognized more power in the Magyars than among the Slavs. The dividing of the Austrian Empire to make the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary was accompanied, however, by a liberalizing measure applicable throughout Austria, the free right to emigrate. Within the new Austrian state the Germans sought to centralize administration. Czech resistance was not always effectual but it was constant. The first decade of Count Taaffe's ministry, 1879-1893, was the period in which the Austrian central administration was most nearly acceptable to Czechs. But the differences between Czechs and Germans kept growing. In 1890 a conference of all parties but the Young Czechs adopted an agreement to settle the matter, but the Young Czechs found that it sacrificed Czech nationalism and brought about the failure of the agreement. Other resistance took the form of violence and this sort of threat of civil war seems to have been the cause for the great upswing in emigration to the United States in 1891. The Young Czechs were violent, but the pan-Germanists in the all-Austrian parliament were as ready for battle as the Czech nationalists. For the Austrians to maintain their empire was to the whole world becoming obviously most difficult when the First World War broke out. The formation of the Czecho-Slovakian state after the war did not give enough assurance to its inhabitants to prevent emigra-
tion insofar as possible until American immigration restrictions became most severe, but the restrictions really affected the Czechs little, for the new republic was prospering.

The political situation in the 1850's following the failure of the revolutionary events of 1848 provided a rather important cause for the emigration in those years. Ferdinand F. Doubrava, who emigrated with his parents in 1860, said, "Between 1850 and 1855 numbers of young men liable for military service slipped out of Moravia by way of Bavaria or Saxony, and so to the land of promise" (DE 395). He adds, "Several conditions were responsible for father's sudden resolution to go to America. The war between Austria and Sardinia (in which France assisted the latter) added to the tax burden; letters from the ministerial friend in Texas urged him to come; his antipathy to compulsory military service was strong. I, his eldest son, was approaching the age of sixteen and there were three other boys following at short intervals; this last consideration, I believe, decided him." This was distinctly not a case of economic push; the father was a well-to-do miller, farmer, and inn keeper with powerful friends (DE 397). The same motive for emigration, while remaining supplementary to other motives, continued strong.* In 1910 Emily Greene Balch

* See the report of Consul Huening in 1886. (EI German Bibliography)

speaking of Austria as a whole, remarked, "One constantly runs ac-
ross cases of men who have emigrated that their boys, one after another, might not be made to serve or in order to escape their own duty." Gruber says, translating Pavel, "The official figures on emigration would doubtless be much higher if they included the thousands of young men who without notice to the authorities fled from Austria to escape the military service" (GP 46). Five out of 117 immigrants to Milligan, Nebraska, left Bohemia to escape military service. More general dissatisfaction with political conditions was the reason for the departure of three more (Ku 11). The permission given in 1867 for unhampered departure for emigration from Austria brought immediate results. The wave of emigration that followed provided Kansas with citizens.

Religious conditions in Bohemia and Moravia did not frequently cause emigration after the seventeenth century, but deserve our consideration because of their effect upon behavior in Kansas. The census of 1900 showed that nine-tenths of the Bohemians were Roman Catholics. From 1620 to 1780 everybody was required to be a Catholic. When Joseph II granted religious freedom to Lutherans and Calvinists, the fact that Protestantism gained so few adherents shows either that the work of conversion had been very effective or that the Czechs were not taking religion very seriously. The Catholics were sincere enough; they were not hypocrites. "I found the great majority of the middle classes [as well as the highest and the lowest] conforming to the ceremonies of the church with apparent sincerity,"
said Will S. Monroe in 1910 (Mo 229). Since it was necessary to be religious, people attended church. The Catholics treated the tenth of the population who were Protestants with more or less good-natured railery. Various authors explain the matter differently. Ferdinand Doubrava presents it plausibly. He was a Protestant and says: "The Catholics of Bohemia and Moravia are not the dyed-in-the-wool sort. They do not behave in a bitter or harsh manner toward their Protestant neighbors; on the contrary they are usually very kind-hearted and remarkably liberal in their attitude. In fact so many of them were more or less affected by religious heterodoxy in the old country so that they quickly threw off subservience to the clergy on reaching the new world, and many of them became freethinkers" (De 403). The most important words in this passage are on the "compulsory" character of rites and "subservience to the clergy." In Bohemia itself revolt against religious pressure from the outside lagged behind revolt against political pressure, but it was incipient. Two of 117 immigrants to Milligan, Nebraska, left Bohemia because "they were compelled to worship in Catholic churches" (Ku 11). Protestants are not numerous in American Czech communities, but the proportion is greater than it was in Europe, and it seems that a larger fraction of the Protestants emigrated--probably because they sought a social climate where they would be more than tolerated, rather considered as good as anybody.
The main push toward Bohemian emigration in the 19th century was, as in other lands, economic in character. It was not so much the result of downright, unchanging poverty as of the dislocations attendant upon the process of industrialization. There were fewer farmers in proportion among Czech emigrants as compared with other stocks, though many tradesmen became farmers in America. On this subject Francis Swehla said of the Wilson Czechs in Kansas, "Very few [of our people] had ever farmed before. They were in most cases of some mechanical craft, and had to take their first lessons in agriculture [here]" (SB 494). There were too, particularly in the early years, many Czech emigrants who might have been classified either as farmers or as tradesmen or small manufacturers. The income from farm holdings or from other occupations was not enough to support them. An early example of business and farming combined was cited above in the case of the father of Ferdinand Doubrava—farmer, miller, and innkeeper, who emigrated in 1860. Here is another example from the story of a settler at Wilson, Joseph Satran: "My father, Frank Satran, was a shoemaker by trade, but his trade did not suffice to keep a family, so he had to eke out a living by farming a few acres of land he owned" (SB 501).

Bohemia industrialized early partly because home industry developed there before great factories were established. Will S. Monroe repeatedly emphasizes the persistence of home industries
in 1910 (Mo. 352, 354, 367-370). Glovemaking, lace-making and weaving of rough materials still went on in homes.

With these conditions statistics on the proportion of Czechs in various occupations have limited significance, but still merit citation. In 1846 among over four million inhabitants 2,601,000 were nourished by agriculture; 804,000 by industry, leaving almost a million to be fed otherwise (St 59-60). "While in 1869 agriculture and forestry nourished 54.44 per cent of the population, in 1900 the proportion had sunk to 41.12 per cent" (Ba 76). The percentages for 1900 are more exactly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bohemia</th>
<th>Moravia</th>
<th>Silesia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and forestry</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry and manufacturing</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and commerce</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other occupations</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The organization of agricultural holdings was of some importance in determining emigration. The great landholdings, recognized by legal status as such, occupied "more than a third of the agricultural lands" in 1910 (Mo 346), more still earlier. The continual existence of the great estates in itself provided a push for emigration, for the landless could not take advantage of a resource available at close hand (G 46). The estates were often managed directly by the owners rather than rented out. The managers hired laborers extensively, cotters with a house and little plot of their own or very often landless men. When ill
paid, the latter would be footloose, drawn toward factories or emigration. The rest of the land was in peasant holdings, many of which were half-holdings. Until 1868 these were indivisible. Upon an owner's death, the heir who took the holding was responsible to other heirs for their share of its value. After 1868 division among heirs became common. A great many of the emigrants in the years providing citizens for Kansas came from this class of people. Large families would have enough capital to provide passage money to America, not enough to promise a future as prosperous as that of the preceding generation. Parents could foresee troubles and emigrate before children were faced with them. The numbers of men with growing children who emigrated was large. The transplantation of entire families was linguistically a conservative force.

The increasing industrialization produced a push for emigration whenever there were work stoppages as from strikes, unemployment because of technical advances, or reduced production because of low points in the business cycle. In particular a strike of coal miners in North Bohemia in 1900 touched off a general depression in Austria, and furnished the impetus for the wave of emigration in the years following. The resulting departures came at a time to affect Kansas little.

The bad times among farmers caused by the competition from American grain about 1880 seems to have caused less distress in Bohemia and Moravia than in other parts of Europe, but was never-
theless sufficient to explain the active push for emigration that produced the wave of the eighties.

Kansas received Czechs from all parts of Bohemia and various areas of Moravia, but as was true for America in general most of them came from the southern part of Bohemia. The choice of such names as New Tabor (early center of the Cuba Czechs) and Pilsen indicate that Kansans came from the south. There the soil was less fertile, the climate more rigorous, and the industrialization less rapid. Gruber's Czechoslovakia, in the section furnished him by Bohac, specifies other areas also: "The poorer agricultural districts of southern Bohemia, southwestern Moravia... and of the mountain districts of northeastern Bohemia [a number of Kansans were from near Litomicl] and of the mountain districts of northeastern Bohemia [Kansans from here too] and northern Moravia, where spinning and weaving were the chief home industry, was largely decreasing through emigration" (G 3). The Moravians came more frequently from the eastern part of their country, indeed so far east as to be qualified sometimes as Slovaks, but their section of Moravia is to be distinguished from the general Slovakian area. "They are known as Slováci, and their homeland as Slovácko, whereas Slovakia proper is termed Slovensko" (Wa 389). In Europe their history was one with that of the rest of Moravia, and in America they were readily accepted into Bohemian communities.

The Slovakia of the present -- the eastern section of Czechoslovakia -- did not exist as a political unit until 1918. The
people in this mountainous region lived in several Hungarian counties and were dominated and oppressed by the Magyars. Mobility early became an acceptable concept to them because they annually descended as seasonal workers into the fertile Hungarian plain. When emigration to America once began, they emigrated in great numbers. But the pattern of exile and return persisted among them to a marked extent. There were many fewer cases of family migrations among them than among the Czechs. The first decades of the twentieth century were the peak years of their emigration into the United States.

73.0g The Germans of Bohemia and Moravia after settlement in Kansas are discussed in Section 48.05, B and D. Their background in Europe has already received attention in Section 52.61 and incidentally in the discussion of the Czechs above; further facts are here added. Statistics quoted above showed that Germans were more than half as numerous as the Czechs in Bohemia, and over a third as numerous in Moravia. Their population may be divided into three categories: 1) Germans living in sections bordering Germany where they were almost all the population, the Sudetenland and Silesia; 2) Germans distributed throughout the country largely concentrated in the cities with dominating economic and, for long, socio-political power; 3) Germans living in enclaves of comparatively small extent surrounded by Czechs, notably those centered at Jehlava (Iglau), Svítavy - Lanškroun (Zwittau-Landskron), Budějovici (Budweis) and Brno (Brünn).
After the rise of Czech nationalism all were under pressure, partly successful, to become Czech (Ex 33). Here was a push for emigration. Germans of the first group furnished some population to Kansas, but it was distributed through German settlements there, and had no special characteristics. Exceptionally there were Germans from the edge of this area who joined Czech communities (Timken, Everest) or communities equally Czech and German (Dubuque); these were usually Silesians. Germans of the second group contributed very little to Kansas population nor to American population in general unless a certain number of Jews be included. The third type gave to Kansas the German Moravian settlements at Odin and Olmitz.

Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska, we have seen, together with the city of Chicago, provided Kansas with many of its Czech citizens, and these were states of heavy Czech settlement. Still, data derived from the census records of 1880 and 1885 as presented below show that most of the children then to be found in Czech settlements in Kansas were born in Europe, a witness both to the fact that families came to America as units and that most Czechs came either directly to Kansas from Europe or after comparatively short sojourns in other American states.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bohemia/Wisc. Ill.</th>
<th>Iowa</th>
<th>Michigan</th>
<th>Minnesota</th>
<th>Missouri</th>
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<td>Cuba Czechs</td>
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<td>Timken Czechs</td>
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<td>Rooks Co.</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Burntwood Driftwood Herndon Czechs</td>
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<td>243</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wilson &amp; Palacky Czechs &amp; others</td>
<td>8 twps.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>15</td>
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The earliest Bohemians reached America during colonial days; their first immigration in the 19th century began in 1845, but hardly grew in volume until 1847. These early immigrants came first to New York or Baltimore or to New Orleans. From the eastern seaboard they worked their way westward along the lakes leaving colonies in the cities they passed through. Frequently, in the case of Kansas especially for New York but to some extent also for Cleveland, those who had stopped gathered their forces and came on west later. From New Orleans they went up the Mississippi or westward to found from Galveston as a port the settlements of southern Texas. On the Mississippi they stopped in St. Louis or went on to the neighborhood of Dubuque which they also reached from the lakes.

Among Czechs "the first farming communities sprang up in Wisconsin" (CC 36). This seems to have been at Caledonia near Racine in the southeast corner of Wisconsin where Bohemian '48ers settled (Ba 210). Other Czechs arrived there still earlier — in 1844 (Ba 220). In 1848 also there were Czechs in Milwaukee (CC 39). Like the Dutch in Michigan the Czechs were attracted to a country where woodland could aid in subsistence till fields were producing. Ultimately Czech settlements dotted all Wisconsin, fewer only where population remained light (see Capek's map, CC 60). In no area, however, did they solidly cover large stretches of territory; they were most nearly concentrated near the lake north of Milwaukee, particularly in Manitowoc and Kewaunee Counties (61-227 and
Kewaunee County was 3/7 Czech in 1890 (Ba 220). This district contributed some population directly to Kansas, and Milwaukee furnished much. So did the old groups near Racine and the settlements in the southwest part of the state near the Mississippi River. Up until about 1870 Milwaukee served as a way station for Czech settlers going west as did still more frequently Chicago. In the period during which Wisconsin contributed Czechs to Kansas, its influence was linguistically quite conservative, partly because most Czechs knew German, and could talk with the numerous Wisconsin Germans if there were no fellow countrymen near. In the Kewaunee district commemorative inscriptions in the cemetery at Pilsen were usually Czech until 1930 and examples continued until 1947. The first English appeared in 1888. Children used English to each other in 1951, but until about 1947 the Catholic pastor was a Czech who preached and heard confessions in Czech. Czech fishermen at the northmost tip of the Door County peninsula were still able to speak Czech in 1951. Engl-izing forces showed there, however, at work on tombstone inscriptions of members of the same family. Matt Mikolasek lived from 1848 to 1911; the spelling of the surname was transformed later: Joseph McOlash (1876-1943). The Czechs at Rosiere, however, on the north edge of Kewaunee County, though regarded as clannish, were not using Czech habitually in 1951.

"Into Chicago, the first groups [of Czechs] began filtering in 1852-53" (CC 44). Mrs. Balch (Ba 227) says, "about 1851." The
settlement grew rapidly. It had reached 6,277 in 1870. The Czechs there, like the Swedes, organized clubs and companies with the design of making agricultural settlements. Such a club contributed members to the Kansas settlement at Wilson. The greatest obstacle to reaching their aim was the generally impoverished state of the members. Only a small number of those who aspired to filing on a homestead could find the wherewithal necessary. Even so, those who had spent a few years at low wages in Chicago were a perceptible element among the Czechs in most of the Kansas settlements. The desire to become established was most active when times were bad industrially and commercially, and most difficult to satisfy then. The hunger created by the crisis of 1873 brought Czechs to Kansas rather soon, but the appetite thus awakened could be more frequently satisfied in more prosperous times toward the end of that decade. Chicago's west side became heavily Czech and so on out into Berwyn and Cicero. The great drop in the use of the Czech language in Chicago occurred in the 1930's, but in 1951 every store along Cermak Avenue out to Cicero needed Czech-speaking clerks. Although the Catholic churches attended by Czechs in Berwyn and Cicero had no preaching in Czech, St. Procopius's and Sts. John and Methodius's in the city in 1951 had one half their masses in Czech. To be sure, the 11 o'clock English mass was the best attended. Most of those born before 1910 were able to speak Czech.

Czechs reached the neighborhood of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, by
1850 (Capek 46). By the middle of that decade several settlements had been established, none noticeably farther west and south than that city in the center of eastern Iowa (Linn County, 61-35). The Calmar-Spillville settlement was founded in 1854. It was in the northeastern corner of the state, a little farther west than Cedar Rapids (Winneshiek County, 61-10). Francis Swehla, later promoter of the Wilson settlement in Kansas, lived there for many years before going to Nebraska in 1868 (SB 470-2). The Cedar Rapids neighborhood also provided Kansas with inhabitants. John Picenka and Matthias Mozis led a party from there to the Blue River settlement in 1869 (#48.94, E), and some members went on at once to the nucleus established near Cuba two or three years before by other men from the Cedar Rapids area. By this date the Cedar Rapids Czechs had a daughter colony three counties farther west in Iowa in Marshall County (61-34), and it too sent people on to Kansas. Ultimately according to Capek's map (CC 60) the part of Iowa holding the most Czech settlements was from Marshall County east to Cedar Rapids and thence southeast in a broad band along the Cedar River to the Mississippi. The Calmar-Spillville group also spawned settlements three counties to the west. Czech settlements in the southwest two-thirds of Iowa are unimportant. These Iowa settlements when founded were on the frontier edge. After the immigration wave of 1857 subsided there was a pause in the push forward and when the next wave of immigration came the advanced frontier was beyond Iowa; Nebraska, Kansas, and South Dakota beckoned.
In Nebraska Joseph Francl (1824-1875), a Czech who some years later (1869-1874) became a resident at Crete crossed the territory on the way to California in the year of its opening 1854. Charles Zulek (1822-1896) came to Nebraska in 1856 and spent the rest of his life in its southeast county, Richardson, after 1863 at a homestead six miles from the Kansas line on the banks of the South Nemaha just after it turns east from its northward course through Nemaha County, Kansas. His daughter Anna Zulek Bauer, born before 1856, wrote: "Our first school was situated about three miles south of Bern, Kansas [see Bern Swiss]. Father loaded my brother Joseph and me in a wagon and also our bed, bed clothes, provisions and clothing. The teacher and pupils lodged in the same room. We stayed there for the term and then moved our bed and bedding back home again, repeating the operation during each term. It was called a 'subscription school'" (R 65). Zulek (Czech spelling Culek) had been born in Bohemia, dwelt in Germany and Hungary, married a German wife, and emigrated to Freeport in northern Illinois (61-101) in 1854. His daughter says: "We came to Nebraska from Illinois in June, 1856. The trip was made with oxen and took six weeks' time. We had intended to go to Topeka, but learned that there was warfare there, so decided to settle in Nebraska" (R 64). The trading point was St. Joseph, Missouri. While it is probable that the language of the Zulek household was that of the mother, Zulek's farm south of Humboldt became the nucleus of a Czech settlement
(200 families in Richardson County, ca. 1920), of which he was in some sort the leader. Those who joined him began arriving in 1865. Richardson County was also a sort of beach head for the much more important settlements that were to develop in Saline County. The early settlers for both counties came most often by rail to St. Joseph and then by boat up the river to Arago in the second township above the Kansas border. John Herrman (1812-1888) and Robert J. Shary (1832 -1903) arrived at Arago in 1864. They were '48ers whom political persecution drove from Bohemia about 1853 to Wisconsin. Well-to-do in Europe, they were a little better off than most emigrants when they reached Nebraska. They set up a tavern in Arago and received fellow countrymen, but soon moved deeper into the county at Aspinwall. The budding colony there soon (about 1868) moved on into Saline County to Wilber, there to become substantial citizens. In 1865 they were preceded there by Frank (b. 1835) and Joseph (b. 1838) Jelinek who had been attracted to Arago via St. Joseph from Wisconsin by Vaclav Sesták (later also in Saline County), but tales of rich country farther west carried them on to the Blue River where a number of other families joined them the same year.

Omaha, Nebraska, received Czech immigrants not many years after its foundation. In 1857 Libor A. Slesinger and Joseph Horsky arrived there almost directly from Bohemia via Cedar Rapids. They remained only three or four years. Edward Rosewater (1841-1906), the Bohemian Jew (Rosenwasser, Rozvaril) who
founded the *Omaha Bee* in 1871, arrived in 1863 (R 28). He became distinguished. The Omaha settlement grew to 2,000 families. A Czech settlement developed on South 13th St. After Zulek and the first people in Omaha neither Capek nor Mrs. Hrbkova in her article on "Bohemians in Nebraska" nor Rose Rosicky in her *History of Czechs in Nebraska* cite other Czech settlers until 1863. Then, when the homestead bill went into effect, settlers were attracted to the new opportunities in country farther north than Kansas where war was not at one's door.

So, as chronicled above, settlers from the Kewaunee-Manitowoc area north of Milwaukee settled in *Saline County* in 1865. Through Saline County, the second county to the north of Washington County, Kansas (see 32), and some 50 miles from the Little Blue and Cuba settlements in Kansas, there passes along the eastern edge the Blue River before it reaches Kansas. Along the river valley from what is now Crete to Wilber the Czech settlement grew and spread, particularly to the westward, finally reaching into Fillmore County, where Milligan on its eastern edge became a minor center from foundation in 1888. In these two counties Habenlicht quoted by Miss Rosicky in 1926 (R 23.) recorded 1675 families out of 11,500 in Nebraska. Many more settlers came to it from Wisconsin, but Iowa also contributed. Francis Swehla led a wagon train there from northeast Iowa in 1868. In 1864 and 1865 four Germans with Czech wives came to near West Point in Cuming County on the Elkhorn River some 60 miles northwest of Omaha. Czech men soon
began to join them and the settlement grew to include 200 families. Shortly after the Saline and Cuming County settlements, a number of Czech communities between them in the counties on either side of the Platte River came into being in Butler, Colfax, Dodge and Saunders Counties (3270 families says Habenicht). The beginning was in 1867. The Burlington and Missouri Railroad had just been built into this region. This company and the Union Pacific promoted settlement in the area of their railroad lands in competition with and by methods similar to the land grant railroads in Kansas (see #7.4ff.), greatly adding to the population of both the Platte and Big Blue River settlements. Václav L. Vodička (1844-1917), the Burlington and Missouri land agent was of great help to the Czech settlers. The great inrush of new settlement went on through the 1870's. In 1868 in Chicago and Cleveland "800 families joined a prearranged colony scheme and moved from those two cities en masse to the shores of the Niobrara and the Missouri" (HB 144). Their location, in other words, was in Knox County in northern Nebraska on the Missouri River shortly after it becomes a boundary of that state (1000 families in Knox and the next county west). The Knox County settlement was the initial point of a group of settlements that stretch many miles on up into North Dakota along the Missouri and its immediate tributaries. A Czech name, that of the town of Jelen, helps mark their location in Nebraska. Czech place names are also found in the Platte River settlements, Prague, Praha, Bruno (i.e. Brno)
south of the river, Tabor north of it. Shestak was the only Czech name to be imposed upon Saline County. A few settlements besides West Point were made between the Knox County and the Platte River group, but from above that river south through Saline County to the Kansas border it is never far from one Bohemian settlement to the next. This Platte-to-Wilber band is some fifty miles wide extending little further east than Lincoln in the north but broadening to the south. From Webster County above Esbon in Kansas almost to the Missouri River Czech settlements are frequent along the state line. Settlements in the rest of Nebraska are scattered much as in Kansas. Indeed the Cuba and Little Blue settlements may be considered part of the Nebraska complex and all other Kansas settlements as radiations from it. Not that Nebraska provided much Czech population to Kansas; rather Kansas and Nebraska had the same sources of population. But Omaha, though spatially separated from the other Nebraska Czech settlements, became in some part the cultural capital of Czechs in the Missouri Valley. At Omaha (2000 families according to Habenicht) Czech nationalism was strong enough to send Charles Steiger to carry the help of American Czechs to Masaryk.

In the Czech National Cemetery at Omaha inscriptions in Czech are very frequent till 1930, and new ones appeared at least through 1950. The Czech language was persistent in the settlements in Knox County. Across the river in Yankton, South Dakota, an informant in 1951 said, "Bohemians don't talk Bohemian in town here, but in small towns around here they do." Probably the
amount of talk was similar to that at Wilber in Saline County where in the same year an informant aged seventy said he had to "talk Bohemian with the old timers down town." Other Czechs used English. At Milligan some 20 miles west of Wilber there were more who spoke Czech. Robert Kutak described conditions there in 1930. The old men who frequented through the day what had once been the saloon talked Czech together. "Many of them use only the Czech language, but find this no handicap... as nearly everyone understands them" (Ku 2). A loud speaker set up to entertain crowds on Saturday night played Czech records which were not all music (Ku 5). The Catholic priest was helping in the production of plays produced in Czech. "In the early days of the community Czech plays were the only ones offered to the people. Today... the largest crowds are found at the Czech dramas. There are several dramatic societies..., the most recent of which consists almost exclusively of young people, who present Czech plays in a way which is acceptable to the older people" (Ku 107). Two plays in Czech were presented the year Kutak reported, 1930. An after theater dance promoted attendance. "Once or twice a year a company of professional actors comes to Milligan and presents Czech dramas" (Ku 108). There was already a certain pride among the speakers of Czech, they "feel themselves to be somewhat superior to those who do not speak" it (Ku 86). Kutak found more children spoke Czech in the country than in town, but that more adults spoke Czech in town than in the country. The number of
retired people living in town explains the latter phenomenon.

Languages Spoken in Homes in Milligan Community in 1930

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Czech Parents</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>English Parents</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Both Parents</th>
<th>Children</th>
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<tr>
<td>First Generation Homes</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Generation Homes</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
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Abilities in using Czech among Milligan Czech in 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2d generation</th>
<th>3d generation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Read, Write &amp; Speak</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Read &amp; Speak</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>80%</td>
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</table>

"It is seen from the tables that the Czech language is slowly dying out in Milligan" (Ku 64). Bilingualism was very common; at a funeral of 1930 (non-religious) the English and Czech languages had equal rôles (Ku 92). But while 90% of the immigrants used Czech exclusively in their homes, only 62% of their married sons and daughters did so; still in 1930 four-fifth of the children of the latter were learning to speak Czech (Ku 63 & 147). Relations with Bohemia had their effect upon the conservation of Czech. "When they [the pioneers] first came, the old world was present with them and many letters were written to friends and relatives in the old world. As the years passed by, this stream dried up. Many of the people to whom the letters were first written came to live in Nebraska . . . . Death took its toll of friends and relatives in Bohemia. Several of the town's inhabitants have visited Bohemia since the World War,
and while there they made new friends to whom they write occasion­ally" (Ku 14). In 1951 in one family the grandmother, though understanding English, would not speak it and the grand­children, though understanding Czech, would have none of such talk. The situation in the Platte River settlements was similar, only the very old speaking Czech in the towns, the next genera­tion not completely rusty at some points in the country. In the Catholic cemetery northwest of Wahoo the Czech inscriptions ran at least until 1942; English had begun to appear in the 1880's. At Saint Wenceslaus Church north of Prague near by records in Czech came up to 1928; old books in Czech were in current use. The situation in 1926 at Warsaw in Howard County 130 miles west of Omaha is expressed in this lament written by C.V. Svoboda for Miss Rosicky. (Howard County had 230 Czech families, she says) "The Czech language is seldom heard in the Warsaw church . . . Revs. Rose and Gleason learned to pray and read in Czech for the sake of their Czech parishioners and Jacob Blaha, with some of the old members, prays in Czech at the close of the services, and occasionally a Czech priest is called at the express wish of the old parishioners, but they are diminishing and the fingers of one hand almost suffice to count the remainder . . . . The time is not distant when the dear Czech language will vanish and only the Czech inscriptions and names on the monuments" will be left (R 327).
74.9 St. Louis was the only point in Missouri to receive important Czech settlement. Its importance to Kansas lies in the fact that it was probably through it that the first Moravians went to the Everest settlement in 1857. As the most important river port above New Orleans it began to receive Czech immigrants very early, probably some of the very earliest of the nineteenth century immigration. Certainly, a Catholic church was built for them in 1854, and the CSPS benevolent brotherhood was founded the same year, accomplishments possible only in a community of some slight maturity. The founding of a Czech newspaper was agitated there in 1857 and accomplished in 1860. The Czech settlement did not grow as fast or to be as large as the one in Chicago, but it remained sturdy. The occasional Missourian included in Czech settlements in Kansas was almost necessarily from St. Louis or its neighborhood, for few Czechs chose homes elsewhere in Missouri.

75.0 Czechs all over the United States including Kansas were as a whole remarkable for their lukewarmness toward religion. There are, however, settlements zealously Catholic, and in almost all but the very small there is a Catholic element active enough to support a church. The Protestant churches that are exclusively Czech are by no means so numerous, but where they exist there was a zealous nucleus. The character of conditions in various parts of the United States is summarized by Capek (CC 119 ff.). In 1920 he estimated that in New York City the Czechs were
25.4% Catholic, 11% Protestant and 1.6% Jewish -- 62% unaffiliated. In Chicago 50% were Catholic. The Catholic Encyclopedia (1908) declares that the St. Procopius parish in Chicago was the largest Czech parish, 10,000 souls. The Poles are much more loyal to the church, but with six times the population of the Czechs they had only four times as many churches. Two factors enter into this. More Polish churches than Czech were urban and an urban church serves many more parishioners than a rural church. The Czechs were better off economically. There were 138 Czech churches, 208 Czech priests, 30 of whom served Slovaks. In Texas, Wisconsin and Minnesota the predominance of the Catholics "is believed to be the case." Capek leaves Ohio, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Nebraska and its neighbors with Catholic minorities. Of 509 Czechs at Milligan, Nebraska, in 1930, 70% belonged to no church and 25% were practicing Catholics and 5% nominal Catholics (Ku 40). Most of the 70% were indifferent in matters of religion (Ku 75), but there were those among them hostile to religion. Grandma Smrha was a devout Catholic but very tolerant. "When her husband died she insisted that his funeral services be conducted by the lodge . . . for fear that the political career of one of her sons would be injured" (Ku 81). Roucek in 1932 estimated the proportion of Czech Catholics at 18%.

75.10 Protestantism has lately attracted some of Czech stock through the social connections to be established, but this attraction did not develop until Engl-izing forces had largely done
their work. Protestantism among the early immigrants was a conserva-
tive linguistic force and where the early churches persisted,
as at Tabor-Munden in Kansas, they continued to exert a similar
influence until very late. In 1932 Roucek estimated that 2% of
the Czechs were Protestants (RP 67). In Kansas the Protestants
were Presbyterians and joined that denomination because they
were rather of Reformed than Lutheran background in Europe, Hus-
sites originally. Austerity is not common among the Czechs, but
the pillars of these Presbyterian congregations tended toward
austerity -- which explains their failure to achieve popularity
and their linguistic conservatism. English was one of the snares
of the world. The Protestant churches may be divided into two
groups, one representing the dominant and older Calvinistic tra-
dition, rooted in Hussitism, and one the outgrowth of the pietis-
tic movement which received a very early impulse from the work of
the Moravian Brethren. Driven in great part from the Kingdom
after the Battle of the White Mountain, the Brethren gathered at
Herrnhut in Germany, which became the center of their radiation
and German their general language, but the believers were not
all rooted out of Moravia. The Calvinistic group of churches in
the United States contained in 1910 24 Presbyterian churches,
6 Reformed and 11 Congregational; the pietistic group, 9 Metho-
dist, 6 Baptist and 11 "Brethren" (all in Texas) (Ba 386).

Free-Thinkers were not so numerous among the Bohemians as
those religiously indifferent, but openly declared Free-Thought
was much more common than among the general population and much more respectable among humbler folk. Early in the twentieth century perhaps 15% of the Czechs were Free-Thinkers; militancy in its favor has, however, dropped away. If the religiously indifferent were counted among Free-Thinkers the proportion would rise high. There were organizations primarily to express Free-Thought, but in general the social organism in which the Free-Thinkers throve were the lodges. The most popular journalistic enterprises were also undertaken by propagandists of Free-Thought. Linguistically the Free-Thought movement acted much like a religion, that is, conservatively until late, and then Englishing. It was conservative because as a respectable phenomenon it was peculiarly Czech and because its leaders were at the helm of Czech social organization and intellectual endeavor. While these leaders became rapidly bilingual, they found that a special language served to hold together their adherents until a new generation inexpert in the language appeared upon the scene.

75.2 Social organization among Czechs satisfied a thirst for assembly in large numbers and with a minimum of discipline and ulterior purpose. A Bohemian hall was the first public structure felt necessary in almost all Czech settlements. Other communities were satisfied much longer with schoolhouses as a place of assembly. The hall might be owned by several organizations or by a single one, but in a larger sense the Narodny Sin (Na-
tional Hall), as it was frequently labeled, belonged to the whole community. "Wherever Czech people are to be found, the 'sin' or hall serves as the social agency which unifies the whole community" (Ku 2). The most frequent owners were the lodges, which met in them.* The most important function was to

* For Nebraska Miss Rosicky in speaking of Free Thinkers lists 44 halls, the majority owned by the ZCBJ, most of the rest by Sokol (R 287- 291). There were also communities where the hall was owned by Catholic organizations.

be the scene of "Bohemian dances," where people of all ages gathered. The dances were vigorous; children raced about freely; those too old to dance continuously talked and laughed hilariously; the consumption of beer scandalized neighboring groups. But the fights were usually with intruders, who were not tolerated, and the "wildness" produced much more noise than objectionable conduct. It was simply the proper thing to be merry. Because all this was peculiarly national, both by the will of the participants and that of the surrounding population, the linguistic result was markedly conservative.

75.30 "Benevolent" or "fraternal" societies -- the "lodges"-- have been the most important element in Czech social organization. The insurance and protective features of their activities procured their continued existence, but after the First World War, like that of lodges in general though to a lesser extent, their influ-
ence declined. The oldest and for the United States as a whole the most important of these organizations is the C.S.P.S. (Cecho-
Slovansky Podporujici Spolek--Czecho-Slovak Benevolent Society).
It was organized in St. Louis in 1854, but according to Capek (CC 258) did not become important throughout the United States until the 1880's. The C.S.P.S. was closely bound up with the free-thinking and liberal movement (FM 220-1). Consequently, the church was hostile. In 1914 there were "226 or more" lodges in the United States with a membership of 26,000 (SB 489). The C.S.P.S. is for men only; consequently there is an auxiliary, the J.C.D. (Jednota Ceskych Dam -- Union of Czech Ladies). Swehla says, "Owing to a conflict of interest between east and west" the ZCBJ was organized in 1897 (ZCBJ: Zapadni Cesko-Bratrska Jednota -- Western Czech Fraternal Association). Miss Rosicky explains more fully. The ZCBJ, she says, "was founded upon a basis similar, in a general way, to the large English-language organizations," which were cutting into Czech membership largely because "insurance payments were based on age among them." The CSPS in 1898 "instituted the same improvements, while prior to that time the eastern delegates in convention denied these improvements at the request of the western delegates." The ZCBJ gained popularity too "because it admits women on equal terms with men and is entirely impartial in the matter of religion. . . . Of late it is establishing lodges for the young generation where business is conducted in English" (R 357). In 1914 it had 18,000 members; in 1952.
there were 59,000 members. It became the prevailing lodge in Kansas, and almost every Czech settlement contains a chapter; the most faithful Catholic communities are sometimes exceptions. Competing societies of similar nature were created for Catholics. The organization transferred directly from Bohemia was the Sokol -- the gymnastic organization. In Bohemia it was to a great extent a disguise for political activity, but the enthusiasm for gymnastics was real and perpetuated among immigrants. The enthusiasm rose and waned through several periods (Ku 102 ). Sokol's Czech lodges, however, prospered more enduringly than American gymnastic groups, though in 1932 at Sokol halls with basketball courts "the English language is heard constantly during the game" (RP 69). The Catholics also organized societies. In 1908, says the Catholic Encyclopedia, the Bohemian Roman Catholic Central Union had 11,505 members (15,000 in CSPS). In 1932 Roucek said that "Free-Thinking Societies" had 91,000 or 92,000 members, Catholic societies 20,000 to 25,000 (RP 65).

The lodges endeavored to be linguistically conservative. Business deliberations went on in Czech as long as the members were able to participate in that language -- until about 1950 sometimes in Kansas. The ZCBJ publication, Fraternal Herald, Bratrsky Vestnik, was 80% in Czech in 1954. Still earlier than 1930 there were chapters for the young conducted in English (Rosicky above) as at Milligan (Ku 101).

75.31 The National Czech cemetery was another type of organization
thrive among the Czechs. Such cemeteries were not under the direction of lodge or church, but were separate enterprises. They were conservative of the language, both by the continuing examples of Czech inscriptions and by the habits of communication among those who came to visit the graves.

Czech journalism was a rather important linguistic force. The Czechs on arrival were as literate as the various Germanic peoples and because of the unrest in their country had become used to consulting the printed word on current topics. "Czech newspapers were a great force in aiding immigrants to find new homes.... [There was] a department devoted to communications from subscribers, and such communications often dealt with the subject of good 'locations'" (R 26). The first newspapers appeared in 1860 and "between January, 1860, and the spring of 1911, 326 Czech journals had come into being... Some 85 survive [in 1920]... The Hlasatel (Herald) of Chicago claims a circulation of 25,000... The Hospodar (Husbandman)... with a home in Omaha is said to be a regular guest in 30,000 households" (CC 17). In 1932 Roucek said that there were 82 Czech newspapers. Journalism in Nebraska developed shortly after the main tide of settlement set in. Edward Rosewater, mentioned above, began issuing the Pokrok Západu (Progress of the West) in 1871. "At first it was more in the nature of a land advertising sheet. It was supported by the Burlington and Missouri and Union Pacific railroad companies, and the reading matter was arranged by V.L. Vodička" of the Burlington
(R 26). Railroad support continued till 1875. In 1876 John Rosicky became editor of it and in 1877 owner (R 28). In 1889 he sold it to "a print company under the direction of Mr. Vzclav Bures" (HB 154). He continued as editor till 1900. "In time Rosicky raised the Pokrok Západu to the front of Czech weeklies." Transformed into Narodni Pokrok (National Progress) it was the only Czech newspaper circulating in Nebraska in 1930 (Ku 114). In 177 Czech families at Milligan, Neb., there were 98 Czech newspaper subscriptions, 222 English. (The proportion for books bought in 1929-30 was similar -- 103 Czech, 247 English, Ku 119). The Pokrok company also founded, in 1891, Hospodar, a farmer's journal that became profitable. These papers circulated in Kansas, and also others of the eight Czech dailies or weeklies existent in Nebraska in 1919. To aid circulation "local editions" of the papers were printed for the Czech settlements.

75.5 Czech schools were over the United States only supplementary schools. Because of their attitude toward religion, parochial schools were not numerous among the Bohemians. Roucek said in 1932 that there were "parochial schools where the Czech and Slovak children are taught the Czech and Slovak language but in some schools only" (RP 68). The efforts to maintain schooling in Czech were usually made by the lodges. After hours at public schools and during the summer "language schools" were maintained in most of the cities -- unpopular with the children whose time was thus invaded. The efforts at Milligan, Nebraska were typical.
"At various periods off and on attempts have been made to establish a 'Bohemian school' in the village. Classes were held once weekly in the local lodge hall. It has been [in 1930] several years since the last of these schools died a death due to poor attendance. Czech is now [since 1924] offered in the high school as an optional foreign language" (Ku 63).

Roucek in 1932 speaks more generally: "Schools and libraries are kept up by certain societies, but these schools are not, and cannot be, a success. The second generation with very few exceptions knows only the elements of the Czech and Slovak language, if they know them at all, and any school of this type resounds more with the English language than with the others" (RP 64). Efforts at Czech schooling in Kansas were so minor that no written record of them is preserved. Informants who learned to read Czech usually report that they learned to do so in the family. Even for Nebraska, Miss Hrbkova makes no mention of common school education in Czech in her article. To be sure, it was published in 1919 when the subject was a delicate one. The result of insufficient schooling was of course the loss of the written language in the second generation.

75.6 Czechs have more frequently been accused of "clannishness" than any other immigrant group in Kansas, though the reproach is common against them all. The reproach has probably been based upon the vigorous and generally inaccessible social life within their group, not founded upon religious affiliations. (That a
religious group, like the Mennonites, should hold itself apart has usually seemed less blameworthy.) Swehla defended his countrymen against the accusation:* "Clannish?... Not at all --

* In Nebraska 40 out of 50 non-Czechs liked to live in Milligan. But 7 of them felt like "strangers living on alien soil." There were Czechs who liked it because "it is a Bohemian community; the children have a chance to learn Bohemian" (Ku 137).

we are on the whole pretty good mixers... There are a half dozen or more American societies, lodges... etc., in Wilson, and you will find Bohemians in nearly all of them. Years ago when the A.O.U.W. was started in Wilson they extended their recruiting among our people and soon... they had more Bohemians than our own lodge" (SB 489). He did not remark that outsiders could not join the C.S.P.S., that while the Bohemians radiated into community life -- political also, he makes it clear, the absorption from outside into their own body was not great. Intermarriage with Germans was not very rare from early times, but intermarriage otherwise generally awaited till the population of the settlements overflowed, and the young found mates as well as jobs elsewhere. Czechs over the country tended to be Democrats rather than Republicans but they were not at all monolithic in this respect. Furthermore, what Swehla remarks was typical where there were many Czechs. He says that in "Ellsworth county... a Bohemian candidate whether Republican or Democrat, generally gets elected" (SB 495).
All in all, while neighbors have exaggerated Bohemian clannishness, something of the sort, despite great divisiveness in the group, has been a conservative linguistic force.

The Engl-izing of Czechs in the United States proceeded in the twentieth century as rapidly as in other stocks. In 1910 observers tended to treat Czech immigrants as all Czech-speaking, though bilingual if young. By 1920, however, when Capek published his Czechs in America he said of the "American Czech youth, their schooling is American, their mother tongue English" (CC 101). He reproduces a newspaper comment on the indifference of young readers toward a translation of Nemcova's Babicka. "If Babicka had been published here in Czech we should have condoned the apathy of our young folk." Capek goes on to describe phenomena we must often refer to -- children unable to speak English on first arriving at school who will later speak Czech with no one but a monolingual grandmother -- older children in a family proficient in Czech, younger ones ignorant -- the importance of the school: "The moment the child crosses the threshold of the schoolhouse, the question of his future fealty is settled" (CC 103). Capek perhaps exaggerates Engl-izing somewhat as a concession to public spirit in 1920. Dudek in 1925 was more impressed by the debasement of Czech in America through loan words than by the loss of facility in speaking Czech (Du 204 f.) To be sure a large proportion of loan words in a language is one of the sure signs that it is likely to be abandoned. Roucek's observations in 1932 were: "All the
Czech and Slovak immigrants cling to the conviction that their children the second generation, fulfill their duty to the land of their forefathers by learning to speak the language. ... The children look down on the attempts of the parents to speak the old language. With the passing of the older generation will pass also the use of the Czech and Slovak language in America (RP 64; see also 70). In the sections above we have seen, however, that Czech was not dead in 1951, though that it was generally preserved only by the old. Still in rural communities and in certain groups in the cities Czechs are quite conservative linguistically even in the 1960's.*

* At Cornhill, Texas, forty miles north of Austin, in 1961, the cemetery shows inscriptions in Czech as late as 1944 (in German to 1936). All Czechs born before 1953 spoke Czech. Teaching of the Czech language had ceased in 1957 and pre-school children could not speak Czech.

Slovaks have made but a small figure in Kansas, treated in the accounts of Leavenworth and Kansas City. Those at Leavenworth had connections particularly with the Illinois coal fields. Slovaks were also a small element in the Crawford-Cherokee coal fields. Some of them were among the first forlings to be brought from Pennsylvania. "Slovaks live mainly around Pittsburgh" said Roucek in 1932 (RP 63). We shall make no effort to refine this statement. Roucek portrayed the Slovaks as yet
fonder of societies than the Czechs. Certainly they were more religious, mostly serious Catholics (300,000 says Roucek -- RP 68), but with a Protestant, chiefly Lutheran element of importance (57,000 says Roucek). Their linguistic behavior in Illinois is treated in Sections 79.1 to 79.4. (For Slovaks in Europe, see #72.0.)
The size of the Polish population of the United States is best understood from the censuses of 1920 and 1910 and estimates made in 1907 and 1910. Data for the ten states containing the most Poles and for Kansas follow: [The census figures are for mother tongue of foreign white stock (immigrants and their children) Cf. 1920 - p. 983. The 1907 estimate is Father Kruszka's cited from Ba 262, who copied the Polish Press, 2 March 1907. The 1910 estimate is that of the PNA Calendar, quoted Fo 62.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1910 PNA estimate</th>
<th>1907 estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2,436,895</td>
<td>1,684,108</td>
<td>3,063,000</td>
<td>2,199,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>412,211</td>
<td>318,639</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>422,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>403,969</td>
<td>278,351</td>
<td>475,000</td>
<td>355,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>382,101</td>
<td>272,122</td>
<td>475,000</td>
<td>388,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>176,342</td>
<td>106,219</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>92,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>152,063</td>
<td>127,453</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>197,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>145,822</td>
<td>86,241</td>
<td>240,000</td>
<td>128,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>138,106</td>
<td>77,045</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>96,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>130,967</td>
<td>17,005</td>
<td>240,000</td>
<td>160,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>97,309</td>
<td>54,700</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>61,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>49,490</td>
<td>48,240</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>88,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>15,603</td>
<td>15,809</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>21,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>14,720</td>
<td>13,421</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>18,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>4,571</td>
<td>4,809</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>5,455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The PNA estimate must be characterized as exaggerated, even allowing for a third generation and census underenumeration.

Father Gruszka's doubtless includes a third generation, but even
so the United States census seems somewhat more accurate for Kansas at least. An estimate made for this study for 1908 comes to very nearly 4,000 for all generations. Of the million and two-thirds of Polish mother tongue in 1910, their principal countries of origin were distributed as follows:

Russia 655,733 Germany 513,446
Austria 404,629 Hungary 4,005

76.10 American immigration statistics show that there arrived a wave of Poles in 1872-4, nearly 7,000 for the three years whereas no single year before or after that reached a thousand until 1880. Through the 1880s immigration ranged between 2 and 6 thousand, the peak in 1887. Between 1890 and 1893 95,000 Poles entered the United States. There was then a lull, 691 in 1896, but numbers had increased much by the end of the century. In thousands the arrivals from 1899 to 1915 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>68</td>
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<td>1905</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>68</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>78</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The small annual share coming to Kansas is proportional to the total numbers entering the United States.

76.11 The statistics for emigration set forth in the Petite Encyclopédie polonaise of 1916, which does not cite its sources, are evidently in part American. Here we can distinguish Poles ac-
according to their origin in the separated sections of Poland. Emigration from German Poland showed a wave after the initiation of the Kulturkampf in 1871. The Belleville Poles of Kansas came at this time. From 1880 to 1896 it was strong. It was then that the Leavenworth Poles came from Germany. "Between 1871 and 1911, 643,861 persons, of whom some 430,000 were Poles, left the four Polish provinces of Prussia to go to the United States (from 1881 to 1885: 185,348; from 1906 to 1909: 18,264)" (Pe 282).

As to Austrian Poland: "In the space of 30 years [not specified but presumably the 30 before the First World War], 856,000 Poles from Galicia emigrated to America. It has been calculated that in 1913, a year especially disastrous in Galicia from the agricultural point of view because of the basic scourges that struck the country and because of the Balkan wars, more than 400,000 persons left their native land either forever or temporarily; that is, 5% of the population."

As to Russian Poland: "In the Kingdom of Poland, emigration to America began ten years later than in Galicia. In 1890, 19,323 persons emigrated; this figure decreased in the years following. From 1900 to 1904, 29,972 Poles from the Russian Empire annually traveled to the United States; from 1905 to 1909 48,433; in the fiscal year 1911-12 54,244; in 1912-13 112,345. 80% were of rural origin. In Kansas City the Galician Poles were in 1900 twice as numerous as those from Germany, but half as numerous as those from Russia."
Polish Emigration to the United States, 1901-1913

Austria-Hungary 484,329
Germany 38,327
Russia 596,950
from elsewhere 13,582
Total 1,133,188

76.2 Statistics for Polish population in 1910 are presented here as they are set forth in the Petite Encyclopédie polonaise, p. 15:

Russian Poland

Kingdom of Poland 9,100,000
(Here they were 74% of the population, Jews, 14%, Germans 5%, others 7%)

Elsewhere in Russia 2,898,000
(In the "governments" of Lithuania adjoining the Kingdom they were from a fourth to an eighth of the population; in western Ruthenia from 3 to 10%)
Total for Russia - 11,998,000

Austrian Poland

Galicia 4,672,000
(western Galicia almost all Polish, eastern 39.63% Poles, 58.69% Ruthenians. Poles include 870,000 Jews)

Silesia 235,000

Elsewhere in Austria-Hungary 272,000
Total for Austria-Hungary - 5,179,000

German Poland

Poznan (Posen) (61.5%) 1,291,000
West Prussia (35.5%) 604,000
East Prussia (50% on border) 286,000
Silesia (56.88% on border) 1,338,000
Elsewhere (chiefly Westphalia) 580,000
Total for Germany 4,099,000

Elsewhere in Europe 100,000
Total in Europe 21,376,000
In North America 3,100,000
Elsewhere 130,000
Total 24,606,000
The Polish Encyclopedia of 1921 says: "From 1815-1817 to 1912-1913 the population of the territories of ancient Poland more than trebled... 206.7%" (Po 159). The Kingdom of Poland increased 363.9% in this period. Between 1857-1858 and 1912-1913 the increases were 110.9% and 179.4%. The pressure for emigration from overpopulation, particularly in an area where industrialization affected only a small section geographically and where improvement in agricultural methods was slow, became very great.

In terms of population per square mile the figure in 1910 for the Kingdom of Poland was 262.1 and for Galicia 264.7 -- corresponding figure for highly industrialized Prussia 298.4, for Austria 246.0.

76.30 Divisions of Poland before 1918. The "Kingdom of Poland" referred to above was sometimes called "Congress Poland" or "the Congress Kingdom," that is, the kingdom set up by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. It was practically what had been Russian Poland after the third partition in 1795 and the only distinction from outright Russian rule brought about by its creation was the recognition of the principle that a Polish nation existed. The partitions of Poland took place in 1772, 1793, and 1795. About 70% of the kingdom existing in 1772 fell to Russia. The portion falling to Austria became known, except for little Teschen, under the name of Galicia (No. 45 on the map, 68), in general that part of Austria-Hungary beyond the Carpathians, capital Lemberg or Lwow. Cracow and its environs at the west end were under a separate government from 1815 to 1846. Cracow and approximately the western fourth
of Austrian Poland had not formed part of the principality of Ruthenia. The rest of Galicia had been part of that principality. The Poles who were nearly solid in the west, were a substantial part of the population of this part of Ruthenia. There were in it also certain German colonies (the one furnishing the Hanston Germans to Kansas included). There were also large numbers of Ukrainians, or Ruthenians. Few Ruthenians, either from the Austrian crownlands, Galicia and Bukowina (further south) or from Russia came to Kansas. Prussia through the partitions gained Poznania, capital Posen (Poznan) and lands northward to the Baltic; also East Prussia was extended inland so as to more than double its territory (Vol. I, p. 68, Nos. 28, 17, 18, 19).

76.31 Political history of the Poles in Germany, from the fall of Napoleon to the First World War the history of Poles must necessarily be considered under the three headings, Germany, Russia, Austria. In Germany the Poles fell under the strong Prussian government, during a period when the economic strength of the Germans was on the upswing, and when their cultural claims were always ambitious; the Polish language might therefore have been expected to grow weak and yield territory. Perhaps it was growing weaker during the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century. When it and the Catholic clergy were attacked by overt Prussianization after 1830, however, the onslaught was only strong enough to irritate the Poles and cause them to organize defensively so that when Bismarck undertook his Kulturkampf in 1871 they could stubbornly
hold their ground under an attack that was always able and that became increasingly ferocious. Emigration was probably in part politically inspired at least during the 1870's; economic reasons joined more strongly with politics during the 1880's and early 1890's, but later, with a post-Bismarckian relaxation of pressure (P 118), with the prosperity common to Germany, and the confidence born of the will to triumph it very nearly disappeared in German Poland.

Germany accepted Poles (and other Slavs) as industrial workers, and they were numerous by the end of the nineteenth century. In periods of business depression these men were unwelcome and sometimes went on to America. An agricultural invasion of Germany by the Poles took place earlier, when German agriculture was in crisis because of the general European grain price depression. Bismarck in 1885 sent about 30,000 of these invaders back home, and thereafter agricultural Poles came into Germany only under seasonal permits. The result was naturally increased emigration to America from the Congress Kingdom and Galicia.

76.32 In the Congress Kingdom the Russian Czar suppressed in blood the revolts of 1831 and 1863. At moments there were Poles who envisaged cooperation with him so as to reunite all Poland by reabsorbing the lands in Austria and Prussia. But usually everybody and always a strong element regarded the Russians as arch enemies. In 1876 the initiation of universal military service, together with crop failures, gave an initial impetus to emigration.
Efforts at Russification became serious only after 1863, much more so after the accession to the throne of Alexander III, who undertook Russification. Polish as the language of instruction was suppressed at the university level in 1869 and in elementary schools in 1885. The result was an increase in illiteracy. The Russian Poles remained Polish in speech, but at the lower levels Polish as a cultural language was weakened, making its replacement by another among emigrants easier. With the Revolution of 1905 in Russia certain pressures relaxed, but the cultural oppression was resumed, which promoted emigration. The economic policies of the Russians "always favored the central provinces to the detriment of the Kingdom where taxes are twice as high as in the rest of the empire" (Pe 39). Obviously emigration was again promoted.

76.33 In Polish Austria "the first fifty years of Habsburg rule... did not differ fundamentally from that of the Hohenzollerns... or of the Romanovs" (Fi 38). Division among the Poles themselves weakened Polish nationalism. The establishment of the dual monarchy in 1867 gave a sort of autonomy to Galicia. The Polish landlords became the governing class, and allied themselves with the Hapsburgs in imperial affairs in return for concessions. The alliance lasted till 1917. Its existence did not mean that there was no Polish nationalism. It was tolerated by Austria and struggled chiefly against the Ruthenian nationalism which grew strong among the peasants of that origin in opposition to Polish landowners. The Poles were in command, but because of economic condi-
tions, for which the unwillingness of the Austrian government to undertake measures of betterment were partly responsible, the forces for emigration were strong.

76.34g Polish unity during the century and a half of partition naturally depended upon cultural ties. "Language has been the most important factor of Polish national unity. Though there are a number of provincial dialects, the differences between them are much less marked than in Germany or Italy. The common language is a synthetic product of several dialects. . . . It originated in the needs of political life. Poland in the past was a half-republican state. . . . The common political interests produced an early cultural unification of the politically active elements of the country" (Fa 198 - Polish section by Znamecki). The bond between political and linguistic interests was a linguistically conservative force among emigrants.

76.4 The Church was another unifying force during the partitioned period. The Poles in Europe, like their descendants in the United States, were almost all Roman Catholics of a high degree of faithfulness. "The large mass of the Polish population. . . . is more interested in the social than in the mystical aspect of religion" (Fa 199). The nature of Catholicism as developed in Poland was admirably fitted to satisfy this appetite. "The Polish priest is identified with every phase of the peasant life, and there are no festivals in which he does not take a part. He is looked up to as the guide and guardian of his flock, and is regarded and treated
with utmost deference by his parishioners" (Fo 54). In contrast to the Czechs, among whom the Church was an instrument of Germanization, the Poles found that their nationalism and their religion reenforced each other. To the governments of both the Kaiser and the Czar the Roman Catholic organization was obnoxious as promoting split loyalties. In Galicia Roman Catholics of the Latin rite were Poles and the Roman Catholics of the Greek rite (Uniates) were Ruthenians, and thus nationalism and religion again combined. Catholic preaching and education were in Polish. The Russification measure that required the teaching of the catechism in Russian accentuated the alliance of religion and nationalism. Similar phenomena existed in Germany. Enthusiasm for their native language was natural among Poles who became priests in the United States. Government opposition to Catholicism promoted the desire to emigrate, but except in Germany was not of the greatest moment in determining departures, as is shown by the fact that emigration from Galicia was as great as that from Russian Poland.

The economic push for emigration among the Poles was, as for other stocks in Europe, the most important. In Germany once industrialization was well underway the push could be satisfied by minor movement, but in the 1880's and early nineties when agriculture was subject to the general European depression, and Bismarck was trying to displace Polish population with Germans (P 93), it was an important factor in determining emigration to America. The industrial situation was not ideal. When times were good, it led to the establishment of large Polish settlements, especially in
Westphalia; when times were slack, some of these settlers emigrated to America, and some reached Kansas, particularly in the coal mines. Examples of increase of the size of the Polish settlement in Westphalia are for certain governmental districts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1905</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recklinghausen</td>
<td>5,257</td>
<td>37,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dortmund</td>
<td>1,699</td>
<td>18,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bochum</td>
<td>4,159</td>
<td>17,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnsberg</td>
<td>20,131</td>
<td>97,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Münster</td>
<td>5,490</td>
<td>40,723</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These settlements remained Polish. "The Poles could maintain most zealously their national peculiarities in speech, morals and faith; this was explained both by their low, clannish cultural condition, and by the fact that the German Social Democrats showed no inclination to busy themselves in this domain of patriotic activity, and finally by the crowding together of the various nationalities of the industrial population of these places where German customs and manners frequently did not in any way prevail" (Sw 475).

76.51 Economic conditions in the Congress Kingdom were bad, largely because of over population, but were also partly to be explained by the late 19th century agricultural depression, partly too because Russian tariff and railroad rates greatly favored production in Russia proper, and because improvement in agricultural methods lagged. The tardiness in this last respect was in great part the result of the breaking up of large estates which began in 1864. Very small holdings became common (3/8 of the farms had less than 10 acres), and the new owners were not well informed; productivity sank. All these considerations assume that the Kingdom's economic
prosperity depended upon agriculture, which was largely true. Three-fourths of the population were engaged in agriculture, and rural areas furnished most of the emigrants to America. Industry did develop around Warsaw and centers to the southwest, Lodz and Czenstochowa -- thus none far from the German frontier; for German capital was being invested to tap, unhindered by tariffs, the Russian market; industrial workers increased from 86,000 in 1877 to 401,000 in 1910. But the proportion of those so employed to landless or quasi-landless agricultural laborers was small; the latter numbered a million and a half. In 1904 six to seven hundred thousand of them were unemployed. Even employed, the wage was low, 40 cents a day without board in 1912 for a male agricultural laborer. Taxes, generally born by the poor, were very high, twice as high as for Russia proper, seven times as high for real estate (Po. I 246). The push for emigration was evidently immense.

In Galicia agriculture played a role fully as important. Agriculture occupied 80% of the people. With a population about half that of the Congress Kingdom there were a fourth as many workers in industry and the mines. "The density of the agricultural population is the greatest in Europe" (Pe 268). There were 1.2 million excess agricultural workers. Wages were yet lower than in the Congress Kingdom. Governmental conditions seemed economically more favorable, but really only the "landed" proprietor was favored. The tax situation was parallel to that in Russia for the peasant. Tariffs and industry, already developed in Bohemia, etc., retarded development in Galicia by prospects of competition. Agriculturally methods lagged as much as to the north. The push
for emigration was as great as in Russia.

76.53 Polish social organization among peasants made no push for emigration, but greatly affected assimilation and linguistic development in America. It was remarkable for the importance that it attached to the "large family", that is inclusive of kindred out to several degrees, and to local political and economic units (Fa 209). The tendency on arriving in America was to create similar units even within cities. The group was, however, hospitable to Poles from outside, not dominated by suspicion of strangers characteristic of south Italians with their campanilismo.

76.53g The push for emigration among Lithuanians and Russians was controlled by the same factors among them as in Congress Poland. Because most of the Russians were Ukrainians or else White Russians from areas under Polish rule before 1772, the Russian Czar was no more favorable to any of these people than to Poles; the proportion of agricultural laborers in their area was yet higher, and the wages were no better.

76.60 Polish settlement, aside from earlier isolated cases, began in the United States in 1855 when fifteen or twenty families newly arrived from Silesia founded the church at Panna Marya, Texas. The foundation dates of other early Polish parishes gives a sufficient idea of the progress of settlement.* Up until 1880 the

* Father W.X. Kruszka assembled these dates in Historya Polska W Ameryce (II 6,7), Milwaukee, 1905. Emily Greene Balch reproduced them in Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, p. 459. For data after 1880 see Ba 264.

first in each state was:
By 1880 the number of parishes for each of these states was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Parishes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The census data provided above fail to show the importance of Texas because the settlements in it were of old date and many of the foreign-born had died by 1920. "By 1906, Texas had a Polish population of 17,000" (Wi 422). As in Texas, much other early settlement was rural, but in the years of major immigration the newcomers usually went into the cities or mining areas. Important agricultural settlements did develop, however, as rather late in the Connecticut valley in Massachusetts. Examples studied by the Immigration Commission for the Senate in 1909 in the states of greatest interest to Kansas were in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. The Sobieski-Pulaski settlement north of the city of Green Bay on the landward side contained 4400 Poles, the settlement in central Wisconsin's counties of Portage and Waushara, 12,910, the settlement in Trempealeau County above La Crosse 4000. In Illinois the chief rural settlement was southeast of St. Louis some 60 miles, beyond the Germans, centered where Jefferson, Perry and Washington Counties join; 7700 persons. In northern Indiana near New Carlisle between La Porte and South Bend there were 1,930
Poles (S 156). As a generality the 1909 investigators said, "Where the community is isolated . . . it is a long time before the English tongue becomes the common medium of speech. Where the colonies or settlements are extensive it is not uncommon to find . . . even the second generation are able to speak only Polish" (S 161), and a little later, "The Polish farm population learn the English language less quickly . . . than their city fellows" (S 162). The settlements which they studied do not occupy us further, rural examples, in Nebraska, do (#76.62, 76.73g).

The largest Polish colony was in Chicago, 250,000 in 1903, 350,000 in 1920; Milwaukee had 65,000 in 1903, 75,000 in 1920 (Ba 264, W 420). This work considers the Polish urban settlements of the Middle West in connection with the churches in them. Kansas connections with Poles in other states were chiefly with those where there were mining populations (Illinois, Pennsylvania, #76.73) and many meat packing employees (Chicago, St. Joseph, Omaha, #76.62, 76.72).

76.61 The Poles of Missouri were mainly congregated in three cities; they numbered in 1920 at St. Louis, 5224 fb., in Kansas City, Mo. 944 fb., in St. Joseph, 632 fb. There were also 100 fb. in Barry County, the southernmost county in the second tier east from the Kansas border. These were located in Pulaski field near Monett on the northern edge of the county. Many of these people moved to Kansas City, Kansas. Kansas connections with the Kansas City, Missouri, Poles were not so close as proximity might lead one to
expect. They settled on the east edge of the city near the Blue River at Sheffield where a great many worked in the steel mills. After the Second World War they were joined by a number of displaced persons who prospered soon. The tone of this settlement has been less Polish than that in Kansas City, Kansas, for their pastors were not as zealous for things Polish. Their church, St. Stanislaus's, was founded after 1900. In 1915 it was a national parish with a Polish priest, Rogosz, but in 1949 it was neither
states nor provided with a Polish pastor. Priests with Polish names were assigned to other Missouri parishes.

62 In Omaha, Nebraska, lived 2374 Poles, only 64 in Lincoln; half of the Nebraska Poles were therefore rural. Nearly a thousand of them lived in an area close to the Platte and its parallel tributary, the Loup. The area began about seventy miles west of Omaha and extended westward as far again. The circumstances of the foundation of Warsaw, Neb., at the western end of this district (settlement on line between Sherman and Howard Counties) in 1876 and 1877 (i.e. among the earliest) offer a good example of methods of rural settlement. The Rev. Klaviter came to the area from Pittsburgh in 1876 "for the purpose of viewing the lands, thinking to establish a Polish settlement." Soon the Poles arrived, settling "almost altogether on Burlington and Missouri railroad lands... The Poles, through their agent John Barzynski, held the sole right to buy these lands for a term of two years. In 1878 they built a church... where the railroad company in question had donated a quarter section and built an immigration home for the temporary lodging of their settlers" (R 326). There was no Polish settlement in Nebraska of any importance close to the Belleville Poles.

70 The Catholic church among the Poles in the United States was at least as powerful as it was among them in Poland. Within the range of authority that it occupied in Poland it was less powerful because it was not backed by the community as a whole nor by
local political authorities. The parish rather than the church as a whole was the possessor of this power in the United States. "It performs the functions which in Poland are fulfilled by both the Parish and the commune.... What the Polish colony really wishes in establishing a parish is not merely religious services but a community center of its own... [The Poles] do not feel 'at home' in a parish whose prevalent language and mores are different, ... [where] they have less control over its management than over that of a Polish parish, which they have founded by free cooperation. ... They do not get out of the English-speaking Catholic parish any satisfaction of their 'social instinct'" (TZ 1524-1526; see also Fa 208). The Polish parishes numbered 517 in 1911. Among the people there were those who fell away, even one third estimated Father Kruszka in a pessimistic moment, but the cleavage was seldom complete and the number affected less great than in other stocks. The Poles combatted more effectively than other stocks episcopal unwillingness to establish national parishes, because if thwarted they were ready sometimes to form independent parishes. In 1911 the greatest number of Polish national parishes in a diocese was in Chicago, 36; Milwaukee had 18, Green Bay 28, St. Louis 6, Omaha 12. The importance of Poles among miners is brought out by the 33 in Pittsburgh and 32 in Scranton. In an earlier section the dates of foundation of the parishes were employed as the best way of showing the date of beginning of a settlement. This method is nearly as accurate for other stocks as for the Poles, that is,
church organization follows settlement within five or six years, though when the Poles are found with other Slavic stocks, the case may be, as it was at Kansas City, that the bishop would strive to make one parish serve them all for a while. In any event the Poles pulled out of the Irish churches as fast as they could and sloughed off rapidly all who could not worship and receive instruction in Polish. "Around [the church] and stimulated by it, grows the Polish colony, with its agencies well organized and controlled. The church not only expresses the religious aspirations of the Poles... but also completely dominates the entire life of the colony. This accounts for the unprogressive character of some of the smaller colonies." So says Paul Fox (p. 92) in 1922. The last sentence is colored by the fact that, though of Polish blood, he was a Protestant minister writing for a Protestant audience. If, replacing the word "unprogressive" by "nostalgic", we mellow that last sentence, the whole statement agrees with others frequently made. The "national" churches became an instrument of linguistic conservation. The tendency to nationalistic separatism, strongest at the end of the nineteenth century, was so great that in the east, notably in Pennsylvania, churches to the number of 90 in 1910 and 1939, withdrew from the Roman organization to form the National Polish church (60,000 adherents in 1939).

All was not peace in the national parishes. In the early
days Polish priests were numerous enough so that sometimes they were in charge of other parishes than the Polish units. Together with true priests there were some of doubtful authenticity who preyed upon Polish settlements. The Leavenworth community had early difficulties on their account. In numerous cases wrangles arose between the priests and the people, usually over money. Lack of discipline on both sides in this respect was probably caused by the shift from countries with established churches to a country where financial resources depended upon direct contributions from the people of the parish. At any rate, Father Seroczynski in 1911 wrote in the Catholic Encyclopedia, "The Poles form an aggregation of units frequently lacking efficient spiritual leadership, torn by dissensions, led astray by a liberal press." In spite of disputes the priests usually exerted much authority, and, as for many years they themselves were immigrants, they clung to the use of Polish, sometimes fiercely, sometimes despite the bishops. Their persistence is to be explained not merely by love and old habit but because the language was an instrument for making the people directly responsible to them. As to money, though the parishioners sometimes rebelled so as to obtain an accounting from the priests, they made great sacrifices for the church, and their religious establishments were imposing, especially considering the slender resources that created them. They were a monument to "their deep faith [and] their intense nationalism" (Seroczynski).
Polish resistance in religion to Engl-izing finally broke down, though vestiges of it still remained after the middle of the twentieth century. For instance, in 1951 the rectory of St. Ann's in Chicago bore a posted notice near its door announcing "office Hours." It was in both Polish and English and was of recent origin. On the other hand, later migrations from one quarter to another within the city, true also for Milwaukee, took many Poles out of national parishes. St. Joseph's in Chicago was originally established for French Canadians, but in 1951 the parish was 90% Polish and held by an Irish priest who was grateful that "his Eminence discouraged the use of foreign language." However, he said that other Polish parishes were the only ones using foreign language. He was wrong in the fact, but not in the reflection of general opinion concerning the use of Polish. In Milwaukee in 1949 eleven parishes out of fifty-seven were Polish national churches (several more had Polish clergy). At Saint Casimir's in 1951 two masses out of six had Polish sermons. They were well attended.

Two examples of Polish churches established in coal fields that no longer prosper provide a basis for comparison with the Leavenworth and the Crawford-Cherokee Poles. At Oglesby in northern Illinois (western LaSalle County, 61, 133), two Catholic parishes, one originally Polish largely superseded by Slovenians and Italians, the other Lithuanian were combined into one in the 1940's. When coal mining collapsed most of the Poles had left, there were
25 Polish families remaining out of 800 families (60% Italian) in the parish. There was no religious service in any foreign language, though the pastor was a second generation Pole and passably proficient in the language. At Christopher, in southern Illinois, (Franklin County, 60 - 132) the services were in Polish until about 1938. Then the Poles almost all moved away in search of employment. The Italians, who had not gone to church while the Poles predominated, then began attending. The priests continued to be Poles or other Slavs. In 1951 not more than ten old people required pastoral services in Slavic.

As an example of a western rural Polish church let us consider St. Stanislaus's at Duncan, Platte Co., Nebraska, where Poles settled in the 1870's. The immigration went on until 1913. In 1951 there was still occasionally a sermon in Polish for the very old. Polish had been the current language of the community till 1918.

The first Polish parochial school was established in 1866 in Texas and the second in Chicago in 1867. They became early very numerous, and Polish was used as the language of instruction for longer periods than in many groups. Mrs. Balch quotes Father Kruszka as estimating 70,000 pupils in these schools in 1901. In 1920 there were five in Chicago with more than 2,000 pupils (TZ 1533). Mrs. Balch continues, speaking in 1910: "These schools undertake to train the children in religion and in the Polish language and Polish history, as well as in the regular public
school branches. English is taught as a subject throughout the classes, and generally some of the other subjects are taught in English, as, for instance, geography, United States history and bookkeeping and algebra for those who get so far. It is claimed by those interested that children leaving these schools for the public schools enter classes above or on a level with those they have left" (Ba 416). The claim was made in print by Father Kruszka (Fa 93). Paul Fox in 1922 on the other hand asserted, "To our knowledge the instruction in Polish parochial schools does not equal that of public schools" (Fo 93). Mrs. Balch also reproduces in an appendix an article from the Milwaukee Polish paper Prasa which attacks the quality of the teaching in the parochial schools. In the face of the situation parents "do not mind any more threats, ridicule and persecution; they see that their first duty toward their children is good schooling. And were the public school authorities not so slow in adding the Polish language to the curriculum in the Polish districts, half of the Polish children would be now in the public schools." (Ba 478) Father Seroczynski recognized imperfections. There were too many pupils for the teaching staff; the authorities had to "send into the classroom the young nun to whom it has been impossible to give a thorough training." In the quotation from Prasa two opposite urges are seen, the attraction of assimilation and the will to conserve the use of Polish. The linguistic preoccupation was expressed thus by Father Seroczynski: "The
necessity of teaching two languages doubles the work of the teachers, and yet it is this very system which will most intelli-
gently adjust the Poles to their American surroundings." Even
in 1920 when public opposition to a language of instruction rather
than English was very great, Thomas and Znaniencki recorded, "Pol-
ish and English are both employed as teaching languages, the pro-
portion varying in different schools" (TZ 1532). The zeal for
the language was bound up with the wish to perpetuate the strength
of the family tie. "Whereas children who go to public school be-
come completely estranged from their parents, the parish school...
in a large measure prevents this estrangement, not only because
it makes the children acquainted with their parents' religion,
language, and national history, but also because it inculcates
respect for these traditional values and for the nation from which
they came" (TZ 1533). In 1939 according to Carl Wittke "the ma-
jority of Polish children today attend public schools" (Wi 425).
Fox had made the same assertion in 1922 (p. 95). In the 1960's
from the linguistic point of view it does not matter which school
system trains the children. Instruction in Polish ceased in
Leavenworth in 1925. The slowness of the evolution in Kansas
City is detailed in Vol. II. In Milwaukee instruction in Polish
ceased in 1940; those old enough to have gone to school before
that time learned to speak Polish even if it was used in homes
only by grandparents. The parochial school was then a definitely
conservative force for bi-lingualism without long being an obstacle
to the acquisition of English.
Polish social clubs and societies "numbered three to four thousand organizations in 1905" (Fo 90). The people's sociability seized all occasions for demonstration, weddings, christenings, holidays. The colonists built Polish halls almost everywhere, usually after organizing into stock companies, sometimes under the guidance of their churches, sometimes advised by saloonkeepers, who with the priests were before prohibition very frequently leaders; understandably these advisers were not always disinterested (Fo 100). Polish lodges have been almost as important as Czech lodges, but except for their insurance features in a different way. They were held together by, and first organized with, the aim of advancing the liberation of the native land (Fa 200). Almost all came to be sponsored by the Catholic church,* though

* Park and Miller give a list 2½ pages long of organizations connected with St. Stanislaw Kostka in Chicago (pp. 213-215).

the church began to create its societies as a backfire to the Polish National Alliance, originally rather anti-clerical, and to the tendencies that led to the creation of the Alliance of Polish Socialists. The Socialists were never numerous, but they were among the most intelligent immigrants. They were truly a branch of their party in Europe, therefore highly nationalistic and linguistically conservative in America. The PNA was created in its present form in 1880, but its embryos go back to 1842 (Fo 90). It was at first primarily devoted to the maintenance of a "fourth province" among the Poles parallel to the three existing in Europe under unsympathetic governments (Fi 58). This nationalist concept later became the expression of the ambition rather
to erect European Poland into an independent country than to create a supra-national state. In the years immediately before the First World War there was even military drill. In 1910 there were 53,000 members in 780 chapters (Ba 380); 125,000 in 1921; 275,000 in 1939. In addition to being a patriotic and insuring society it was very actively a promoter of culture and social betterment. The organization persists into the 1960's, but as in most other Polish societies the business meetings are attended mostly by old men. Originally, while not anti-religious like Czech lodges, the PNA was anti-clerical in tone, but it has become closely connected with the church with the passage of time. In Kansas City in 1964 the announcements for its meetings were included with those of five other lodges on St. Joseph's calendar. The Roman Catholic Union came into existence also about 1880. The proliferation of other societies of a religious nature is thus explained by Thomas and Znaniecki: "It seems that the church is rather disinclined to let any one lay organization ... assume too much power lest it should some time become difficult to manage; the policy is to encourage several organizations at once in every field and to control all of them" (TZ 1606). All these organizations have been the center of Polish community life and on the whole have been conservative linguistic forces because the older members have been in control, and still were in the 1960's. Because of them, deliberations were still being carried on in Polish. They, most ardently the PNA, have been so to some degree because of
their strong nationalism. The link between nationalism and linguistic preservation in 1921 stands out in the case of the requirements for membership in the Catholic youth organization, the Zouaves of St. Stanislaw Kostka at Chicago. Besides being models of piety, the members were "to know the history of their ancestors, the great men of Poland, and to talk Polish among themselves and at home" (PM 216). Polish and American nationalisms have never been in conflict so that the all-pervading Americanism slowly triumphs.

76.82 The Polish press has been closely allied to the societies. Zgoda, organ of the Polish National Alliance, "the most influential" and one of "the best" Polish periodicals (TZ 1509) was reported by Mrs. Balch (Ba 383) in 1910 as having 55,000 subscribers. Carl Wittke (Wi 424) in 1939 lists it as the largest daily with 32,435 subscribers in 1931. Fisher said in 1930 that there were "15 dailies and 64 Polish weeklies" (Fi 60). Doroszewski quotes Osada as estimating 129 for that year. The discrepancy is to be explained by Fisher's neglecting papers that "were mainly dealing with affairs of strictly local interest . . . [whose circulation] was limited to small settlements . . . [and] had but a short existence" (DJ 219). As stated above Capek reported 85 Czech journals in 1920. There were about twice as many foreign-born Poles as Czechs in the United States in 1920, but considering that about 30% of the Poles immigrating in 1900 and 1912 were illiterate and only 3% of the Czechs, we must deduce from the
above facts that great progress in literacy in Polish occurred after arrival in the United States. Night schools greatly aided in this process (Fo 97). A written language is a conservative force, and the progress of literacy must also be so considered, though it must be remembered that literacy in English in the American-born ultimately smothered this effect.

-721-

76.9  *Engl-izing among Poles* has on the whole in spite of ghettoizing in cities been rapid, in part because "the innate positive dislike of children to be different from their playmates" (Fo 101) was particularly strong among the Poles; another influence at work was the fact that "there is no important difference between the Polish and American class system" (Fa 202) as a result of the obliteration of the importance of Polish aristocrats by the Prussian and Russian governments. Also in harmony with a change that occurred in Poland when peasants moved to town (Fa 206), the family lost much of its importance to Polish children in cities, and desertion of the language seemed natural. Finally and quite important public hostility to the use of foreign language became greatest shortly after the period of arrival of the greatest number.*

* The influence of environment was so potent in 1920 that Fox recommended that the few young Poles who became Protestant theological students should be housed together, among other reasons "for the purpose of keeping up the language" (Fo 133).

However, because of the late period of arrival, because for many
year Polish nationalism led priests and leaders, "some of the best men" (S 156) to try to "keep the Polish language intact: 'We would be Americanized but not Anglicized'", because "very few immigrants . . . came to America with the intention of remaining permanently" (Fa 203), and consequently made little effort to acquire English, and because the first generation remained family-centered, there are in the 1960's more speakers of Polish in proportion to the size of the Polish element in the population in the United States than there are for-ling speakers in the stocks arriving earlier.

77.0 The United States Immigration Statistics and in earlier years the census treated Slovenians and Croatians as a linguistic and national unit before Jugo-Slavia was created. Hence in parts of the discussion to follow they will be treated together, but they are distinct peoples. Their dialects approach each other even to the point that Ivan Krek, a Slovenian whose little work on his people was published in a French translation in 1917, speaks of "the small linguistic difference between the Slovenes and the Croats; the latter, it so happens, dignified as their capital Zagreb (Agram) which is in the Slovenian linguistic sphere" (Kr 16), and again, "The languages of the South Slavs are in reality only dialects which succeed and penetrate each other. Since this linguistic chain is nowhere interrupted, it is impossible to define precisely where Slovenian ends and Croatian begins" (Kr 52). Despite this fact speakers of standard Slovenian and Croatian are
mutually unintelligible -- without great effort or some training -- because the Croats and Serbs adopted as their standard language a dialect, approximately that of Herzegovina, far to the southeast of the area of the Slovenes, so different and remote in the chain of dialects that the Slovenes, who had already developed a literary language from a dialect spoken in the heart of their area, rejected this way of speech, even though it had the great advantage of being mutually intelligible to all the Serbs and Croats. One reason that this originally rather southern dialect could obtain acceptance in Croatia was that during the Turkish invasions and conquest and even later a great many people took refuge from the danger by migrating into the Croatian area and the now composite population flowed back as the danger receded; thus the speakers of various dialects, but only to a small extent those of the Slovene region, were mixed together, and a common idiom could be chosen not totally unfamiliar to any one. The differences between the two peoples have been marked enough so that Slovenians and Croats have regularly made separate settlements in the American cities as they have in Kansas City. Still the two stocks were so nearly alike that outsiders, even though they knew that there were two groups, had difficulty in distinguishing them. The immigration authorities did not try to, and the Senate investigators of 1909 and 1910, even when they made the effort, were usually in a state of confusion on the matter. U.S. Immigration data on the Croats and Slovenians follows.
United States Immigration Data on Croatians and Slovenians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>I Immigrants to all U.S.</th>
<th>II Immigrants with Destination Kansas</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>24</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>20,472</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>17,184</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>20,181</td>
<td>282</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>17,298</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>39,562</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>30,233</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>18,982</td>
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<td>24,366</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>35,104</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>37,284</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>44,272</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,942</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>47,286</td>
<td>475</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.7.1 Beginning in 1910 the United States census provides statistics on "mother-tongues" that allow us to separate Slovenians from Croats.

Speakers of Slovenian and Croatian in the U.S. and Selected States

(Foreign White Stock, that is, foreign-born and their children, as published in 1920. The figures published in 1910 are slightly different.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Slovenians 1910</th>
<th>Slovenians 1920</th>
<th>Serbo-Croatians 1910*</th>
<th>Serbo-Croatians 1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>181,594</td>
<td>208,552</td>
<td>128,064</td>
<td>200,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penna.</td>
<td>67,177</td>
<td>50,257</td>
<td>36,708</td>
<td>56,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I11.</td>
<td>16,482</td>
<td>21,595</td>
<td>15,966</td>
<td>24,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neb.</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>1,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>1,021</td>
<td>3,487</td>
<td>3,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kans.</td>
<td>1,493</td>
<td>2,935</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>3,538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In 1910 in all U.S. for Croatians alone, 93,036; Serbs,
26,752; Dalmations, 9,471, etc.; Croatian foreign-born, 74,036; Slovenian foreign-born, 12,663.

77.20 The Slovenians in Europe out of some 13 million South Slavs in 1910 numbered somewhere between one and one and a half millions, depending on how bilinguals were counted; population statistics for them were bound up with German and Slovenian national aspirations, and thus subject to dispute. Jose Rus, a Slovene, gives as the total for Slovenia in 1910 1,181,000 (quoted by Tomasevich, T 152). There were additional speakers in Hungary and Croatia amounting to 52,379 and 2,400 respectively in 1857. The Austrian Statistic Manual quoted by Drage (DA 60) furnishes the figures for 1900; the census for 1857 is quoted from Lévy. The distribution of Slovenian population among Austrian provinces for 1857 and 1900 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1857</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Styria</td>
<td>369,246</td>
<td>409,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carinthia</td>
<td>92,767</td>
<td>90,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carniola</td>
<td>421,398</td>
<td>475,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littoral (Küstenland)</td>
<td>198,451</td>
<td>212,978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,081,862</td>
<td>1,192,780</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The four Austrian provinces are grouped on the east frontier of Italy, Nos. 43, 47, 48, 49 of the map of p. 68 of Vol. I)

Arnez, rounding to the nearest thousand, presents for four censuses the official figures thus:
This increase was taking place despite the fact that considerable numbers of Slovenians in mixed districts were becoming Germans; after resisting for centuries they were yielding to the pressures of education and commerce (BS 90). The statistics show that despite some relief from emigration in the late 19th century population pressure was increasing. The Slovenians were only about a third of the populations of all the provinces but Carniola, which was solidly Slovene except for one important enclave, Gottschegg. In 1900 the Littoral contained 334,000 Italians and 144,000 Croats. Elsewhere the non-Slovenians were Germans. The more northern parts of Styria and Carinthia were purely German.

The Slovenian emigrants who went to Kansas seem very generally to have come from the sections nearer Italy, so much so that in the coal fields the Italian or Slovenian appearance of a family name is sometimes deceptive. Until 1884 Austrians computed emigration by means of permits issued. There were no significant numbers leaving the Slovenian provinces before 1884 except from the Littoral whence 812 left legally in 1867 and 2,293 in the two year period 1878-9. The first miners in Kansas must have been from this early wave. Nothing of great significance took place in the later eighties. In 1910 Mrs. Balch found that the emigra-
tion was mainly from Carniola; she reports as leaving that province:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-4</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-6</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-8</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>6,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-2</td>
<td>7,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-4</td>
<td>9,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Austrians after 1871 used port departures as a means of judging emigration overseas. The data from the ports nearest the Slovenian area (Genoa, Fiume, and Trieste) show an important upswing and peak in 1895 and 1896 and from 1904 rather steady embarkations of 12 or 13 thousand Austrians except for a dip in 1908 after the American panic of the preceding year; not 6,000 left in 1908.

77.3 The **Croatians**, as we have seen, occupied in small part the Austrian littoral. Also, as differentiated from Serbs, they lived in Dalmatia and somewhat in Bosnia but largely they lived in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, subject to the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary. In this kingdom, the western part of Croatia had a spur extending along the Adriatic coast, but the territory soon narrowed inland above Bosnia, then expanded somewhat at the meridian of Zagreb to a width of some 70 miles and thence stretched east in an elongated triangle that became Slavonia. Its southern boundary was the Sava River which empties into the Danube very close to Belgrade. The Slavonian section was not Croatian in population, but it did not furnish many emigrants to America and the statistics from Croatia-Slavonia therefore furnish a good guide as to Croatian movement. The census of 1857 shows Croats
and Serbs enumerated together as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littoral</td>
<td>132,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalmatia</td>
<td>369,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carniola</td>
<td>15,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>7,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary proper</td>
<td>518,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia-Slavonia</td>
<td>809,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military lands</td>
<td>865,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,718,211</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Serbo-Croat inhabitants of the Military lands and of Hungary proper were mostly Serbs, so that we may estimate the number of Croats at something more than one and a half million at that time. In 1900 the number of Croats in Croatia-Slavonia alone was slightly superior to 1,300,000. Then 2 1/6 millions spoke Serbo-Croatian; about 750,000 were orthodox, therefore Serbs. The increase of population for Croatia-Slavonia (including during the period of their existence the Military lands) is according to Tomasevich in thousands:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1914</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All authorities find that the overpopulation was great, and it excited great pressure for emigration.
Emigration to America began along the Croatian coast by 1850 but did not become great for some years. In the decade 1881-1890 Croatia-Slavonia gained 10,000 persons from migration, in the next decade lost 37,000. The four western counties back from the coast as far as Zagreb (Lieka-Krbava, Modrus-Fiume, Agram and Varashav) lost consistently -- 49,000 in the eighties, 60,000 in the nineties. Some of these went elsewhere in Europe, but the emigration to America was gaining momentum. Emigration statistics from Croatia-Slavonia begin only in 1904. Rounded to the nearest hundred they are for the decade beginning in 1904:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>13,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>27,100</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>16,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>24,700</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>8,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The port statistics from Fiume and Trieste also show that the peak in departures was in 1906 and 1907. The resumption in 1909 and 1910 appears greater in them, but a falling off again later.

In the Slovenian area the political push for emigration was practically non-existent. The demand for political autonomy developed late after centuries of accepted disunion and became urgent only as the First World War approached. The growth of Slovenian nationalism, was, however, important linguistically. In these Austrian provinces completely dominated for centuries by a German-speaking governing class, Slovenian was saved from ex-
tinction by religious fervor during the Reformation. The Protestant writers (Trubar, Dalmatin) established a literary language in their effort to appeal to all the people. Protestantism was ultimately destroyed completely, but the national language as distinguished from dialects persisted. The particularism inherent in the Romantic movement seized upon this tool in the late 18th century and put the language in a position to express abstract thought in a more extensive domain. In the period 1800-1849 Slovenian nationalism became strong, demanding education in the language of the people. Development of the vocabulary went on into the twentieth century to the extent that returning emigrants, and even some of limited early education who remained in Europe, did not know the meaning of writings in the language that they spoke.

77.6 After 1848 instruction in Slovenian in schools began to be tolerated. The law of 1868-1872 improved matters vastly so that Krek could say for Carniola in 1917, "A suitable place is given Slovenian in government administration and at school" (Kr 78). Still, in Carniola 28,000 Germans had 32 elementary schools (872:1) and 490,000 Slovenians had 388 (1288:1). Almost everywhere else the ratios were worse. But literacy was higher than among the Croatians; literacy in German was not unusual. Though the Germans as a ruling class irked the Slovenians more and more, the German language was very frequently regarded with no hostility. Each language had its place. Such attitudes made immigrants ready
to accept bilingualism in America, but, as with the Czechs, the first generations were slow to abandon their Slavic speech for use in the home because they were accustomed to a Heimprache different from the language of public usage (Umgangsprache).

The Croats had a much more firmly established tradition of political independence than the Slovenians. In fact the existence of something like a Croatian state goes back to the remote Middle Ages. Very early the Magyars regarded themselves as possessing a hegemony over the area. The centuries of war against the Turks made of the Croatian domain a buffer land where the government was such as could develop among raids and guerilla warfare. The nobles were tyrannical; the peasants revolted, and their risings were bloodily suppressed. Thus there grew up a curious combination of a fierce spirit of independence and of acceptance of deplorable conditions. The establishment in Napoleonic times of a French Illyria, a combination of South Slav states which included Slovenia, gave to both Croats and Slovenes a sense of a right to autonomy that persisted after Napoleon's downfall. The Croatians then came to possess a governmental unit which sided in 1848 with the Crown against Hungary, but was ill-rewarded. After the Compromise which created the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867, the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia became a territory administered separately, but with autonomy only in very local matters, from Budapest. Linguistically the Croats gained the privilege of using their language for official purposes, but the privilege was under
constant pressure for curtailment. In 1907 Magyar was made the official language of Croatian railroads (HK 78). The Magyars were masters who did not make themselves beloved, and the will for independence grew, made greater among the lowly by the founding of a Peasants Party. The push for emigration that resulted from this state of affairs was not so much from the direct irritations of government as from a pervading sense of insecurity because of political instability; also from governmental neglect of endeavors that would advance Croatia's economy as it might have been advanced, and from the adoption of measures of financial favoritism to Magyars. Railroad freight rates, for instance, were less from Hungary proper to Fiume than from Zagreb. A significant pressure for emigration resulted also from the migration of Serbian elements into the Croatian-Slavonian kingdom from still less favored sections that had been released from the Turks in 1878. The Hungarian government promoted this migration (DK 65). The increase in population went on. The political irritations under Serbian domination after the creation of Jugoslavia were still great though less, but American laws had cut off emigration.

The implications of what was said above regarding education in the Slovenian area was that illiteracy was low at least in Carniola and the sections with German neighbors. On the other hand, illiteracy in Croatia was relatively high. In 1921, the Yugoslav census shows that in the regions furnishing few immigrants, Macedonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro Serbia, illiteracy
ranged from 65% to 84%. The four other regions had percentages as follows:

- **Dalmatia**: 49.5%
- **Croatia-Slavonia**: 32.2%
- **Slovenia**: 8.8%
- **Vojvodina** (The Serbo-Croat area of old Hungary proper): 23.3%

Illiteracy in rural areas was much higher than in cities (T 198-99). The effect on emigrants of high illiteracy is comparable to that described for the Poles.

77.8 The Slovenians and Croatians of the period of emigration were all Roman **Catholics**. The Serbs were Orthodox and the hostility resulting between Serbs and Croatians kept them separate despite their common language. The separation held firm in America. The faith of the Slovenians was moderate, not influenced by nationalism. The fervor of the Croatians was greater, increased by the age-old friction with the Orthodox Serbians and perhaps by the greater lack of other cultural outlets. Religion furnished no push for emigration, but influenced developments in America.

77.9 The **economic stimulus to emigration** in both Croatia and Slovenia was certainly the most important factor. However, the economic situation was in large part the result of political and social developments. Of these over population was the most important, which brought about as elsewhere fragmentation of land holdings or the departure of the progeny left without land when holdings
were maintained, as was frequent in Slovenia. One feature in this area was the decline of the Zadrugas in Croatia during the period of emigration. Zadrugas were farming units made up of several related families who had a common dwelling and a communal organization of life. They were largely self-sufficient in their prosperous days, and broke up not only under the pressure of growth in numbers of members, but because new appetites developed, new taxes were imposed and the need to satisfy these with current money destroyed the possibility of patriarchal self-sufficiency. For lack of capital the smaller units created were economically inefficient like the fragments of large estates which had been broken up.

There was by departure also the possibility of escaping the irksomeness of patriarchal authority. The freight rate differentiations already spoken of were a political measure making the economic situation worse. There was also the general European agricultural depression of the late 19th century at work in this area (T 176). It was exasperated in certain wine growing areas in both Slovenia and Croatia by the invasion of phylloxera. The building of a railroad from the interior to Fiume destroyed primitive freighting through the mountains, and men left idle tended to emigrate. Very frequently the absence was meant to be temporary, and families were left behind. Sometimes those who expected to return did come back, but often to be dissatisfied, and depart once more. Their movements make the statistics on migration somewhat less valid. Remittances from America to families at home were a perceptible element in the regional income.
Though Slovenians came early to the United States, nothing that could be called the beginning of a settlement antedates the Civil War. "Slovenians are said to have first appeared in Chicago and in Iowa about 1863, and in 1866 they founded their chief farming colony in Brockway, Minnesota. They were in Omaha in 1868. About 1873 their present large colony in Joliet was founded. They began to come to New York about 1878." So says Mrs. Balch (Ba 233) and adds other data (Ba 269) provided by Slovenian Americans. The 25,000 in 23 places in Pennsylvania in 1907 were "generally coal miners, laborers in steelworks, business men (saloon keepers ...) ...." The Slovenians had appeared there well before 1878. The 15,000 in Ohio "largely in and about Cleveland" were mostly "factory laborers." Michigan had 7,000 "(3,000 or 4,000 in Calumet and the adjacent copper mining settlements)," 10,000 miners in Colorado, 5,000 miners in Montana. The settlement in Milwaukee grew up late; it had no church in 1915; St. John's which served it had 400 families in 1951. In Illinois there were 10,000 "besides big colonies in Joliet (with 3,000, or, according to a local estimate, 9,000) and Chicago and South Chicago (with 2,000)." With bad times in Kansas coal fields the settlement at Joliet received many of those who left. The coal fields received most of the rest of those in Illinois, but the concentrations were not great. The element at Oglesby was most nearly related to Kansas mining groups; it too was greatly reduced by coal mining decline. The relations of Kansas coal miners with Pennsylvania were in the early days fre-
quent. In 1900 the South Slav churches in that state were all in Allegheny County where Pittsburgh is located; two were Slovenian and two were Croatian.

78.1 The Serbo-Croatians were very frequently in the same centers as the Slovenians in the United States. The Croatians in the narrower sense of the term were about half as numerous as the Slovenians in 1910, and in the western areas where both had settlements their relative proportions were, unlike those in Kansas City, similar. For instance in 1915 at Joliet, Illinois, where each had a church, the Croatian Church had 180 pupils in its school, the Slovenian, 637. Mrs. Balch reported both groups at Calumet, Michigan, and Pueblo, Colorado; the Slovenians had a church in each but not the Croatians. In Chicago on the other hand the Croatians had three churches and the Slovenians only two; each had a church in the stockyards district. Croatians in the coal fields were in parts of Illinois as well as in Pennsylvania more numerous than in Kansas, as at Mount Olive and Beld northeast of St. Louis. In all coal areas taken together they were more numerous than Slovenians, which forms a contrast with Kansas. In Ohio the Croatians outnumbered the Slovenians, but seem to have had little relation with Kansas.

78.2 The Slovenians and Croats remained loyal to the Roman Catholic church in the United States. National parishes were readily created for them. Mrs. Balch (Ba 387) in 1910 reported for the Slovenians 42 priests and 2 bishops in the United States, for the Croatians 10 churches. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia
there were in 1912 92 Slovenian priests in the United States, 
25 churches, and 16 Croatian parishes, an increase of 4 since 1908.*

* The Kansas City, Kansas, church is included among the 
Croatian churches of 1908, also three in the Pittsburgh, Pa., area, 
one at Steelton near Harrisburg in Pa., one each in Calumet, Michi-
gan, and Great Falls, Montana, the rest in cities, Chicago, Cleve-
land, San Francisco.

The small number of parishes in mining areas shows that the same 
thing was true elsewhere as in Kansas; parishes were difficult to 
establish in a floating population.

78.30 Mining population, as just suggested, was too unstable to 
allow foundation of parishes solely for one nationality. Resis-
tance to being obligated to mingle with other nationals if an im-
migrant was to worship cut down church attendance in such mixed 
parishes. Still some of these complex parishes prospered suffi-
ciently. An example in Illinois containing a Croatian element 
exists in the now almost inactive Staunton-Litchfield area in Ma-
coupin County on the highway from St. Louis to Springfield. In 
that district, at Benld, the people of St. Joseph's parish are 
35% Slovak, 15% Italian, 15% Croatians, and the rest scattered 
(see also # 82.71). Conditions in 1961 had long been such as to 
permit linguistic conservatism, for the parishioners were mostly 
old; the proportion between births and deaths was one to three. 
As late as the beginning of the Second World War the use of for-
eign language was wide spread. It narrowed as death removed
speakers. The pastor was still hearing a few confessions in Italian; some 25 had gone to a Slovak priest who had recently come to hear them. The Croats needing and preferring similar service were too few to warrant bringing them a special confessor. An example which includes Slovenians exists at Oglesby in LaSalle County (61 133) in northern Illinois. Nearby in the city of LaSalle St. Roch's parish was originally a Slovenian national parish, and was served by Slovenian priests at least through 1960, when there were 139 pupils in its school. The Slovenians at Oglesby had found work in LaSalle when the mines closed down. The people at Sacred Heart in Oglesby (800 families) were originally Poles (see #76.73); they were displaced largely by Italians and Slovenians to whom Lithuanians were joined when their own parish was abolished. Less than 1% of this varied group clamored for religious use of their own tongue in 1951, among Slovenians about 2%. In non-religious connections the older Slovenians were using Slovenian with each other, but usage had declined very greatly after 1930.

78.31g In the national parishes of the cities official church usage was much more faithful to Slovenian and Croatian. The pastor of St. John's in Milwaukee died in the summer of 1951. He had preached in Slovenian in three masses out of four; his assistant after his death confined himself to English. At St. Stephen's in Chicago the Franciscans preached in English at all six masses, but also preached in Slovenian at three. They felt that the Slovenian
language was best preserved in Cleveland, but much more so in Chicago than in Kansas City with which they were acquainted, and attributed the difference to the lack of preaching in Kansas City. At St. George's in South Chicago conditions were similar to those in Kansas City; there were only songs in Slovenian. The Slovenian churches at the time were under the patriotic influence of the refugee bishop of Ljubliana in exile from the communistic Yugoslav state. Other priests were refugees with him and made a conservative influence when they were placed among compatriots. Some because of their proficiency in German went to German settlements where they were again a conservative influence. One of them, Ivan Lavrich, reached the Colwich-St. Mark's German settlement in Kansas. As regards preaching conditions at St. Joseph's in Joliet (1100 families and named as having the finest church structure in 1912 by the Catholic Encyclopedia), they were very similar to those at St. Stephen's in Chicago; four sermons out of seven were in Slovenian. These were specifically for the immigrants, who were old; they made up 18% of the parishioners, and not even all of them insisted on Slovenian. At Joliet the Croatian church, St. Mary's, possessed in 1951 a linguistic pattern similar to that at St. Stephen's; it had been broken, however, for a number of years before by having a Slovak priest who did not preach in Croatian. The return to Croatian expressed a continuing demand of the old. At Pittsburgh the linguistic persistence of the Croats in matters of religion as compared with the Slovenians may be seen thus; the Croatian churches in 1949 were still classed
as national (like most Slavic churches in the area), but not the Slovenian churches. At Omaha where national parishes were largely taboo (there was one Lithuanian church in 1915) the Croatians along with the other Slavs were considered by the clergy as being religiously persistent in foreign language usage.

Instruction in the native language in the homes of immigrants from Slovenia was not uncommon; rare among the Croatians, among whom illiteracy on arrival was more common. In 1915 not all South Slav churches had parochial schools. In the Pittsburgh area there were none for Croatians; the Slovenian school at St. Mary's was attended by 166. In Cleveland two Slovenian parishes out of three had schools, 1,472 pupils at St. Vitus' and St. Lawrence's. The one Croatian parish, St. Paul's, had 250 pupils. In the Cleveland diocese a Slovenian parish at Lorain had 270 pupils and a Croatian parish at Youngstown 120. In Chicago the two Slovenian parishes had no schools, the three Croatian, one with 60 pupils. In Joliet Slovenian St. Joseph's had 637 pupils, Croatian St. Mary's 180. Slovenian St. Roch's at Lasalle, Illinois, had 121 pupils. These statistics show that, although there were half as many Croatians in the United States as Slovenians, the number of Slovene pupils in 1915 was much more than twice that of the Croatians. Croatian education in Kansas City where St. John's had 276 pupils, more than any Croatian school named above, was therefore far advanced in comparison with other parishes. Considering the size of the parish Slovenian Holy Family School with
60 pupils was nearly parallel with other centers. The Catholic Encyclopedia lists only Kansas City, Joliet, and Cleveland as having Slovenian sisters to instruct in the language.

78.5 The Slovene National Benefit Society, more frequently abbreviated SNPJ (Slovenske Narodne Podpore Jednote), is the most important of the numerous Slovenian societies. It had at one time at least 764 chapters; in 1949 there were 558. It was organized in 1904 at Chicago with early lodges at Cleveland and Pittsburgh. Among Catholic Slovenian societies the Carniolian Catholic Union is the oldest, founded in Joliet in 1894. It had 100 councils and 12,000 members in 1912.

78.60 The National Croatian Society (N.H.Z., Narodne Hrvatske Zajednice) with 22,000 members in 1910, 29,000 in 1912, (Ba 381) was an important early society of the Croats. Its name indicates the greater importance of nationalism among Croats as compared with Slovenes. The Croatian Fraternal Union was organized in 1894 at Allegheny, Pennsylvania (later Pittsburgh's north side). At Allegheny in 1907 the United Croatian societies were publishing a paper, Napredak.

78.61g After the First World War and the birth of Jugoslavia many societies took the name Jugoslav, for instance, as recorded in 1937 by Brown'Roucek, "20 Sokol societies with 3,000 members," "250,000 Yugoslavs . . . in 15 national fraternal and insurance organizations," "several hundred independent benefit societies, locally, which with the 2,700 branches of the national organiza-
tions bring the total up to nearly 3,000" (BR 250). The South Slavs of Kansas City apparently felt no more drawn to each other before than after 1919. Croatian-Polish marriages and Slovenian-Polish were more common than Croatian-Slovenian. Elsewhere, too, it would appear that it was usually Croatians who availed themselves of the term Jugoslav, and Croatians of a leftish turn, who were not numerous in Kansas City and deserted the Kansas coal fields early.

78.7 The South Slav press was to a large extent made up of the "organs" of the churches, societies and lodges as noted above for Croatian *Napredak* and their *Zajednicar* (organ of the N.H.Z., mentioned above). One of these was a daily, and the Slovenians in 1907 also had one (Ba 383). *Napredak* was first issued at Hoboken in 1891 and *Amerikanski Slovenec* appeared in the same year, but they had been antedated by another Slovenian paper, *Slovenska Sloga*, which began publication in San Francisco in 1884 (BR 250). In 1937 there were "45 established Yugoslav publications" (BR 251) including 8 dailies. The close connection between the press and the societies made for reading by more persons even though the amount read might not be extensive for each individual. The conservative linguistic effect of these publications was considerable, though lessened by their tendency toward bilingualism exhibited even early.

78.8 Serbs have held themselves apart not only from the Slovenians whose language is different but from the Croats who speak the same
language. The great barrier has been that of religion. There were, says Mrs. Balch (Ba 387) 6 Serbian Orthodox churches in 1910, 30 in 1937 say Brown-Roucek. They were not organized into a diocese until after the First World War. The church in Kansas City, organized in 1905, is therefore one of the early establishments. The diocesan see is at Libertyville in extreme northeastern Illinois, and a large settlement exists in the Pittsburgh area. Joliet too has its Serbians strong enough to build a hall in 1904. In 1955 the Serbian National Federation was flourishing and issued a newspaper, American Srbobran, with editions in Serbian and English.

The displacement of the Croatian and Slovenian languages has elsewhere shown the same tendencies as in Kansas. Slovenian immigrants because of their contact with German and Italian in Europe added English to their stock of languages more readily than the Croatians, and because more Croatian sons and daughters were obliged to talk Croatian with their parents, their second generation had more examples of bilingual proficiency than the Slovenian second generation, but with the third generation Englishizing was as complete in one stock as in the other. The statement above concerning sermons shows rather well what the tendencies have been, but here is additional evidence outside church usage for 1951. In Milwaukee an informant born ca. 1914 in Minnesota was proficient in Slovenian but said regretfully that few of her age were, although there were still some children able to speak it somewhat. In Chicago the report was that the third generation knew no Slovenian, but that many who were "young" (presumably in
their thirties) understood but did not speak the language. Earlier predictions that Slovenian would have disappeared by 1938 had not been fulfilled. In Joliet a priest said that "those born here don't speak" referring to both Slovenians and Croatians, but at Cleveland he found more conservatism. At Oglesby the Slovenians had remained faithful to their language longer than other stocks because they had lived "in groups," but the younger ones were losing it. In Omaha the Croatians with other Balto-Slavs were regarded as conservative compared with other stocks. At Benld, Ill. (see #78.30 and 79.3), in 1961 only 2% of the Croatians remained faithful to their native tongue. At Mount Olive (sec. # 79.3) nearby the Croatians were more conservative. We have here at once a record of adherence to the old tongue under trying pressures and abandonment by new generations.

79.0 Those Balto-Slav languages represented in Kansas by small groups of speakers only have received passing attention in the preceding discussion, for-ling coal miners in Sections 49.33 ff., particularly the Slovaks in Section 72.0, the Lithuanians and East Slavs in Section 76.53 and the Serbs in Section 78.8. Ukrainians or Ruthenians were so few in Kansas that no effort is made to treat them in this volume. An ample treatment of the linguistic problem of Ukrainian immigrants is to be found in Fishman, Language Loyalty in the U.S., 318-359. No data on the linguistic behavior of any of these groups in the United States outside of Kansas has so far been presented . except as it appears in the sections on coal mining. More follows.
79.1  In northern Illinois in 1951 the Slovaks at Streator were reported to be just leaving the period when the language question in church was bitter; the old were just beginning to be reconciled to the linguistic apostasy of the young. At Oglesby not far off the Lithuanians like the Slovenians (see # 78.30) there had only about 2% insisting on the use of their language in religion. The surrender had however been recent, and had occurred because they could not support a church.

79.2  In Southern Illinois in the Herrin-Marion coal fields, in 1952, at West Frankfort the Slovaks, Lithuanians, and Poles (see # 49.36) were still speaking their foreign language if they were old, but the younger people were intermarrying readily so that English in homes with growing children was normal. Among the Slavs at Christopher, largely Polish (see # 76.73) but with Slovaks present, there were less than ten in St. Andrew's parish unable to speak English. Those born about 1930 knew a few words of foreign language. At Herrin conditions were similar. The national lodges were still important.

79.3  In central Illinois in the Staunton-Litchfield area (see # 49.35) in 1961 Lutheran Slovaks at Staunton listened to a Slovak pastor twice a month from Granite City; only a handful attended. The younger married people were never heard to use Slovak. Among the Catholics there were ten who required a Slovak priest for confessions. At Benld (see # 79.3) in a mixed Catholic parish there were 25 or 30 who confessed in Slovak, used Slovak prayer
books and sang in Slovak; the few Lithuanians did not draw attention. Benld was of later origin than Staunton -- miners came from Pennsylvania about 1915. At Mount Olive Slovaks were brought to the mines about 1887. A Catholic church was founded after 1900, Ascension, for all nationalities, but by 1915 the Slovak national church, Holy Trinity, already existed and in 1960 was still officially national. It appears to have been intended at first as much for Croatians as Slovaks, but dissension arose and locally Ascension Church, which at first had had Irish pastors, became known as the Croatian Church (sec. 78.9). The people of the town were persistent enough in the use of Slavic so that business was sometimes carried on in those languages in 1961. Mount Olive showed linguistic conservatism among the Germans, too.

The Slavs of the New Immigration who just after the great influx were frequently described as unassimilable have become Engl-ized more rapidly than the Old Immigrants largely because of pressure from other Americans from 1918 to 1930 and because new foreign blood could be added after 1914 only in the brief period before the immigration laws became severe toward them.
The Romance languages that have been spoken in Kansas by immigrants are Italian, French, and Spanish. Portuguese, Rumanian, and the languages which have no nation bearing a related name have had no noteworthy representation among speakers in this state.* Speakers of French are represented mainly by 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.

Canadians, speakers of Spanish overwhelmingly by Mexicans. The only stock in Kansas speaking a Romance language and emigrating from Europe after 1800 is the Italian. They will occupy us first.

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Da - Davenport, William E. "The Italian Immigrant in America" Outlook, LXXIII (3 Jan., '03), 29-37.
Fa - Falorsi, Vittorio, Problemi di Emigrazione. Bologna, 1924.
H - Howe, Maude. "From Italy to Pittsburgh," Lippincott's, Feb. 1901, 200-205.
MI - Mariano, John H. The Italian Contribution to American Democracy. Boston, 1921.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Park and Miller</td>
<td>Old World Traits Transplanted</td>
<td>Chicago, 1925.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisani, Lawrence F</td>
<td>The Italian in America</td>
<td>New York, 1957.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probyn, John W</td>
<td>Italy 1815 to 1890</td>
<td>London, 1891.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose, Philip M</td>
<td>The Italians in America</td>
<td>New York, 1922.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russo, Giacomo Barone</td>
<td>L'Emigration et ses Effets dans le midi de l'Italie</td>
<td>Paris, 1912.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sartorio, Enrico G</td>
<td>Social and Religious Life of Italians in America</td>
<td>Boston, 1918.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silone, Ignazio</td>
<td>Fontanara, tr. by David and Mosbacher</td>
<td>London, 1934.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toschi, Umberto</td>
<td>Geografia economica</td>
<td>Turin, 1959.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In many other parts of the United States Italians were much more numerous than in Kansas. Statistics from California and from several states with Italian inhabitants who had connections with Kansas are:

Persons Born in Italy Residing in the United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States*</td>
<td>1,610,113</td>
<td>1,343,125</td>
<td>484,207</td>
<td>182,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>3,406</td>
<td>3,520</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>545,173</td>
<td>472,201</td>
<td>182,248</td>
<td>64,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>222,764</td>
<td>196,122</td>
<td>66,655</td>
<td>24,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>60,658</td>
<td>61,620</td>
<td>11,321</td>
<td>3,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>94,407</td>
<td>72,163</td>
<td>23,523</td>
<td>8,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>88,504</td>
<td>63,615</td>
<td>22,777</td>
<td>15,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>14,609</td>
<td>12,984</td>
<td>4,385</td>
<td>2,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>3,548</td>
<td>3,799</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>4,985</td>
<td>5,846</td>
<td>1,198</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The size of the Italian stock in the United States has, of course, been much greater. Rose in 1922 quoted Mangano as estimating that there
were three and a half million Italians in the United States (Ro 25). The statistics and discussion which follow do not attempt to take into account immigrants from the Italian districts held by Austria before the First World War. These people are in the United States generally referred to by other Italians as Tirolesi (Tyrolese). The district most appropriately giving rise to this name is Trentino, and some of the people so designated came from Istria, the district around Trieste. These people furnished part of the Italian element in the coal fields, including the Crawford-Cherokee area. Falorsi in 1924 reported that one tenth of the Trentino population was in the United States. The people from the region for a long time were given to seasonal migrations for work. The heavy permanent emigration which began about the end of the nineteenth century was influenced by the political conditions (Fa 229-231). See also the discussion of the Slovenians. The economic push was similar to that for Slovenians and north Italians. In the United States they amalgamated with other north Italians.

Among these states Pennsylvania and Illinois are of the most interest, for the coal mining relations of Kansas were greatest with these two. Some of the Missouri Italian-born were part of the Crawford-Cherokee group, about one hundred in 1920. An equal number in Kansas City, Kansas, were in some sort an appendage of the Kansas City, Missouri, settlement which will briefly concern us.

The Italians entering the United States numbered something over a thousand annually from 1854 till 1860; the immigration fell off during the Civil War but in 1866 reached 1,382. Beginning in 1869 the number of Italians arriving in the United States was as follows:
The pertinent immigration statistics for the period beginning in 1899 are set forth in Section 81.4; a distinction is first necessary.

81.3 North Italy furnished most of the Italians to Kansas and further data will separate North from South. The distinction between Italians from the North and from the South is important because (1) the groups of dialects in the two areas are quite different, (2) the conditions bringing about emigration from Italy were not identical, (3) hostility between the two stocks both in Italy and in the United States was common, and (4) South Italians, more frequently than North Italians have been subject to segregative tendencies in the United States and this in turn has affected Englishing. A number of quotations will serve to bring out opinions on this distinction.

In 1909 the British authors, King and Okey, spoke of "the contrast between the industrial, progressive, democratic North and the agricultural, stagnant, feudal South, where ... illiterates are nearly thrice as many, where there are three or more times as many murders and violent assaults..."
[where] the wealth per head is only half as great" (KO-111). This opinion is expressed uncharitably, even unfairly, but with somewhat different emphases it has been repeated many times before and since. (For attenuations of King and Okey's judgment see '9, 114, 115.) And Italians can be at least as severe; Ferreri, in 1907, said of the South that "modern times are a myth there, and progress and civilization are yet to come like the Messiah to the Hebrews" (Fr51).

Concerning the hostility in the United States the 1909 Investigators inter alia comment on "different races and nationalities, some of which may be more or less hostile to each other, such as the North and South Italians" ('9, 332). Foerster comments that "the North Italians repudiated kinship with the Napolitans and Calabrians" (FI 325). Pisani, who does not reveal the origins of his own family, repudiates this division: "The remark was often heard that whatever faults the speaker might attribute to Italians in general, the North Italians, who 'were all right,' were exempted. Some North Italians... themselves sometimes made the distinction" (Pl, 116). In 1964, Glazer and Moynihan still felt it necessary in dealing with the Italians of New York City to devote a page to the distinction between North and South Italians and to speak of "the disdain of the Northern and Central Italians and the Southern gentry for the South Italian and Sicilian peasant. South Italians were considered inferior, hardly civilized." (GM, 184). The need to combat the hostility in Italy is expressed in this sentence which Edmondo de Amicis makes a Piedmontese schoolmaster pronounce to his class: "Any one of you who would insult this schoolmate because he was not born in our province [but in Reggio in Calabria] would become unworthy of ever again
raising his eyes from the ground when an Italian flag goes by." (Cuore, 22 October).

For the period after 1899, the comparative size of North and South Italian immigration is made clear by the statistics published by the Immigration Commissioner who then began to distinguish North from South Italians.

**ITALIANS TO KANSAS FROM U.S. PORTS AND TOTAL ARRIVALS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>North Italians</th>
<th>South Italians</th>
<th>North Italians</th>
<th>South Italians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13,091</td>
<td>65,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17,316</td>
<td>84,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22,103</td>
<td>115,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27,620</td>
<td>152,915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>37,429</td>
<td>196,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>36,699</td>
<td>159,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>39,930</td>
<td>186,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>46,286</td>
<td>240,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>51,264</td>
<td>242,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24,700</td>
<td>110,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>25,150</td>
<td>165,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>30,780</td>
<td>192,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>30,212</td>
<td>159,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26,434</td>
<td>135,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>42,534</td>
<td>231,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>44,802</td>
<td>251,612</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many more of these people stayed in Kansas than was generally true of Italians in the United States. Thirteen North and two South Italians from Kansas left U.S. ports in 1913; 7 North and 18 South in 1914. The contrast in the proportion of North and South Italians in Kansas as opposed to those in urban and industrial states during the twentieth century was great as the sample data below show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italians to Selected States from U.S. Ports in 1913</th>
<th>North Italians</th>
<th>South Italians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>9,398</td>
<td>91,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut*</td>
<td>1,919</td>
<td>9,503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>12,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>2,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Italians in New Haven are of particular interest. They numbered:

1900 - 5,262; 1910 - 24, 954; 1920 - 32,696.

Italian statistics on emigration to the United States have somewhat smaller figures than those of the U.S. Immigration Commissioner concerning Italians because many persons departed from Italy without going through formalities. Prior to 1869 emigration was recorded through departures from Genoa and French ports. It amounted to about 6,000 in 1861, held steady for several years, leaped to nearly 10,000 in 1866 and to nearly 22,000 in 1867. Except when it achieved escape from military service (see A 438), the Italian government was benevolent toward emigration during the period which
interests us most, roughly 1865-1915, and there were few obstacles to movement. Emigration, of moment from the beginning of the period, grew heavier as it progressed. Two factors are more important for the Italians than for other emigrating stocks — the variety of destinations and the return flow. Seasonal migration is of importance with many stocks, and it played its part in Italy, but Italian returnees had frequently been abroad longer than seasonal work required. Indeed, in the years of the twentieth century, before the Wars, at least half of the emigrants to the United States were coming back home -- for how long a time we cannot be sure. If they left for America before manhood, most became Americans (H, 207). About 90% of those going elsewhere in Europe returned (FI 30-32). In other words, as time went on more and more people returned to spend the money they had accumulated abroad, or to escape bad times overseas, as was true particularly in 1907 and 1908 (L 204).

Arias says in 1919: "The great majority of our workers have no other preoccupation than immediate return home with a bit of capital, ready again to set foot on American territory, with no less eagerness, when they have exhausted their savings or the will to increase them prevails" (A 449, similarly H 207, Sa 63, Pi 49, and W 17). Two authorities (Pi and W) emphasize the fact that the intention to return to Italy was frequently not carried out. There were also many who did remain in Italy after return.

Foerster by subtracting the census population from the number of persons natural increase would have given Italy calculates as follows (FI 42):
Total Net Emigration from Italy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862-1871</td>
<td>16,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-1881</td>
<td>362,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-1901</td>
<td>2,190,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>1,621,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire Period</td>
<td>4,190,288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The destinations included North Africa, Western Europe, and South America as well as the United States, and the numbers were in all cases considerable, but the emigration to North America was by far the most important. The growth of emigration from the South is evident in these statistics furnished by Arias (A 237; see also Ru 161-175):

Mean Annual Emigration From the South of Italy per 10,000 Inhabitants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-90</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-95</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-100</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-05</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-07</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-09</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-13</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The population pressure for emigration from Italy, implied above becomes clearer with direct figures on the increase of population. In 1800 the population of Italy was perhaps less than 15 millions. In round numbers it was in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>18,383,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>23,617,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>26,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>28,460,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>32,450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>34,687,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian census data interests us primarily for Northern and southern Italy -- in the north particularly the Alpine and sub-Alpine region and Umbria, north of Rome, of which Perugia is the capital. Ultimate Kansans in the first section came from Liguria, Piedmont, Lombardy and Venezia,
which include great cities like Turin and Milan, fertile plains like the Po Valley, important seaports like Genoa and Venice as well as the thinly populated Alpine valleys that furnished almost all the emigrants. The census statistics for these compartimenti therefore give an exaggerated idea of the density of population in areas exporting emigrants. In the provincia of Bellino for instance, where no large town existed the density was only 2/5 as great in 1911 as in the compartimento of Venetia. As a whole, that is nearly the same as in Basilicata. In the south, Campania with Naples furnished population to Kansas, but the statistics from Apulia, Basilicata, and Calabria, the heel, arch, and toe of the Italian boot, and from Sicily are also revealing. In terms of inhabitants per square kilometer, the data are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piedmont (Turin had 1/10 of total population)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardy (includes Milan)</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venetia</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbria</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania (Naples had 1/6 of total population)</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apulia</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basilicata</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Everywhere in these compartimenti except in Basilicata and Venetia population was increasing despite emigration.
Since natural increase everywhere in Italy was similar, we may conclude that the Northern countryside was emptied in the three decades 1880-1910 as rapidly as the Southern. Increase per square kilometer was approximately 6% in each case though the rate of increase slowed in Calabria and remained steady in Piedmont, doubtless because the city of Turin was growing. It doubled in population between 1871 and 1911 (A 305). In the later years, particularly after 1900, the departures in the North were less often for destinations abroad than in the South. Industry was absorbing more Northerners. Further evidence as to this fact is offered by the census statistics on those absent from home. For the Kingdom the absent were 3.4% of the population in 1901, 5.4% in 1911. In 1911 the Abruzzi and Calabria were above this mean (ca 4.5%). Venetia 7.4%, the Marches 6.1% and Piedmont 5.7% were also above it. The proportion of the absent who were abroad was below the average, 58.5%, in all the North but Venetia where it was 69%; in the South it was above the average, more than in Venetia except for Apulia, as high as 78.2% in Sicily. Two-thirds of those abroad from the South were in the United States, 4 or 5% in Europe. 83% of the citizens of Venetia abroad were in Europe, two-thirds of those from Piedmont and Lombardy, three-fifths of those from Umbria. Liguria had 4.4% of the absent abroad in Europe, large numbers were in the United States (A 317-19).

81.7 The linguistic situation in Italy affected not the amount of emigration but the behavior of emigrants. Italian dialects differ a great deal from each other, no more than Low German from High German dialects, nor French from Provencal, nor Castilian from Catalan, but more perhaps than the Scandinavian languages from each other or than Slovenian from Serbo-Croatian.
The dialects do not have the same importance as the Slavic and Scandinavian examples because only one cultural language developed from all the dialects of Italy, but they have much more importance than the dialects in France and Germany because in Italy at least into the twentieth century dialect remained the accepted manner of exchanging oral ideas and the written language counted for less where so many were illiterate*. On this matter Luigi Villari

* See inter alia KO 203. Hall in 1948 pointed out as a recent phenomenon that "through universal education, the use and control of standard Italian has passed from the few to the many" (Ha 239).

writing for a British audience in 1902 is quoted by other Italians without dissent during the first quarter of the twentieth century:

"Every one in Italy speaks dialect. Each region has its own vernacular, and so marked is the difference between, say, Piedmontese and Neapolitan, that even a foreigner will notice it.... The different dialects are spoken not only by the common people, but by the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. Even the late King and his father were wont to use the Piedmontese vernacular when speaking to people of that province.... At Florence, Lucca, and at Siena, particularly at the latter place, the language is fairly pure but even [there one finds] local inflections and locutions. Among the upper classes in Tuscany pure Italian is generally spoken. In the rest of Italy it is used as a written tongue, and is spoken in the company of foreigners or of Italians from different provinces.... A North Italian and a South Italian will understand each other, because each will try to use as many purely Italian words as he can, but a Northerner will not understand two
Sicilians who are talking by themselves" (V li, see also Ch 21). Carr went a trifle farther in 1906 maintaining that "an ignorant Valtellinese, from the mountains of the North, and an ignorant Neapolitan have as yet no means of understanding each other" (CC 419). These authors draw their examples of mutual incomprehensibility from the extreme North and the extreme South, but Carr also points out that "the speech of the unschooled peasant of Genoa is unintelligible to his fellow in Piedmont, who lives less than 100 miles away." No where else in Italy are contrasts within a few miles quite so great, and few, even in the 19th century, were the Italians unable to muster up enough words of standard Italian to communicate with some one who came from a distance, but the effort required was considerable and unwelcome.*

* Sartorio declares that the dialects "stand in the way of the national unity of the race" (Sa 40). Rose states that "villages within sight of one another vary widely in language and customs" (RO 39). Miss Williams (W 10) gives examples to illustrate her discussion of the great dialectal differences. Radin (R 2) insists on the dialectal gap between social gradients (see also Si 10), but the privileged classes were fond of dialect — see the Villari quotation above. Vaughan is describing the attitude of this "upper crust" when he says in 1926 "Italian is a formal language. It is learned from textbooks and is for polite discourse with strangers and for literature possessing some dignity. In the heart of the family and between the closest friends the more familiar and spontaneous dialect is the natural medium of expression." (Va 43). On the other hand Ignazio Silone, though, like Radin, he says that his people of Fontamara in the Abruzzi do not understand the speech of the men from the cities, makes his protagonist declare, "In the
the Argentine... I talked to peasants of all races from Spaniards to Indians and we understood one another (Si 22). The Fontamaran spoke truth; basic Romance is similar enough along the rim of the Mediterranean to permit such interchanges, at least when the objects discussed are lying before one.

Italians and South Italians were therefore very nearly two linguistic entities, and, particularly in the South, the speech characteristics of some one from another village, near or far, marked him at once as a forestiere, a foreigner, a person not to be trusted. When people with such notions emigrated, the effect on their speech development as on all their social life was great.

81.8 The political events in Italy during the nineteenth century favored the North rather than the South. The Risorgimento which ended with the unification of Italy had its origins and the seat of almost all its effective efforts in the North. The most notable exception was Garibaldi's campaign of 1860; Garibaldi came by sea to Sicily from Genoa. The North was continually stimulated to exhibitions of initiative, and its citizens were of a mind to take action whenever any type of conditions was unsatisfactory. In the South the Kingdom of Naples forbade emigration, and while the rule of the Bourbons was, though tyrannical, so weak that it could not have halted a determined exodus, the Southerners did not seek to depart for other lands to escape misery that was to them a matter of course. The beginnings of emigration there came only after the unification of Italy. Evidence in this respect is furnished by the U.S. Immigration records which, until 1867, distinguished immigrants from Sicily from those from continental Italy. Bi-
tween 1851 and 1860 only 469 Sicilians came to the United States whereas there were nearly 10,000 from all Italy. Arias states in 1919 that Southern emigration began first in the mountainous area of Basilicata "about 1860 and has gradually become more marked since that year" (A 225). In the north restlessness of a group more highly evolved economically under much less evil conditions (Ro 26) began earlier, and resulted in emigration. In 1845, 20,000 left Genoa mainly for Argentina (Fe 812). In 1859 the figure was 5,000 and a comparable number left Genoa for the next several years. Linguistically the effect of unification upon Italy was to give more prestige to standard Italian. The written word was more important in the North than in the South and consequently there was greater familiarity with standard speech, though dialects had not been abandoned by the masses. In the South the use of the language with prestige seemed as distant to the contadini as other things aristocratic. Bi-lingualism was only beginning to be forced upon them by political forces. The unification of Italy made the North more prosperous and the South less so. The new government laid on heavier taxes than the old (A 209, FI 89, ff., Fi 47, Ko 113), and by improving transport brought the goods of the South into ruinous competition with those transported from the North (A 226). Dickinson in 1955 explained additional factors hurting the south. "Between 1860 and 1900 the unification of Italy dealt a severe blow to the South first, as a result of the abolition of customs barriers, which by permitting the import of foreign goods caused a decline of industry in the South; second, by the adoption of a protectionist system between 1883 and 1888 to defend the industries of the North that had arisen during the twenty-five years of free trade. Between 1900 and 1938 this disequilibrium in the distribution of industry between the North and the South steadily increased and the cumulative factors that
favored growth in the North exacerbated the depressed conditions in the South” (Di 10, see also Ko 113). Later governments came to feel that a "depressed South" was injurious to the economy of all Italy, but even the determined effort of the 1950's to aid the South, while it resulted in amelioration, did not make the South advance as rapidly as the North was advancing at the same time so that in the 1960's the economic gap was still greater between them than it had been in former years.

81.9 The economic situation in Italy has long been dominated by the "disequilibrium between the capacities for production and consumption of the population and the means at its disposition either to occupy its whole potentiality of available labor on the one hand or on the other to satisfy its needs" (T 398). Economic considerations, whether the result of political developments or more inherent conditions provided the principal push for Italian emigration and also almost the sole pull from abroad.* The response by

* Falorsi's lyrical summary of the elements of the pull reflects the prospective emigrant's own feelings: "America: -- a sonorous word from a distant land, a mysterious country where there was work for everyone and where wages were paid in multiples [of the pay current in Italy] according to the most recent information, the country from which in a short time fellow townsmen had sent home sums sufficient to pay off the old debt that weighed upon the ancestral cottage, a vast country where pay was in dollars." (Fa 234). See also L 176.

emigrants to economic conditions in both Italian departures and returns was more immediate and more radical than with most emigrating stocks. The
effect on returns is to be explained by the common expectation, at least in the South, of coming home to enjoy the money earned. The linguistic result of this phenomenon was conservative. Why learn a foreign language while you are abroad if you were to be gone only briefly? If bettered conditions abroad led to another departure, the old habits of speech had been made firmer by the second immersion in early environment.

Economically, though the North of Italy is the more prosperous half of the country, the areas which have furnished most of the emigrants to Kansas have been less prosperous and in the second half of the twentieth century are recognized as "depressed." "Almost all mountainous areas present conditions which have posed a 'mountain problem,' a problem concerning an area economically and socially depressed with the symptom which has seemed most significant: depopulation. So there has been passed a law for 'la montagna,' fixing vast sectors for its application in the Alps as well as in the Appenines" (T 407). Conditions in these parts of the North of Italy were moreover subject to a number of shocks in the latter part of the nineteenth century that upset the serenity of life of the peasants and the tradesmen and handicraft workers of the villages. One area of disturbance was in the silk industry. In the middle of the century peasants in the Po valley and sub-Alpine region very commonly supplemented their income from crops by raising silkworms and also by doing a part of the spinning. The Franco-Prussian War caused such a depression in the markets for this industry that small manufacturers in the villages were often ruined, and the peasants had no outlet. When the industry regained some prosperity, household silk spinning was not resumed (ML 193); the factories, which were the sturdier units
surviving the bad years, took over the whole operation. These not infre-
quently continued to be in villages (FI 125). At nearly the same period a
silkworm disease and a mulberry tree blight almost completely ruined pro-
duction for some time. There was no income because there were few cocoons
and at the end of the century prices were down. In much of Lombardy vine-
yards were important. About the middle of the century oidium or powdery
mildew attacked the vines; the results were ruinous, and recovery was not
complete when phylloxera appeared. The general European depression in
grain prices beginning in the 1870's also played its part (L 77). In the
last decades of the nineteenth century the farmer in Lombardy and other
sub-Alpine areas, though he lived tolerably, was constantly in debt and
the victim of taxation and poor markets. There were several classes of
these agriculturalists, from day laborers to small proprietors, but the
tendency in this period was to sink in the scale. Fragmentation of farms
through too many heirs cut down the small proprietors, usurious money len-
ders preyed upon the lowest classes.* The push to leave the farms was don-

* Foerster's chapter on North Italy (pp. 106-126) emphasizes fragmen-
tation and the absenteeism of landlords as the worst evils. The Countess
Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco in her Lombard Studies, 1902, has a chapter on
"Lombard Agriculture" which shows experienced, accurate, and sympathetic
observation, expressed as one aristocrat writing for others of her class.
For example "It is still true that the mezzajuolo [share-cropper] is con-
stantly in the master's debt, but this is a less ruinous state of things
for him than to be in the debt of the usurer, as happens with peasant pro-
The economic situation in the South of Italy was much worse and remained bad much longer.* Rain seldom falls during the summer in South Italy. The growing season is therefore quite unreliable. Aridity has been aggravated by deforestation (FI 53), and the felling of trees occurred as a frantic effort to extract income from the land. The rains of winter flood land and leave pools. Malaria flourishes (FI 60). No efforts were made to alleviate the South's unhappy state until the twentieth century and until after the Second World War they were not too well planned or were poorly executed.* The handicrafts that had been as advanced in the South as in the North withered as factory-made goods came in (Di 14), agriculture continued on the downward path that it had for some time been following. Deforestation
became almost complete in the efforts of landowners to extract income from their holdings. There was much worn-out land that was no longer being tilled. One-third of Calabria says Arias in 1919, was "uncultivated and abandoned" (A 238). On the other hand wherever there were two or three square rods of land with ground that might yield a crop despite surrounding wastes it was rented and efforts expended upon it were disproportionate to any possible yield because of bad weather and bad methods (A 25, Di 31). The tillage was ineffective partly because of primitive methods (Di 31). There were various systems of land holdings from great estates to infinitesimal plots (A 25). Both produced unhappy results because of absentee landowners and misdirected efforts. The agricultural workers were distributed through as complicated a hierarchy as in the North.

Agglomeration into very large villages (10 or 12 thousand, even 50,000 inhabitants) was not uncommon even where the country would not support such large groups. Foerster explains this mode of living as an effort to avoid malaria (FI 61). Arias asserts and others would agree, that in the census data on agglomeration "the differences between the South and the North have come out less than the actual ones" (A 310), but the published statistics are still interesting.

Coefficient of Agglomeration in Italy in 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kingdom (including great cities)</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abruzzi e Molise</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania (includes Naples)</td>
<td>83.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apulia</td>
<td>91.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Basilicata 89.2
Calabria 82.5
Sicily (includes Palermo) 88.9

The North
Liguria (includes Genoa) 79.0
Lombardy (includes Milan) 76.9
Piedmont (includes Turin) 71.8 (A 309)

The boot bottom without large cities was made up of three highly agglomerated compartimenti, Apulia the most highly in the Kingdom. This was the more lamentable as "all areas of the interior have degrees of rurality that range from 70 to 80%" (Di 13). The linguistic effect of this phenomenon was to make more definite the dialectal differences between one agglomeration and the next. When immigrants of any origin find themselves mingled with people from various other localities, sharp differences tend to make even the immigrants themselves abandon the imported language for a lingua franca. This effect was put off until the second generation in the case of the Italians because one of the characteristics of South Italian immigrants in the United States was their tendency to keep groups from any one region and even village together. The economic effect of agglomeration before emigration was to cut down time spent laboring in the fields because of the long distances to them (see Di 22). If yield was not reduced thereby, it was only because laborers were superabundant.

In 1936, says Dickinson, employment in the South absorbed only about 1/3 of the labor time available (Di 80). To be sure once emigration was well under way the landlords cried that there were not enough laborers,
but always added "at a reasonable wage." What they considered "high wages" did not allow high living. Conditions were worse earlier. Since farm labor is necessarily in large part seasonal, the push to develop industries or handicrafts as additional sources of income would naturally be great, but the urge had no results, probably because there were no sales outlets. General poverty prevented these people from consuming locally produced goods. There was then much idleness in the villages among agricultural workers (Di 23), much "busy work" by others, for the South Italian is industrious given half a chance. Town life was mostly in the open air. In 1912 Russo wrote about his compatriots for the French. "In one of these towns... [the streets] seem rather places for work and social gathering. In front of almost every door women are busy with their various household tasks, children often bare-footed and half-naked play among them; shoemakers, tailors, locksmiths, etc., work in the open air rather than in their ill-lit houses, and on the public squares, especially toward evening, groups of peasants, workmen, day laborers of all kinds gather who talk together as they wait for offers of employment" (Ru 129). Similar but less sympathetic descriptions were given by the consuls to Naples and Palermo (EI 280,289). [For EI see German Bibliography.]

In 1913 the wages for common labor near Bari just above the boot heel "from the first of March through September for work from dawn till noon with half an hour off, more than 2 lire (40 cents) were given; even one-half or three-fourths of a lira more" (A 384). In the winter seven hours of labor were worth a total of 37 cents. Wages were up 50% over 1908. In Calabria in 1906 they were up from 50% to 100% over 1901. The range in 1906 was from
2 lire to 2 3/4 lire (A 375). In Basilicata about 1918 migrants from the mountains spent October to April in seaside fields. Counting all side benefits a man earned a lira a day, a woman three-fifths as much. In Sicily wages ran from 1.60 lire to 1.70 lire (32 to 34 cents) a day till the war broke out. Money lenders were worse than in the North; they might take two-thirds of a crop (A 128). Giovanni Verga's great novel, La Casa del Nespolo (Under the Medlar Tree), relates the ruin of a humble Sicilian family by a usurer.

Because income was so small, undernourishment and the habit of light eating existed. Many were unable to work hard for long hours because not well enough fed. Therefore, in America occupations which attracted these South Italians who had to transfer out of agriculture, were not usually those where a man had to drive himself, as was true in the underground work in coal mines in Kansas -- or elsewhere in the United States. The relatively small number who did become deep pit miners were rated low as workers by the mine owners. But though lowly in the United States the emigrants were rich men back home. Their remittances were an important contribution to the economy (A 103 inter alia).* Naturally economic accidents played a role in Southern emigration.

* It is difficult to say how much the remittances advanced the Italian economy. Part of them were used to pay the passage for still more emigrants (Ru 185), not always in Italian bottoms.

For instance, 1871-1901 was the era of high vine prices when vineyards were greatly extended.... The erection of the French tariff on wines (1888) followed by the spread of phylloxera after 1900, played havoc with the vine-
yards, and stimulated the main stream of emigration (1900-1911*) (Di 16).

Certain social characteristics of the South Italians greatly affected their fate in the United States. One was their tendency to distrust any one beyond their village (Sh 482) and the corollary tendency to put faith in those who came from their village or in receding degrees from their province, the South, or from Italy (A 495, Sh 482, GM 195). This confidence was often misplaced so that exploitation was common. More importantly from the linguistic point of view it meant dependence upon agents of their own background with whom they could deal without shift of language. Other stocks sloughed off such dependence more rapidly in America. It promoted segregation here, linguistically a conservative force. Associated with this distrust of strangers and also tending to promote segregation in America was distrust of the law which led to refusal to testify in criminal cases and to the transportation to America of such institutions as the Neapolitan Camarra and the Sicilian Mafia (KO 117 ff). Unorganized crimes of passion were also thus promoted. As Arias says, "the tendency to passionate homicide is undeniable in our Southern population, and this is one of the major avowed causes of its discredit in the United States and elsewhere" (A 492). The distrust of the law was partly justified, even largely in the days before unification. The Protestant minister Sartorio from Milan palliates the tendency. "The state of political administration which existed in Italy, and especially in its Southern part, only a short time ago, practically compelled a man to take the law into his own hands in order to safeguard his interests, his family and his life.... When an Italian kills a man, ... it may be only a keen sense of honor wrongly applied that prompted him ... to
defend his wife's or daughter's honor or to punish a man who had wronged a kinsman" (Sa 2:4). The family was strong, in the North as well as in the South, but especially in the South, not only the immediate family but the larger group including god-parents (Pi 53, W 73), a characteristic allied to the confidence in paesani discussed above, and likewise, by cutting down the time spent outside the family, a deterrent to linguistic change. Women, especially in Sicily, were seldom free of family surveillance; a girl from puberty till marriage was almost constantly with her mother; her mother passed on traditions; she received no other education (Fr 56). Marriages were arranged and exogamy was almost non-existent. New linguistic experience was most difficult for women.

82.3 Catholicity in Italy has known no real competitor, but religion both in the South and the North has been unpopular (see particularly Fr 114), and also has been regarded as rather the special province of the women (Pi 167). There are also many indifferent (Sa 83, Ro 43). Furthermore the Catholic Church arouses many animosities in Italy. To most people "religion, confounded with ecclesiasticism, is odious" (Ro 42). Nobody questions the spiritual authority of the church. All participate at least as spectators in its feste (Pi 53), but as a political force, it is disliked (Pi 169). Its economic demands are considered excessive, and its priests are regarded with suspicion. When, as not uncommonly happens in Central and Southern Italy, a pastor achieves respect from others than the most devout, it is because of his personal qualities or his local family connections and not because of his profession except at baptisings, weddings, funerals, and when acting as master of ceremonies at feste. Perhaps
because of these considerations vocations to the priesthood were not so numerous as to provide an overflow of good priests from Italy to serve emigrants. At first, those who were sent abroad were often rejects, guilty of misconduct at home. The practice did not persist, and priestly emigration became smaller. The low status of priests was at once the result and the cause of difficulties in recruiting proper personnel. Sartorio in 1918 quotes Father Bartoli as saying, "Ninety-eight per cent of the theological students come from the mountains or poor mountainous districts," and he quotes Luigi Villari further, "The average priest knows little beyond reading and writing and he is often shaky at that." Sartorio speaking in his own right says, "The Italian government does not recognize as sufficient for college entrance the diploma of graduation which the seminaries grant to young men as an indication of their possessing sufficient education for ordination to the priesthood.... The half-educated type of priest, often of low morals and of greedy disposition, is not uncommon" (Sa 83-85). A. Robertson maintained that priests were in polite society unacceptable in North Italy; his hostess told him, "Nobody receives a priest.... It would be considered not only unpatriotic but immoral... the army stands in this respect far above the church" (Sa 86). Discrimination evidently had political roots. In much of Italy this political situation is perpetuated at a lesser social level in the twentieth century by the eternal feud in every village and city between the church and the communists. Great masses of people insist upon Christian baptism, weddings, and burial, and vote communist. The position of the priest in the South was better, but he was one of the people. There, say King and Okey "the average priest is pious,
kind, hard working, often the friend and comforter of his people, but he is ignorant and superstitious" (KO 54, see also 31). "The local priest was usually related to one of the village families.... The priest's relatives aided in making his charge profitable and in adding to his reputation as a faithful shepherd" (W 141, see also 128). The priest's family had usually made sacrifices to put him where he was. His status was not high in general, but it was high among peasants, and families worked hard to put a boy of theirs among the elect (W 128, quoting Collins). "Given a fairly intelligent boy, the money expended on educating him to become a priest is regarded as an investment... forty pounds... and numerous perquisites... the honor and glory of having a son who says mass... gives a social lift to his family.... However,... the profession has lost something of its popularity" concluded Bagot in 1912 (Ba 63). Families were then aiming at government positions for their son or making a professional man of him. Priests in America, who were generally without a background of influence founded on close cultural or blood relationship to parishioners were to have difficulty in establishing rapport with their people. Religion in the South retained some degree of influence because of local patriotism. The village saint and his miracles were the citizens' possession. He brought people to town; personal interest meant he must be protected (Ro 45).

The North of Italy has educationally as well as economically steadily been more fortunate than the South (see inter alia Fr 119). In the South more time had to be devoted to teaching the standard language (KO 239), and schooling was not compulsory till after unification. Illiteracy among army
recruits in 1868 was much higher in the South than in the North. The general average for the nation was 64.27%. Sample provincial rates were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Upper Calabria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.18%</td>
<td>82.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergamo</td>
<td>Basilicata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.13%</td>
<td>82.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brescia</td>
<td>Trapani (in Sicily)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.18%</td>
<td>83.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genoa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.61%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By 1901 the national average had fallen to 48.5% (Ru 137) and in 1911 it had been reduced to 37.6%, but in southern provinces it still averaged between 60 and 70% (Ro 31). The decrease in illiteracy favored rather than hindered emigration, by showing the educated why they should be discontented (Ru 181). Evidence from the United States is of the same nature. The Immigration Commissioner reported as follows:

Over 14 Years of Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>13,540</td>
<td>3,776</td>
<td>17,316</td>
<td>1,804</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>63,684</td>
<td>20,662</td>
<td>84,346</td>
<td>39,150</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>18,844</td>
<td>6,306</td>
<td>25,150</td>
<td>1,489</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>1,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>135,080</td>
<td>30,168</td>
<td>165,248</td>
<td>71,240</td>
<td>14,016</td>
<td>85,256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South</th>
<th>16,846</th>
<th>2,989</th>
<th>19,835</th>
<th>6,425</th>
<th>1,092</th>
<th>7,517</th>
<th>37.9%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The 1909 investigators reporting on 6,584 North Italian employees in the soft coal industry found that 12.2% could neither read nor write; of 4,197 South Italian employees 34.3% were in the same condition. In the homes these were the results for the Kansas-Oklahoma coal fields:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Reporting</th>
<th>% Cannot Read or Write</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Italians</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Italians</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the homes of coal miners over the country among the males 13.3% of the North Italians could not read and 42.8% of the South Italians; among females, North 26.1%, South 50%. Observers disputed as to whether illiteracy was a cause of emigration or whether increasing literacy was not rather a cause (Ru 181). At any rate European observers recognized this weakness as a great disadvantage to the emigrants, "handicapped in the fierce competition by his poverty and illiteracy," say the Englishmen King and Okey (p. 314) in 1909. The Italian Arias a decade later declared that "It is truly Utopian to hope for the fraternal fusion of such disparate elements as our undesired Southern illiterates and the intelligent and educated American workmen" (p. 496, see also GI 184). Emigration did not improve the literacy situation in Italy. Opportunities to put children to work became
more numerous thereby and school neglected (A 456, Pi 57). Emigrants wrote home on the need for education and thus had a contrary effect, which was, however, exerted later. The main force for reducing illiteracy was the national government which unlike the Bourbons undertook to educate the people.

Italians had their importance in American history from the time of Columbus on, but they were not numerous enough before Kansas was opened in 1854 to create settlements that might harbor immigrants for further distribution. At a somewhat later period, "About 1870... they [the immigrants from Italy] were largely North Italians, it would seem.... Some were grocers and keepers of barrooms and restaurants. Some were in market gardening, especially about New Orleans, or in other branches of agriculture" (FI 324). They did not establish farms in Kansas, but the group at Leavenworth occupied themselves with restaurants and kindred occupations. Such occupations developed later at Osage City and in the Pittsburg area.

The New Orleans and San Francisco areas furnish examples of closely related rural and urban settlements. Let us consider New Orleans. The shift away from the use of Italian there was rapid. For rural residents arriving before 1880 and for certain city dwellers the language sometimes became French (VSU 226), since in New Orleans and in its neighborhood French was the language of the elite and of those catering to them like the best restaurateurs. At worst French was only countrified, but to use Italian marked you as a foreigner and subject to a stigma to be obliterated as soon as possible. The Italians drove the French residents from the Vieux Carre, and the language of their children became English. It was sometimes of a peculiar character, but by 1961 it was the language of the Italian element.
in districts which like those around Plaquemine and Houma were still in the process of abandoning French. At Plaquemine one-eighth of the names were Italian. The rural Italians in the San Francisco area have tended to be sooner Engl-ized completely than those in the city, partly to maintain prestige when dealing with hired help.

82.52 During the years of heavy migration few Italians went to the country (Ch 33). They had had their fill of agricultural slavery and those whom ill luck took to cotton or sugar plantations felt that it was continued (VSU 226). Still in 1909 the Immigration Commission investigators for the Senate found some thirty colonies to study. Rural settlements of Italians in New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas and California are interesting, California most of all because of its grape growers; however, as an example present ing conditions most nearly similar to what would have developed in and Hammonton, New Jersey, Kansas if Italians had taken farms there, Genoa, Wisconsin, may serve. On the upper Mississippi, opposite the southeastern corner of Minnesota, North Italians founded Genoa, in 1862 (church, 1863; '9R 390 confirms date for church; fixes first arrivals at 1860). They eventually became largely dairy farmers. Immigration continued until the First World War, though few arrived after 1890 ('9R 390). Some South Italians who had been railroad workers close by joined those from the North, unwelcome though. Germans and "English" Catholics joined the Italians, said Alexander Cance in 1911, and added, "Except between North Italians and Sicilians there is no race friction ['9R 403 confirms].... The percentage of intermarriage is high particularly with... Catholics.... Services... are conducted alternately in Italian, German, and English" (CP 785). "The Italian contingent
after the turn of the century was, in fact, less than half. By this time they had lost much of their Italian characteristics" (Pi 71, see also PI 366). As regards numbers the 1909 investigators are more specific; they recorded purely Italian families out of 207 in the township. The 1909 investigators were also impressed by the good relations between the North Italians and the other Catholics: "Even on 'Italian Day' [at church] there is a mixed congregation" (19R 403). They remained, however, an isolated group, partly because except for the Germans, they became all the Catholics in the area. They felt the same forces as the Italians in Louisiana. As to their language the 1909 investigators noted that "most of them speak good English" (19R 404), but added that "some Italians were refused second [naturalization] papers by the court on the ground of failing to speak English fluently" as well as because of poor knowledge of the workings of American government. Their Irish pastor in 1951 said "Most don't like to be referred to as Italians," but their immigrant language was current enough so that after a year's residence he had become able to hear confessions in Italian. This was, however, for the benefit of the old, two who knew no English. The sons and daughters of immigrants, of whom there were many, were fluent in Italian, but used it only with the old. Youngsters were ignorant of it.

The settlement at Hammonton, New Jersey, was an early Italian rural settlement that has attracted attention. Settlement, incipient in 1861, gained headway during the 1870's; new arrivals continued to be important during the rest of the century. Immigration was heaviest 1885-1895. According to the 1909 investigators, there were in 1905 at Hammonton "some-
thing like 2,000 Italians of the first and second generation, "With the exception of Vineland, N.J., we have here the largest Italian agricultural colony in the United States" (9R 95). The study omitted California. The immigrants were mostly Sicilians and Neapolitans, between whom there were hostilities. Out of 47 families studied, the 1909 investigators recorded that 31 were Sicilian, 15 Neapolitan, one Calabrian (9 99); 33 were direct from Italy. Race prejudice existed at Hammonton. Non-Italians scorned the immigrants; the surveys speak of dirt, but praise progress. Mrs. Meade's account based on data gathered in 1905 pays slight heed to language, but certain inferences show early stages of Englishing. Merchants in town usually employed clerks proficient in Italian (Me 498). "Many mistakes are made for lack of knowledge of the English language" (Me 487). There was a prosperous Italian who had been at Hammonton fifteen years and knew no English. Mrs. Meade obviously interviewed in English, however. She quotes her informants, always presenting their speech as broken English. The 1909 investigators add information on language. Their initial statement, "they have in a period of 35 years or less learned the English language" (9R 96) is later qualified. As workers they "become more and more adept as time goes on, but their ignorance of English is to some extent a handicap" (9R 121). "There is a certain suspicion of strangers that comes from ignorance of the English language." About 90% of the Italians were Catholics without a national parish, though in 1915 one of the two priests bore an Italian name; in 1960 all three priests had Italian names. In 1909 the Presbyterians were maintaining a mission at Hammonton with 40 adult members, 70 in Sunday school. "The pastor who can speak but little English... laments the fact that the young Italians cannot read or write their own language" (9R 131).
The Italians in the cities were marked by the very Italian character of their settlements, where people from one village lived in one compact area and those from another in one just adjacent (Da 31, W 35, CC 420, R 63, 105, II 112, PI 61, 121, 125, 143, PM 146 ff., Fa 92, VSU 216, RO 60, 61, GM 187, FI 393, SH 483). Davenport in 1903 commented on the phenomenon in general and as a specific example says, "in Elizabeth Street, Manhattan, there is... a group of several hundred families from Sciacca, a Sicilian fishing town 40 miles east of Girgenti [on the south coast]. These people, living close together, employ the Sciaccan dialect, possess Sciaccan doctors and a Sciaccan pharmacy and prepare resplendent festas in honor of 'Maria del Soccorso Protettrice della città di Sciacca'.” He said that in Manhattan "the Bleecker and Spring Street Italians are mainly from Northern Italy, while the uptown colony is chiefly from Calabria.” Leonard Covello’s father said to him, "With the Aviglianesi you are always safe. They are your countrymen, paesani. They will always stand by you," and Covello goes on, "The idea of family and clan were carried from Avigliano in Southern Italy to East Harlem. From the river to First Avenue, 112th Street was the Aviglianese Colony” (Co 22). Pecorini declared: "Entire villages have been transplanted...; with the others have come the doctor, the grocer, the priest, and the annual celebration of the local patron saint" (Pe 17). Not only the grocer, but the other small merchants and public servants, established themselves (FI 339) to serve the group, and except for barbers and shoemakers did not soon reach out beyond it. Construction projects and
such labor left their group intact. When they went into a sweat shop, they became a firm body in it. Life in the open air on the streets (Ro 71, VSU 217) or fishing wharves (R 69) was a source of social enjoyment. Park and Miller in 1925 provided a map showing distribution of Italians on all Manhattan Island (p. 242) and another by "provinces and towns of Italians in the Bowery Colony, which included Elizabeth Street," and gave a case history showing how potent these groupings were on the life of the people within it (146 ff). When "several such colonies [were] grouped together with one central business district... the Tuscan, for example, comes into closer contact with the Genoese than he ever did in Italy," and some effect on dialectal usage resulted (Va 431). Still, Glazer and Moynihan remark "When[Herbert Gans] a well-known sociologist studied an Italian section of Boston..., he titled the study published, 1962 The Urban Villagers" (GM 186). The habit of clinging to old-world patterns in this respect was accompanied among the immigrants by nearly complete preservation of all other Italian characteristics, old-world rivalries for instance (Fa 127), but particularly family organization with its accompaniment of father domination and close sheltering of women (Ro 73). The effect of this transfer of Italy, particularly South Italy, to America will emerge more clearly in later sections, as will also the revolt of the young and the accompanying segregational reaction of Americans, but these latter phenomena should here receive some attention. The public schools and, very early, jobs brought boys and girls into contact with American habits (Ro 75). The boys particularly often declared independence and isolated themselves from their parents.
This was the easier because their acquaintance with English allowed some of them to secure jobs where the personnel came from many sources. There they became more used to constant employment of English and so further isolated from their elders. Mariano in 1921 in speaking of a "social club" with members of age range 20 to 30 said: "They have a smattering of education in the public schools and speak little Italian.... The interests of a club such as this street club in no way coincide with those belonging to the older half of the community" and he quoted an unnamed source: "These children of the Italians ... in their untoward enthusiasm for things American despise the ways of their fathers" (MI 11-1-2). Most of the second generation were, however, bilingual, and might even arrive at a revulsion against their shame at being Italian, so Leonard Covello and his fellows (Co 70). The separation of the second generation from the first was, however, far from complete, particularly as regards women. Most of the young had great affection for their mothers, and were driven back upon their elders by the discriminatory forces which were and continued to be exerted upon them. Child remarks, "Italians appear to have the lowest status of any of the large white groups in the city [New Haven] with the possible exception of the Poles.... The status relationships described here are not purely local phenomena.... [Studies on the subject, however] usually place Italians slightly higher than Jews, Poles, and Russians" (Ch 36). This was in 1938, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans were not yet important factors in the area. Prejudice against Italians was not limited to the east. Italians who had succeeded in entering the professions still felt in the 1950's the pressures resulting
from low status. In spite of these forces promoting linguistic conservatism, the third generation of urban Italians are well Engl-ized.

Kansas City, Missouri, contains an Italian settlement of noteworthy size. Persons living there and born in Italy numbered

1900 - 1,034  
1910 - 2,579  
1920 - 3,318  
1930 - 3,723  
1940 - 3,130  
1950 - 2,374

The settlement has had less relationship with Italians in Kansas than its propinquity might suggest. Three-fourths of its members are Sicilians.

Their employment has nearly always been in Missouri, for they did not become packing house workers. The principal district of Italian settlement has been close to the Missouri River north and northeast of the business district. In 1920 the Fifth Ward contained two-thirds of those born in Italy. In 1950 in a district south of the river, north of Sixth Street and east of Locust Street as far as Cleveland Avenue 1070 of the 2374 Italian foreign-born lived. In the five blocks southward from this district lived 1333 more.

Holy Rosary Church with an Italian priest and 50 pupils in its school existed in 1900. It was labeled an Italian national parish at least from 1915 through 1960. Pupils: 1915 - 400, 1948 - 337, 1960 - 275. The church is close to the river. To the southeast St. John the Baptist's did not begin as Italian, and has never been so labeled, but Italian fathers had charge of it by 1948 -- 185 pupils in school, 375 in 1960. There are Engl-izing implications in this shift of parish popularity.

Linguistically Italian has been the language of few but the immigrants. The exceptions have usually been members of the small north Italian contin-
gent among whom there was less illiteracy and a greater sense of a culture to be preserved. Since immigration continued strong until the quota laws choked it off, among the old Italian was still current in 1968. A number of immigrants returned to Italy with their children born in the United States. Some of these children endowed with American citizenship returned after they were grown and increased the number of native speakers.

Some ten per cent of Kansas City Italians interested in religion became Protestants. For them services in Italian attended by about six per cent of the congregation were going on every Sunday in 1968.

Outside of the cities non-agricultural Italians in general became laborers on railroads (FI 357, VSU 230), on construction projects, and in industry including mines (FI 345). "Often one type of occupation would be dominated by immigrants from one particular section of Italy...; members from one village generally tried to work together..., seeking new employment in each other's company" (Pi 88). Their occupations seldom promoted the use of English. Though most were field workers before arrival, not all of them were, and some could follow trades similar to their original occupations -- fishermen and masons as well as shoemakers. Some of the trades, fishing for instance, were isolating in character, so as to discourage use of English. So did work in labor gangs. Italians were often employed after the hard times of the early 1890's had passed to work on railroad construction projects. These men were in "extra gangs", usually a few transferred to regular "section gangs" for maintenance work.

Some Italians became miners in the soft coal fields of the United
States, and these are of major interest because Kansas Italians were nearly all miners. Italians so employed were at first, says Foerster, "skilled miners from the north of Italy, but gradually also farm laborers, both Northern and Southern, offered themselves. In 1870 there were 831 Italian miners of all sorts; in 1890, 3,889 coal miners, 4,132 other miners and 1,687 quarrymen (Fi 349).... For a long time in the anthracite fields, they specialized in the stripping operations, shunning the underground work.... In the southwestern counties [of Pennsylvania] — Allegheny, Westmoreland, Fayette, and Washington — the Italian miners of bituminous coal have been still more numerous" (Fi 350). He does not mention Mercer County somewhat to the north of the others, whence Italians first came to Kansas. Why they might wish to come appears from this passage by Villari, "The workers employed near Pittsburgh live in wooden shacks built expressly by the industrial and mining companies near which they work; here are reproduced the worst conditions of Pittsburgh slums, though the ground costs much less. Criminality in that Italian colony is high, a common characteristic likewise of all foreign colonies and indeed of the whole laboring population. Hard dangerous work makes men careless of their own and other people's lives.... The whole Pittsburgh zone swarms with saloons and brothels where workmen are robbed and contract diseases" (VSU 225).* What developed in Kansas

* The observers from Italy as well as American slum workers were shocked by unsanitary conditions and resulting disease in the cities also (CI 92, Fr 8, VSU 238).
was sometimes little better. Kansas, however, attracted little attention from Italian observers. Villari, writing in 1912 and Falorsi in 1921, in listing important Italian mining colonies fail to speak of those in Kansas (VSU 234, Fa 235); yet the report of the 1909 Investigators shows the number was high compared with all states except Pennsylvania and Illinois.

The 1909 Investigators found that in other coal fields as well as in Kansas, North Italians were more numerous than South Italians. Some of the data from their four districts, Pennsylvania, the Middle West (Illinois, Ohio and Indiana), the Southwest (primarily Kansas and Oklahoma), and the South (primarily Alabama) follow. The employees giving information in all four districts numbered 88,368; they were distributed as follows. Here

* The general statistics furnished by the 1909 Investigators have been abstracted from the general section of '9, pp. 6 ff.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Penna.</th>
<th>Mid-West</th>
<th>Southwest</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Italians</td>
<td>3,379</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>1,169</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Italians</td>
<td>2,239</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>1,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total foreign-born</td>
<td>37,216</td>
<td>12,150</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total miners interviewed</td>
<td>49,137</td>
<td>18,737</td>
<td>7,036</td>
<td>13,458</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the "Southwest" Kansans and Oklahomans each furnished about 50% of the informants. A little more than four-fifths of both North and South
Italians in the Pennsylvania coal fields had been in the United States less than ten years; about 3% had been in America more than twenty years. In the Middle West and Southwest it is necessary to distinguish between North and South Italians:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than 10 Yrs. in U.S.</th>
<th>More than 20 Yrs. in U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>Southwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Italians</td>
<td>69.6%</td>
<td>75.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Italians</td>
<td>83.5%</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tables in Section 49.33 show that there was no significant difference in the rate of acquiring English between North and South Italians. But, while the total number of North Italians was only about half again as great as that of South Italians, the number of North Italians who had been in the United States ten years or more was over twice as large, and there were over twice as many of these more experienced men versed in English to guide later comers. The fact that only 2/5 of the males in the South Italian households spoke English while 3/5 of the North Italian employees did, indicates either that South Italians in families as opposed to young men had arrived only recently or that the proportion of children between the ages of six and the earliest employable age were numerous among them and were not learning English because they were not being sent to school. Witnesses of the period affirm the latter (for example, '9 106; see also Fr 81.). The fact that North and South Italian employees (men) who had been in the United States 5 - 9 years showed approximately the same ability to speak English indicates that the former statement was also true.
While 79% of the married North Italians in the coal fields had their families in America, this was true of only 63% of the South Italians (19-688 and 691). The first stay of the South Italians in the United States was often quite short. Among the Illinois and Indiana miners, proportionately almost three and a half times as many South Italians as North Italians had already made visits home before they had been in America five years (21.8% and 6.3%). Repeatedly in describing conditions in specific places the Investigators heard assertions that the South Italians were "floating," that is, came to the camp to take temporary work and then moved on. The 1909 Investigators of the "Southwest" commented thus: "A great number of the South Italians locating in the coal districts seem to come only with the idea of remaining a few years, and in that time expect to save enough money to return to Italy.... Single men or [those] who have families in Italy begin to send [money home] as soon as possible" (19 108). Speaking specifically of Oklahoma the 1909 Investigators say: "The Italians coming [now] are mostly direct from Europe, while those [earlier] were from other states.... Many leave each year.... From information secured from steamship agents it is estimated that [in] 1908 about 458 went to Italy; 50% returned... bringing their friends and families; ... 800 [arrived], making a gain of 575" (19 17). In earlier paragraphs (81.5 and 81.9) we have seen that, from other occupations in the United States too, many South Italians returned home. The tendency to seek out only temporary status in the United States was obviously related to the expectation of early departure, and the linguistic effect was conservative. In the coal fields, in Kansas as well as elsewhere, the tendency to collect together according to one's
village of origin did not have free play because of the rental policies applied in company housing. But *campanilismo* played its part. Contractors said that unless all laborers on an Italian gang were from the same village they quarrelled frequently (W 34).

In the **coal fields of Illinois** in 1899 there were 3,016 Italian miners; 1,253 in the most northern district which included Lasalle County. In 1899 the counties of Illinois containing 50 or more Italian miners were: (19-583)

Grundy (61-134) 1,021 (southwest of Chicago some 50 miles)
Lasalle (61-133) 161 (west of Chicago 60 to 80 miles)
Vermilion (61-168) 102 (on Indiana line east of Springfield)
Macoupin 50 (the second county above St. Louis; Staunton and Mount Olive are in this county)
Madison (60-100) 124 (the next county above St. Louis)
Jackson (60-140) 128 (the fourth county below St. Louis)
Williamson (60-141) 138 (just east of Jackson; Marion, Herrin and Johnston are in this county)

Immigration was then just getting well under way, much as in Kansas. The 1909 Investigators made remarks on several coal mining communities where Italians were important. Section 49.34 ff (see also #78.30) contains general remarks on these communities.

The Investigators found that the North Italians in the Staunton area were "more generous and friendly" (19 596) to South Italians than usual. Later the South Italians remained limited in number, but the observation continued to be justified. There were marriages between North and South Italians. The Reverend Ralph Guido, who came in 1941 to be the pastor at
Benld (see also #78.30), was of Calabrian extraction born in Chicago. He found that the Italian section of his parish (15%) was Piedmontese, but he learned their dialect and was welcome. By 1961 there were only a few old ladies left who confessed to him in Italian; they had never learned English. In Staunton, where Germans were very numerous (in Benld they were few), intermarriage between them and the Italians began. In 1961 there were still old immigrants at Staunton unable to speak English, though they understood it; the second generation, unless they were in close contact with the old people were not active speakers of Italian, although they still understood it. There were few children in the whole district, none proficient in Italian.

In the southern field at Marion, the South Italian center, the 1909 Investigators noted "about 35 persons including eight or ten men and seven families from Basilicata, who are unwilling to be classed as South Italians" ('9-602). South Italians at Johnston City, six miles to the north of Marion were somewhat more numerous than men from the North of Italy (135:120), but the Southerners were "floating." Herrin, where South Italians were segregated, held men principally from Piedmont and Lombardy. By 1952 there were intermarriages with other stocks, notably Lithuanians. There were industrial establishments in Herrin so that young people had not moved away as frequently as elsewhere, though many of them left during the troubles of 1933. The Italians in Herrin and elsewhere had frequently entered small business. Engl-izing was generally far advanced but not uniform. Some immigrants, rather old when they had arrived, had never learned English so that their children and even their grandchildren were proficient in Italian, but many,
young when they immigrated, had long ago installed English as the language of the home, and then even the second generation was often ignorant of Italian. The situation at Christopher, some ten miles to the north, was similar. The Italians, because of business interests, had remained in the area more persistently than the Poles. As long as the Poles had been numerous, the Catholic Church was theirs, but when they departed the Italians began to attend, even though the priests remained Polish until the 1950's and then a Czecho-Slovak took over. Intermarriage began as early as the 1930's and Engl-izing was far advanced. The situation here described was typical of other Catholic churches in the neighborhood, notably at Herrin and West Franklin.

82.8 Italians in industry in the United States were generally subject to the padrone system.* In coal mining padroni were not so important as else-

* The padrone system is briefly described by the Industrial Commission (ID 430 ff.) in 1902, and by Glazer and Moynihan (GM 190), in 1964. Villari castigates it unsparingly (VSU 233). Falorsi is almost as severe (Fa 87,90); both report the evil was not as great by the time in which they wrote (1902 and 1924). Glazer and Moynihan quote Fenton as estimating that in 1897, "two-thirds of the Italian labor in New York was controlled by padroni" (190). Description of the system is basic to Sheridan's bulletin (Sh); Sheridan like others deplores the institution, but presents its more favorable aspects on p. 483. In Chicago in 1897 twenty-two per cent of the Italians questioned worked for a padrone. "The average amount paid per week to padrones for the last job at which 341 persons worked... was 42 cents each" (p. 726). The average weekly earnings of each of the 2,154 Italian males was $6.41 (as against $10.90 for most inhabitants of Chicago slums) (BL 703-4). The
commission paid by the employee was then 6 1/2%. The padrone also received a commission from the employer, and ran commissaries where his clientele bought all their goods. Prices in such commissaries were from 50% to 100% higher than elsewhere (table of prices, BL 726-27). Foerster holds that such exploitation had not its like among Scandinavians, Germans, and Irish (FI 390). The eventual result came to be that Italians distrusted fellow countrymen as much as anyone else (W 13).

where; indeed the 1909 Investigators do not mention them by name, but the inferences are that the South Italians were more or less under their domination, and the Northerners were linked to a kindred institution, since they were reported as under the guidance of a very few leaders of their own "race." Americans in their comments on padroni regularly use that word. The Italians did not always distinguish them from the prominenti "big shots" and banchisti "bankers," and particularly from the caporali. Ultimately they preferred boss, but these bosses were not foremen (except incidentally), but rather middlemen and agents usually with tyrannical power. They and the bankers* with whom they cooperated were usually Italians who had been in

* Pecorini describes well what was meant by a banker. "The banker receives the mail of his clients who are usually from the same village as himself. He writes their letters, sends their money, sells them steamship and railway tickets, acts as notary public; he goes with them to the Italian consulate... he is in fact, the adviser of the ignorant Italian in all his business affairs. Quite a number of these bankers have absconded with the money of their patrons and the marvel is... that so many of the bankers are
honest... [though] a victimized Italian, more particularly if he is from the South, is likely to take the law into his own hands" (Pe 18). Villari's description is quite similar, but much less favorable (VSU 44,245 ff). In 1911 most of these men were still "primarily steamship agents and notaries public" but they had already founded several important financial institutions. The outgrowth on the west coast is best known.

America long enough to learn English. Because they were compatriots, pae-sani, the immigrants confided themselves to them. The bankers would receive proposals from American capitalists in need of manpower. He would then pass the word on to a padrone who enlisted a gang of men, usually from his own village, to do the work, stayed with them, acted as their interpreter and business agent, and charged them large commissions (FI 326). They were often accused of bringing about job separations so as to collect another commission (FI 361). The system persisted doubtless because so many South Italians were temporary residents, speaking no English, and in need of help in handling their affairs (VSU 245); linguistically it aggravated the difficulties of acquiring English since the gang laborers had small contact with Americans. "In all cases the railroad and contracting companies are required to provide separately for the Italian laborers" (SH 462). It also led Italians into situations which they did not understand. They became strike breakers sometimes without knowing it -- in the coal fields among other places -- and the general detestation of other workers for scabs made more absolute the segregation to which South Italians were subject -- thus had a conservative effect linguistically. The long-run cure for potential scab-
bing is to drive away forever the strike-breaking element (FI 401, note 3, also 402) or to unionize it. In the coal fields Negroes received the first treatment rather generally in Illinois and Kansas and to a lesser extent South Italians, a phenomenon which probably explains the limited numbers of the latter in coal fields west of the Alleghenies better than their distaste for mining. This method was the easier because employers often held South Italians in low regard (FI 362, 370, 402). Unionization was also employed though not with ready success. Glazer and Moynihan (GM 340) quote Fenton in his unpublished dissertation (p. 30): "They were village-minded, fatalistic, and self-reliant, three qualities which made them poor labor union members," and elsewhere Glazer and Moynihan say, "Italian girls scabbed in the great strike of the waist-makers in 1909-10. It took careful work by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union... to develop powerful Italian locals within that union" (GM 191). The "careful work" bore results elsewhere. "Strikes in which Italians participated became increasingly numerous in the pre-war years, and during the war years... Italians have taken an aggressive part in them," says Rose in 1922. A Chicago social worker told him that practically all Italian labor was unionized (Ro 83).

Earlier, Foerster (FI 404) quotes the Immigration Commission, our 1909 Investigators, as reporting 10% of the South Italians unionized, 40% of the North Italians. In the western coal fields, however, the Italians, probably because mostly from the North, accepted unionization — apathetically (19 - 67).

The Catholic church in America harbors almost all the Italians. The vigorous efforts of the Protestants at proselytizing among them have yielded
only minor successes.* To be sure, these successes have led to rapid Engl-

* See Fall5, Pi 169. Rose, a Protestant minister with an Italian wife, cites as Protestant rural centers for the Italians seven locations, including Valdese, N. Car., (the Waldensian center, see next note) and Monett, Mo., 40 miles east of the southeast corner of Kansas.

izing. Young Protestants did not find themselves happy among other Italians. "The new generation will grow up in the colony, but when its members have reached a marriageable age, they will almost invariably move into an American quarter.... The Italian work must prepare them to move into an American church." So wrote the Milanese, Enrico C. Sartorio (SA 124), in 1918. He was a member of the Episcopalian clergy.* The attitude of the immigrant

*Sartorio's picture of the difficulties of Protestant Italian ministers is temperate and well thought out. Because Italian Waldensians joined with them, Presbyterians were the most successful of the Protestant denominations among Italians, though it would seem that Presbyterianism would have less appeal to South Italians than the doctrines of almost any other Protestant sect. The Waldensians early established a successful colony at Valdese, North Carolina.

Italians toward the Catholic church in the United States was during the early years much like that in Italy with tendencies augmented, including religious campanilismo (Fa 132). These habits disturbed the clergy here. "There was much discussion from the 1880's on, of the 'Italian problem'" (GM 202). Women furnished most of the devout (Da 34). "The immigrants
are almost all insistent that their children grow up under the influence of the Catholic religion.... On the other hand a remarkable amount of antagonism is expressed toward the church as an institution and toward the clergy, and there are a considerable number of immigrants who almost never go to church." So says Child (p. 34, see also Fa 116, Ro 105), and he finds Italians more indifferent to religion than Irish or Poles. Sartorio declared in 1918 that "sixty per cent of the Italian immigrants were entirely free from the control of the Catholic Church" and cited Monsignor Pozzi as putting the proportion "even higher" (Sa 105).* Pisani, who is pro-Catholic, said in 1957: "It has been estimated that of the Italian-American population only about one-third could properly be termed 'good Catholics'" (Pi 69). As new generations have grown up, strictness of practice and general ardor have become greater (so in New York; GM 205). But priests in charge of Italian parishes are still often disturbed by the casual character of the religion of their people. Immigrant priests, as remarked above, were few because the supply in Italy was short. Though there were priests from Italy "inspired by real Christian charity" (VSU 287), the quality of those who did come was in general such as to distress the hier-

*) Father Pozzi was in 1900 and 1915 the pastor of a rural colony founded about 1875 at Vineland in southern New Jersey "the most flourishing Italian colony in the United States" (Pi 73). The settlement at Hammonton (82.52) not far off was also prosperous (CI 48-80). The Catholic church there owed its prosperity to the Irish element (CI 72).
At first many of these priests came from South Italy but... these clerics were less acculturated to the Catholic faith as observed. North Italian priests were appointed" (W 147). The first priests were linguistically conservative (VSU 287), resisting all Americanization for fear of losing their flocks (Fa 139). According to Sartorio, in 1918, "Many of them know next to nothing about America and they live a busy and isolated life in the Italian quarter. The majority of them being of peasant extraction, they possess a limited mentality and have all the prejudices of the Italian country priests" (Sa108). Here speaks a city man (brought up in Milan) and the product of an American Protestant seminary, but one who knew the man he describes. Preparation was bettered with the rise of a new generation (Fa 126); for sometimes young Americans of Italian origin were sent to Italy for a period of preparation in an Italian environment to supplement their training in America for the priesthood (Sa 109, Pi 166). But this measure did not increase the numbers of the properly trained relative to the number of the great masses of Italians arriving, nor later have the Italians produced priests from their own stock in the United States sufficient to cover their needs (GM 204); none was serving Italians in Kansas in 1948 or 1960. But the people demanded national parishes (Pi 165). Without them, they were loath to attend church. Still in 1900 Kansas City, Missouri, with 1,034 foreign-born Italians and St. Louis with 2,227 had no national parish. Hartford with 1,952 had an Italian national parish but it was served by an Irishman. In Boston there were 13,738 foreign-born Italians but there were only two national parishes, large ones, to be sure, served by eight Italian priests, one priest for 1,717 Italians. Chicago had three national parishes, but one of them was served by an Irishman.
The others were served by five Italian priests, one Italian priest for each 3,202 foreign-born Italians in Chicago. (For different reasons the Poles had recruitment difficulties too, but there was one Polish priest in Chicago for every 2,843 foreign-born Poles). In New York the proportion of Italian priests to Italian foreign-born was 1:5,813. The situation of course did not remain static. In 1915 Kansas City had an Italian national parish with two priests and 1,000 pupils in its school; St. Louis had one also with one priest and 219 pupils. This was St. Ambrose's which in 1948 was no longer a national parish and was served by two Germans and an Irishman. Holy Rosary in Kansas City was then still national with three Italian priests and 337 pupils. The Catholic Church in the United States could not remain as effective a force for the conservation of Italian as it was for preserving some other languages because of the restricted number of its Italian priests. Still it was conservative. "Italian churches in which sermons and announcements are made in Italian operate in part to conserve the Italian group and its customs" (Ch 46). So says Child for New Haven in 1938, but he says elsewhere "Many of the Italians who live outside the solidly Italian neighborhood attend churches where English is the only modern language used" (Ch 43). So it was everywhere in Kansas Italian communities.

83.0 Special schools for Italian immigrants were indicated by their illiteracy. Indeed some of them were taught to read Italian in this country (Ca 420), and many more attended night schools, not the truly mature, rather those who arrived late enough to escape the public school but who were still at a formative age (Da 34, Pi 154, Ca 75). These schools were usually set up by others than Italians (Fa 136). Such schools existed in
Kansas. The 1909 Investigators and Dr. Ferreri, who visited the United States in 1907 (Fe 79), complained that South Italian miners were apt to keep their children out of school; the fact that Italian pupils in 1921 presented the highest degrees of retardation of all stocks (MI 60 ff.) bears this out. Parochial schools were established where there were Italian national parishes. The importance of Italian in them as the language of instruction does not even appear to have been great, less, as might be expected after the First World War (Fa 136). On this score Villari complained in 1912: "There are various schools where Italian is taught more or less effectively, but the public opinion of the mass of the immigrants takes no interest in them. Parents make little effort to make their children study our language, some out of ignorance and unthinking neglect, others because of a shabby self-interest summed up in the phrase, Italian brings in no money. After many years... the authorities condescended to introduce instruction in our language into the public schools of New York, provided that a certain number of parents requested it; but it was nearly impossible to find even a very small number to make the request; but finally efforts have been successful" (VSU 281). Pisani says, "When the greatest immigration was taking place, public schools [were overcrowded].... Parochial schools stepped in to absorb the overflow. These schools imported teachers who were proficient in both English and Italian... Jesuits, Franciscans, Ursulines" (Pi 170). The Episcopalian Sartorio saw in the parochial schools only a means of drawing the young firmly into the Catholic Church (Sa 109). The Congregationalist Rose saw the same aim and another which he found objectionable: "[the Franciscans] have schools,
the aim being to inculcate the Catholic faith, and to preserve 'l'italianità.'

The teaching is partly in Italian by Italian monks or sisters. The result is to retard assimilation' (Ro 87). But he like other commentators found that Italian children were trained primarily in the public schools, as was true in Kansas. Rose in 1922 recorded that in 24 cities where there were 10,640 Italian children, they furnished only 0.8% of all pupils in parochial schools; the Irish provided 26.2%. The public school received most Italian children on Manhattan, and for a long time those in all mixed parishes. "Italians do not want their children to be a minority element in a school established to serve the traditions of another ethnic group" (W 133 in 1938).

Thus Italian children were subject to the strongest of Englishizing forces (the commentators so regard it, for example, Ro 86, Ch 41, FI 395). Later, after Italian had ceased to be strong among the people in America there was a change. As Italians move into the suburban areas, Glazer and Moynihan record, "In the heavily Italian areas of New Jersey and Long Island, the parochial school... is strongly favored" (Gm 203). The Englishizing force was most powerful because the contempt for things Italian was usually marked in the classroom. Covello says in 1937 of Salvatore T.: "Like other Italian children he had been made to feel at school that he must try to conceal his Italian origin, that he must alter his name even, to be a good American" (BR 690). But these children typically went to public schools nonetheless. Child in his study of New Haven speaks only of the public schools. He could do nothing else, for of the two Italian churches in New Haven, only Saint Anthony's had a school in 1915, with an enrollment of 74. It and Saint Michael's had each over 300 pupils in their schools in
1948, but the parochial schools in that city with a large Italian colony developed too late for them to have been linguistic conservators. With the coming of the First World War new foreign language schools could not be promoted.

Societies among Italians were as strong in membership as among other immigrant groups*, but there were no societies of early origin

*Pisani says one-tenth of all Italians were members of associations; "the percentage for heads of families was undoubtedly much higher"

(Pi 126, see also GM 188-9).

That aroused widespread enthusiasm for the whole of Italy like those of the various Slavic stocks or the Turnverein. In 1905 the order, Sons of Italy in America, was organized. It was a mutual-aid lodge with 125,000 members in 1,000 chapters in 1922 (Ro 91); by 1957 it had 3,000 chapters (Pi 126, see also Fi 393). According to Rose the predominant element in this organization in 1922 was said to be "the young man born in Italy, but emigrating to the United States while not yet too old to be greatly Americanized" (Ro 76). In 1924 it was split into two organizations, both called Figli d'Italia (Fa 135). The late origin of the order and the nature of its membership prevented it from becoming as important a factor linguistically as the major lodges among other stocks have been.

The most potent Catholic society among the Italians was not specifically Italian; it was the Knights of Columbus.

Locally organized societies flourished. Pisani remarks in 1957 on the multiplicity of them (Pi 147) but says elsewhere, "Even among
the first generation, some shied away from exclusively Italian organizations and joined mixed societies, such as the Foresters. Among the second generation this tendency was accentuated so that... the importance of Italian organizations has become less and less" (Fi 128). At Frontenac, Kansas, the Foresters were regarded as an Italian organization. The societies had less chance of winning over all Italians under one standard because a number of them were organized to include as members only men from one region, Piedmont, Lombardy, Abruzzi, etc., a situation calculated to perpetuate dialects and not the standard language. "The comparative absence of federation and the multiplicity of organizations arise from that remarkable spirit of regionalism of the Italians" (Fi 393). In 1964 Glazer and Moynihan were using the same explanation: "The family and community-based Italian settlements were incapable of creating group-wide institutions" (GM 192). Park and Miller say, "The Italians of Chicago have 110 mutual aid societies, representing a population of about 150,000. As the names suggest, the membership is generally from the same Italian province and frequently from the same village" (FM 129). Davenport says, "There are over 130 mutual aid societies in New York City, most of them composed mostly of natives of a single Italian province... Society of the Calabrie..., Cittadini Napoletani, Cittadini Padulesi, Cittadini Avellinesi, etc." (Da 32). Foerster: "In 1910 an Italian census discovered 1,116 societies in 35 states... but the census did not pretend to be complete; in Chicago, for instance, where two years later 400 mutual aid societies were estimated to exist, only 10 were reported" (Fi 393). Pisani, a native
of New Haven, lists eight local clubs active in 1957 (Pi 147). Villari's unsympathetic description of the groups is interesting: "In New York there are several hundred of these organizations, and they are also to be found in all the other American cities where Italian colonies exist, however small they may be. They are all more or less of the same type. In theory they are societies of mutual aid and benefaction, but in practice the aid not uncommonly is limited to those holding offices and the restaurant owners where the banquets are given. None of these societies reaches, I believe, a thousand members, very few five hundred; the great majority have less than a hundred. They are amorphous institutions, generally with no fixed seat and without capital; they are born, die, disappear, or split into two or three others in accordance with the jealousies and petty ambitions of those at their head... In the larger centers there is a society for every town from which a certain number of immigrants have come" (VSU 239-240). Falorsi's disquisition on the subject, though unashamedly sentimental, reveals the forces at work: "after work hours the groups meet in societies of mutual aid, which in this distant land substitute for the patriarchal life of the home town, and take the opportunity to speak of the distant fatherland, and in imaginations full of love reappear the never forgotten lines of the mountains, the verdant meadows, the eternal forests, the ancestral homes, and the church where the union of souls was consecrated and baptism received, and the cemeteries where the dear dead sleep" (Fa 241).

Organized social groups were linguistically important, as can be deduced from this passage in Child's study of New Haven: "An Italian
club is likely to be a social group in which Italian characteristics are at a premium; to the extent that if a member of the second generation wishes to be accepted into the group, direct or subtle pressure is put upon him to conform to Italian norms" (Ch 47). Child also describes habitual informal gatherings where pressures are similar. Such occasions are noted in the accounts of Italians at Leavenworth and Osage City. All these organizations were forces for linguistic conservatism, to such an extent that the young set up groups of their own to escape them (CM 188, MI 130).

The Italian press in the United States was very active, but like the societies, it exerted no centralized influence, because, according to Villari, of the incapacity of the editors (VSU 203). The high degree of illiteracy among immigrant Italians explains in part the lack of influence. The second generation learned to read English rather than Italian (Ch 46). In the cities there were various journals that reported local happenings (Pi 144); there were also a large number of doctrinaire editors. Pisani insists that "The attachment to political doctrine of these men was more academic than practical, and their influence with the vast majority of the Italian community... was negligible" (Pi 195). The only Italian newspaper in Kansas, Il Lavoratore Italiano, had an editor of this type. The paper was able to exist from 1912 through 1918. It was a socialist journal that printed local news and regularly published advertisements from three banks. The linguistic influence of the Italian press was conservative, but only, it seems, among immigrants; few of their sons read an Italian production even when it became bilin-
gual (Pi 133; Pisani’s testimony is cogent, because he was the son of an editor).

Tendencies making for the segregation of Italians, though weakening as time has passed, have persisted over the United States as a whole more than for any other group immigrating from Europe. "Race prejudice, exclusiveness, scorn for things Italian, patronage and discourtesy... what newcomer from Italy has not encountered some or all of these things" (Ro 85). In 1943 Fucilla, though citing improvement could still write as regards name Anglicizing. "There are, of course, some who feel that an [anglicized] name will remove the barriers of prejudice that they might have to encounter." (Fu 32).

Vaughan in his first article of 1926 said all provincial groups were "classed as Italians and have social and economic problems in common" (Va 432). These words represent doubtless his own observation. In his second article he remarks, "That a whole race should thus better its social position in a new country within a generation or less is little less than astounding" (Va 15). Doubtless his Italian friends had labored with him on the subject. Fucilla in 1943 could speak of the "cultural, political, and social rise of the Italians" (Fu 32).

While the tendency became imperceptible in Kansas as the twentieth century progressed, it is still true that it remained marked there longer than for other stocks. Exterior discrimination has been less than for Jews and no greater than for Slavs; interior isolating factors have been stronger. Self isolation was not usually the result of any conscious behavior. In 1926 Turano affirmed, "The average and typical Italian immigrant has never maintained any steady aloofness from the native population. This is particularly true of his American-born children, who do not generally preserve any perma-
ment attachment to little Italy or its language, but prefer to identify themselves as early as possible both in attitude and speech with the Anglo-Americans" (Tu 359). But nevertheless there were potent isolating characteristics.

The strength of the family is one of the isolating factors. Colajanni declared proudly, "The family life of the Italians like that of the Jews, may offer Americans many subjects for emulation" (CI 71), and he commented particularly upon the careful surveillance of girls. The family is, indeed,

* Villari found "boarders" a real threat to the family, girls seduced, parents indifferent because "this is America" (VSU 238). Boarders were prevalent in the coal fields, but according to the 1909 Investigators less so among Italians than in other stocks.

strong as among the Jews, but the Jewish family has pushed its younger members out into competition with the world so that it may glory in their triumphs. The Italians have been no less proud of those who attained public successes,* but the older generations have not in general urged the younger

* Any book by an Italian American about his compatriots in this country, those of Pisano and Mariano for instance, illustrate this fact. Child, p. 44, comments impersonally.

to be venturesome. The prospect of reflected glory has not been as potent among them as the fear of losing their own and skepticism as to the advantages of sacrifice (GM 199). The fears of the first generation were in this respect well founded. As long as American influences did not enter the home, fathers could have the same authority (Ch 27), and girls be sheltered (Pi 131).
But for those who became permanent residents, the school (Ro 86) and the street became social invaders. In hard times, because of the size of the families, welfare agencies exerted very great pressure (Ro 63). The second generation rejected many of the ways of the first (MI 130), among other things became devoted to the use of English among themselves (Sa 71, Ca 429) as a sign of liberation from old-fashioned authority. Bilingual conversations were common in the home in the mid-thirties, parents speaking in Italian, children answering in English. Parents who knew no English would be answered in Italian, but the children still talked among themselves in English, a situation, says Covello, "fraught with difficulties, misunderstandings, and conflicts" (BR 695). The rejection of Italianità did not go so far for most of the young, however, as they themselves supposed. As soon as a certain freedom of decision had been established, particularly for the women in the way of liberty of movement and a voice in the choice of a husband, a sufficient adjustment had been made to allow the family to become a source of supporting strength and no further abdication was necessary. Bilingualism has persisted to some extent out of deference to immigrant grandparents, particularly grandmothers. The women have remained more "sheltered" than the women of most stocks. Mariano in 1921 cited statistics (MI 62) showing that out of 25,460 high school students in New York City, a majority were girls, but the Italian girls numbered 197 as against 342 boys. No other stock even among the "new" emigration showed such a minority of girls except the Czechs (31:51) and Rumanians (8:13). In 1938 Miss Williams could say, "To remain at home from both school and work raises a girl's status in Italian eyes" (W 131). In 1961 Octavia Waldo's A Cup of the Sun depicts a girl
of Italian descent, who knows that she will never have anything to come back to if she goes "away to school" (GM 198). As might be expected, marriage outside the group continued to be rare among Italians longer than in other stocks. Rose commented in 1922: "There seems to be little intermarriage of Italian girls with other young men, but due perhaps to the more rigorous conditions of courtship surrounding Italian girls, Italian young men frequently marry girls of other nationalities whom they meet in the freer contacts of American life" (Ro 76). Miss Williams said in 1938, "The stigma on exogamy is breaking down among Italians here, but it has not been forgotten. Marriages between people from North and South Italian stock are becoming more frequent.... The North Italian, however, has to rationalize or avoid the complicated situations that would reflect upon his status." (W 96-7). The tendency to take Catholicism more seriously brings the Italians in closer contacts with other Catholic stocks and between these groups an important obstacle to exogamy, difference of religion, does not exist. Intermarriage is late in exerting its linguistic effect, but the phenomenon is occurring.

83.5 The tendency of Italian groups to remain self-sufficient economically at the level of retail trade has also contributed to isolation and its linguistic effects. The Italians did not provide as many priests as they needed, but they promptly produced grocers and restaurant keepers. If an enterprise prospered the new personnel was chosen among those closely related to the proprietors. In industry, too, Italians tended to take over a unit once they had a foothold (Ro 62). The phenomenon was no more frequent than among the Jews, but the Italian enterprise tended to stay within bounds and not go pioneering out into strange territory. Residential seg-
regation was brought about by economic forces in part, but also by the habit of agglomeration described earlier. There "was the Italian history of attachment to village... a few blocks encompassed the population of an old village" (Pi 125).

Another isolating tendency of voluntary origin, one usually attributed to South Italians rather than to the Northerners, was the attitude toward the law. Violently to defy the law was probably no more a widespread desire among Italians than among others (see CC 424-5); but murder was more common among South Italians than among others (see Norton 510, Ch 31, Fa 251, Fr 135, CI 119, 135, 185 note), and the guilty seem to have received more shelter from the group than was afforded by other groups in similar circumstances (see Ca 426). Loyalty to family and to the neighborhood, traits already mentioned, had something to do with this (see GM 197), but the trait led not to voluntary isolation but to avoidance of Italians by others. The Mafia and high-jacking bootlegger gangs have tended to cause the timid to wish to stay as far away from such organizations as possible.

The Mafia and its like used methods already developed in Italy (Ca 425, Ro 79, VSU 269, Fa 95). Such organizations flourished most at the period when immigration from Italy was greatest. They constituted a factor affecting primarily South Italians. South Italians in the Kansas coal fields in the years 1907-1910 were no exception to this fact. The general situation improved after 1910 when under the urgings of the Italian press the distaste for cooperation with the law relaxed sufficiently among the Italians to permit them to furnish necessary information to a police that general public indignation prevented from being too corrupt (PM 250-258*). While homicides
Writers defending the Italians, so Rose (Ro 37), Colajanni (CI 171), and Villari (VSU 267 ff.), touched a very weak spot in American civilization when speaking of police corruption of the period. In Crawford County, Kansas, police laxity was not a product of corruption, but of indifference to the fate of people considered almost as animals, and of impotence in collecting information.

by Italians were at their worst, the resentment that they aroused brought into action an American social institution no more praiseworthy than the Mafia -- lynch law. In the southern Illinois coal fields in 1914 "where race antipathy and economic competition had gone before, some Italians were lynched for killing Americans" (FI 408). Organized crime among Italians of Southern origin was never eradicated. As long as it operated primarily through bootlegging at a time when a bootlegger was favorably regarded, the stigma that it brought was minor, but the repeal of prohibition made it necessary for former bootleggers to operate elsewhere, and some of them continued illegal operations and plagued the reputation of Neapolitan and Sicilian Americans into the nineteen sixties.

Many Italians, at least among those from the South, also suffered from discrimination for a reason similar to one affecting Mexicans and Negroes. Physically they could be rather easily identified, and since they entered society on the lowest rung of the economy the features of their face militated against their acceptance even when they changed their clothes. The linguistic effect of segregation is conservative except among those lifted by some means from the segregated group, or animated by an intense desire
to escape it. Such a desire was of course common. See Child's section on rebels (Ch 76 ff.); also Pisani says, "The ambition of many was to break away from the closed circle and win acceptance in the world outside" (Pi 125).

83.72g The isolating forces were powerful only in the early part of this century. When current in general society, Italians have not found serious discrimination against them as the preceding paragraphs might infer. Though they do not always accept the invitation, society seeks to draw them outside their own group. With the later generations there is no isolation having linguistic effects.

83.8 Italians spoke dialects by preference on arriving in the United States. The preference for the society of those who spoke one's own dialect was so great that in the American cities Little Italy was not a linguistic unity. As was said above (# 82.11), Italians from a given location in Italy flocked together in American cities. "In the heart of the nearest city one can find in the Italian colony a Sicilian, a Calabrian, a Neapolitan, an Abruzzian village... each with its peculiar traditions, manner of living, and dialect" (Sa 18). "Working all day among those using their own dialect, they [the Italians] often go for years without acquiring more than a few English words" (Da 34). Such was an opinion in 1903. Linguistically this devotion to local origins helped destroy the will to preserve Italian, but not until the second generation. The immigrants continued to speak Italian or "at least to speak their dialect" (VSU 280). But children became very conscious that the speech of their home was a dialect (Ro 75), because it was different from that learned by children not far away. The prestige of Italian was destroyed more quickly. Furthermore, as few of the new generation were being instructed
in standard Italian (Ch 21), the use of English as a lingua franca became habitual.

The Englishing result among Italians did not differ greatly over two generations from the outcome in other immigrant stocks, but the strength of the various factors for both conservation and change were different from those at work in many stocks. The linguistic forces at work among immigrants were more than usually conservative. The dependence on padroni and bankers and the strength of the family and village patriotism (on campanilismo in this area, see inter alia Ro 65, VSU 291) have already been pointed out. So has the low degree of church attendance, which kept immigrants at home. Add to these hostility from outside coupled with small desire to combat it, thus reducing contacts with Englishings to a minimum. Still the immigrants, at least the males, usually learned English even if they did not abandon Italian. The data from the coal fields have already been presented. Here are additional data from Chicago for 1897.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Interviewed</th>
<th>No. Unable to Speak English</th>
<th>% Unable to Speak English</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all foreign-born men</td>
<td>2,660</td>
<td>754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign-born men here 10 years or more</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all foreign-born women</td>
<td>1,593</td>
<td>1,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign-born women here 10 years or more</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
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Commentators remarked (EL 710; ID 431 is in essential agreement) that North Italians acquired English faster than South Italians, Jenks and Lauck, p. 87, for instance, and the 1909 Investigators make this allegation, but the same
Investigators produce data showing no great rate of difference in acquisition among mining employees. The inference to be drawn is that South Italians, even when they had acquired English, were loath to use it with strangers of whom they were suspicious. These conservative forces among immigrants were great. A lack of sense of the superiority of their own civilization, such as existed among Germans and Scandinavians, was not enough to counterbalance them. But the rebellion of the immigrant's children against the conservative forces was very frequent, though usually manifested effectively only outside the precincts of the home. Villari's contempt is boundless for the young fellows he saw on the street "who learn English and perhaps don't know Italian at all," whose mores are abominable, who "affect to despise everything Italian" and speak an English that has "nothing to do with Shakespeare's language" (VSU 291). He speaks again more calmly but still discouraged: "The children born in America who attend American schools either are ignorant of Italian or know it only slightly and poorly and prefer to express themselves in English. It is not that they live amidst the Americans; they live in the midst of other Italians, but Italians who speak English and form a society apart neither Italian nor American" (VSU 281). The quality of the Italian was poor largely through the adoption of English loan-words, one-fourth of the vocabulary, said Turano in 1926 (Tu 358). He thought the incidence was so high because the dialects had no word common to all for many items. The members of the second generation were, however, more consistently bilingual than in many stocks. Child's description of conditions in New Haven in 1938 brings out conservatism at this stage. "Most persons of the second generation" he says (Ch 30) speak both Italian and English, "though as an absolute minimum, of course, the school forces the acquisition of
American language habits and knowledge of certain traditions (Ch 40). As a conservative force he emphasizes the family. "The presence of elder relatives who have not learned English leads to the offering to the younger generation of certain rewards for learning at least some of the Italian language.

In general, but with limits in certain families, the more that a person behaves in accordance with Italian norms, the more fully and positively will the older members of the family respond to him and accept him as a worthy member of their group" (Ch 45). Child divides his informants, all of the second generation, into three classes: rebels, in-group, and apathetics. The rebels spoke Italian, but against their will and recognizing their imperfections. "With some who can't speak English, I have to speak Italian" (Ch 101). Those in the in-group spoke Italian gladly, but also with a sense of their faults as speakers. "I wish I knew the real Italian" (Ch 142). Among those who were apathetic "some... have not gone to the effort of learning Italian well themselves" (Ch 177), though they had a mild desire that their children should be able to speak it. Child was studying only the second generation, apparently among the unmarried, but it is evident that those rebellious and apathetic were going to make no effort to preserve Italian among their children, and even those of the in-group would be deterred by the sense of the impurity of their own language. In San Francisco as Radin records the situation in 1935 it was similar. Speaking of two Lombard immigrants, he says, "Their children know Italian but prefer English. The grandchildren know a little Italian, I gathered, but answer it with English" (Ra 72). The members of the second generation were then more ready to abandon Italian when they married, at once enjoying a freedom that had been repressed and avoiding a danger to authority in the homes that they were establishing. In any case in the United States Italian in the 1960's is a language for the old.
84.0 Speakers of French in the United States came most frequently from French Canada, less often from France, from Switzerland and from Belgium. All these groups are represented in the population of Kansas. The French speakers from Europe are discussed first in the following sections.

84.1 The United States census for 1920 on pages 978 to 983, and 903 to 917 provides the following data on those of French mother tongue and those born in countries speaking French. These data are not in complete harmony with data provided on other pages nor with the data concerning French Canadians published in 1943 by L.E. Truesdell, chief statistician for Population, United States Bureau of the Census in his Canadian Born in the United States. They do, however, give an adequate idea of the relative importance in various parts of the United States of the French speaking stocks.
### 1920

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<td>fb. f.w.s. fb. f.w.s.</td>
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<td>704 2,786 311 1,401</td>
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<td>1,198 4,592</td>
<td>873 3,170 113 700</td>
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<td>Indiana</td>
<td>3,742 14,806</td>
<td>2,571 10,052 352 1,763</td>
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<td>15,929 49,124</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>22,798 77,572</td>
<td>4,107 12,092 18,024 62,206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>7,171 30,069</td>
<td>1,571 5,407 4,741 20,334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>116,364 303,821</td>
<td>6,369 11,391 107,964 287,897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>255,096 651,788</td>
<td>11,628 21,887 238,981 620,157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1920 -- All U.S. Country of Birth of Those of French Mother Tongue plus their children (Vol. II, page 976)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fb. f.w.s.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>307,790 847,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>125,589 312,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>28,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>25,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>76,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,290,110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For Kansas the 1920 census inadequately expresses the number of French Canadians because the parents of many were born in Illinois; this third generation, then still speaking French, was counted as of English mother tongue.

84.2 Bibliography on French from Europe

H - Henry, Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio, Vol. I of two volumes, Norwalk, Ohio, 1896

L6 and L8 - Lavisse, E. Histoire de France Contemporaine, Vols. VI and VIII by Ch. Seignobos, Paris, 1921


84.3 From 1833 to 1898 the immigration in thousands from France and Belgium to the United States was as follows: (plus or minus marks indicate deviations of more than 250 between the round thousand and the immigration records)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Belg.</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Belg.</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Belg.</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Belg.</th>
<th>France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>5-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td></td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9+</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>3-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>5-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>7-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>4+</td>
<td></td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td></td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>11-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>13+</td>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>4-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>8-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>2-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>11-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>4-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td>8-</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td>6-</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>3-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>4th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9+</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15-</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10-</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9+</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1905+</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>10-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5-</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84.4g Beginning in 1899 the **Immigration Commission Report** analyzed by "race", that is, linguistic stock, the inflow of population. For the United States as a whole the Report broke down the "races" according to countries of last residence. For the French of Europe here are the statistics.
French speaking Immigrants from three Countries of Europe by hundreds (all excess over an even hundred ignored)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Belgium</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Switzerland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

85.0 No overpopulation existed in France as compared with the rest of Europe in the nineteenth century. To be sure the population increased steadily, but more and more slowly, from 35,400,000 (including Alsace-Lorraine) in 1846 to 39,600,000 in 1911, an advance of nearly 12%, but the improvement in the economy during that period was sufficient to support the larger population in better style at its end than at its beginning. Indeed, France became a
country receiving immigrants. The proportion of foreigners in the country rose from 1.35% of the total population in 1861 to 2.97% in 1891, that is, 1,130,000 persons. The head count was officially the same in 1911, but it had ceased to include children of foreigners born in France (L8-402). The movement from the farms to the cities became marked early in the century and increased as time passed so that certain areas began to lose population by the middle of the century and these included areas which furnished early immigrants to Kansas. Emigration to the United States was thus a minor feature in a general tendency of exodus from what would now be called "depressed areas."

85.1 The political push for emigration in France largely took the form of stimulus through economic disturbances attendant upon political upheaval. The French Revolution in its early stages 1789-1790, caused the emigration not only of aristocrats, but also of those dependent upon them for patronage: "among them were not a few carvers and gilders to his majesty, coach and peruke makers, friseurs and other artistes" (H 672). Five hundred sailed from France in May, 1790, bound for Ohio. The Revolution of 1848 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 undoubtedly had their effect through the economic channel,* but not otherwise, except that Kansas re-

* Ernest Ginette came to Kansas after severe losses in Paris during the 1870-1871 crisis (P 177).
during the Second Republic, 1848-1851, became refugees from Napoleon III. The Leroux family at Neuchatel, Kansas, is an example, so also a few families connected with François Bernard at Cedar Point.

85.2 The Catholic Church has since the 17th century been the almost completely dominant religious organization in France. A large majority of the French have in modern times, however, been either indifferent to religion or anti-clerical; most, but not all, of those emigrating to Kansas have had this characteristic. The first influence of French from France upon Kansas was, however, through priests from there. They came mostly from the northern and eastern fringes of France, areas more inclined to religion than many parts of the nation. The early emigrants usually originated in the same area.

85.3 Economic conditions in France furnished less of a push for emigration than in other European countries. Still the emigrants became such for economic reasons. Landholdings in France were not subject to fractionating forces; the population increase was small; one heir in a family often bought out the interests of others. With the marked tendency of the period to become déracinés (uprooted people), the population thus released departed from their native area, most often for the cities, but sometimes for foreign lands. Depopulation affected particularly areas where the soil was poor or thin, hill country, and most of the early emigrants
were from such areas, from the rough country of the Ardennes, the Vosges Mountains, the Jura Mountains and the Alps, and from the western and northern edge of the Plateau Central; somewhat later, that is in the 1870's, from the southern edge as well. The whole of that plateau might have furnished emigrants, but they more usually came from land near enough to prosperous territory to create an appetite for betterment.

85.4 With the development of industry, the push for emigration among France's labor force depended on the pulsations in employment. These were in part created by the demands of labor. During periods of strikes the urge to emigrate was stronger than at other times. Labor in France was relatively unorganized; about 1910, only 15% of textile workers belonged to unions, 17% in metallurgy. The proportion rose to 40% in the coal mines, the area of the most interest to us. The union leaders were often radical in character, seeking revolution. They "maintained an agitation that was too often artificial, and made immoderate use of strikes" (V 257). The disturbances occurred without resources having been accumulated to take care of the workers. The emigration from the northern French coal fields in the first decade of the twentieth century is largely to be explained by these periods of crisis; emigrants to Kansas came from this area, and from the Belgian area around Charleroi just across the border where conditions were similar. A strike in the 1880's at Bessèges on the edge of the Alès coal field in southern France near the Rhone accounted for part of the emigration to Osage City.
The financial crises that brought economic distress with them also spurred emigration. Some of the first French settlers in Kansas came to the United States as a result of the agricultural crisis of 1845 and 1846 which developed into an acute business crisis of 1847. The potato disease was bad in 1845, worse in 1846; in 1846 the wheat crop was a failure. "The agricultural crisis of 1847, the result of a poor harvest, was abruptly aggravated by the general economic crisis, brought on by the Revolution. The panic of the rich classes combined with unemployment among laboring classes diminished the consumption of farm products and made prices go down. The harvests of 1848 through 1851, all abundant, kept prices down and made sales more difficult on the choked markets. The crisis weighed heavily upon the peasants" (L6-356). Agriculture recovered very slowly; only toward 1860 did it reach its status of about 1845. Therefore through the early 1850's the push for emigration was strong, particularly so during the political insecurity of 1851. The push was perhaps as great in the last years of the decade following crop failures in 1856 and 1857, but the pull relaxed because of the panic of 1857 which had its first manifestation in the United States. The Civil War also relaxed the pull, and the push also became weak, for with new methods the situation in France was better; emigration from France remained low until 1866. The Franco-Prussian War was not so great a disaster economically as it was politically, and France suffered less than America and Germany through the hard year of 1873. But finan-
cial stringency -- worst for producers, that is peasants as well as industrialists -- existed during the middle 1870's and the push for emigration sent additional thousands overseas. France suffered along with the rest of Europe during the agricultural depression brought on by cheap transport of grain from newly developed areas, particularly those in America. Still people leaving rural areas seem then to have headed for the cities, though the late 1880's and the very early nineties saw more movement out of the country. The exhaustion of public lands in the U.S. and general hard times there after 1892, while in France times were better for French farmers, practically did away thereafter with rural emigration.

85.5 Taking rural and industrial emigration together throughout the period of interest the region of France that contributed most to Kansas population was near the northern frontier. The most northern district even late may have had an emigrating element that might be considered rural, for despite good lands, because of a more vigorous birth rate there than elsewhere, the outflow among the peasants was higher. A first displacement might carry then no further than the nearest industry; exit from the country might follow in a time of crisis because their roots in industry were shallow. The region around Belfort and Rougemont in eastern France contributed much to very early emigration. Those who did not come from the northern or eastern border were usually southerners as was true at Osage City, although there were
Burgundians at Cedar Point, and the politically inspired emigration was centered at Paris.

85.6 The French Swiss of Neuchatel, Kansas, came mostly from the village of Lignières in the Canton of Neuchatel, Switzerland. They were less than 40 miles south of Belfort, closer still to Rougemont, and were probably actuated by the same motives as the people from Belfort. They were Protestants, but religion played no part in their emigration.

85.7 The Belgian French emigration is to be explained as of industrial background, originating in the southern mining districts. A number of early Belgian emigrants left the Ardennes region of southern Belgium. Economic distress developed there when water-power was superseded by coal generated steam. The Belgians in the Kansas mining district were largely from near Charleroi where coal fields were approaching exhaustion late in the nineteenth century. The population had increased from 37,600 in 1840 to 145,000 in 1913. Hence emigration. In the early days the emigrant Protestants came often from the northern edge of the French speaking area, from Brussels and particularly Liège. The agricultural depression which reached its peak in the early 1880's furnished the push, it seems, along with religious motives, since for Protestants the atmosphere was not friendly to them in Belgium.

85.80 The European French of the early nineteenth century came first to New Orleans when immigrating. This was the most usual route until after 1880, but if they eventually came to Kansas, they left
New Orleans at once and settled first near St. Louis or in the valleys of the Ohio, or the Tennessee or the Cumberland. Louisville received a certain number. If the newcomers arrived at a northern port and sometimes too if they debarked at New Orleans, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin, often Wisconsin in the case of the Belgians, sheltered them for a while. One settler in Kansas of 1857 had been at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In Illinois, the flourishing French Canadian center at Kankakee or its neighborhood attracted some. In Missouri, near St. Louis, there was French Village. The old French settlements in St. Charles, St. Louis, and St. Genevieve were overwhelmed by Germans, but held out for some time particularly in the latter town. In Pennsylvania, some lived at Frenchville, very near the center of the state, and came out through Erie. In Ohio Gallipolis received its name from the French settlers of the eighteenth century (1790 - H 672-7); these people were assimilated by 1846. Another well-known French center was at Versailles in Darke County on the western edge of the state; Napoleonic soldiers were the founders. French Town near Versailles, Ohio, received a few future Kansans temporarily. The Belgian French in Wisconsin congregated near Green Bay, notably at Brussels, Wisconsin. The Belgian Calvinists at Rice, Kansas had spent some time in a colony at Braidwood, Illinois in southwestern Will County (61-135). French Swiss elements were among the early members of the Swiss settlements at Vevay, Indiana (#55.33), and opposite St. Louis at Highland, Illinois (# 55.65), founded
1832. At Torrington, in western Connecticut, the French Swiss were also important.

85.81g **Engl-izing of European French** outside of Kansas can be considered only for settlements of long standing; the more recently arriving French did not isolate themselves sufficiently to establish settlements. In 1951 at Frenchtown near Versailles, Ohio, one family was still speaking French. Those aged forty had once been able to speak if not of mixed parentage, but intermarriage had become very common. At Saint Genevieve, Missouri, about 1875 French was so accepted that anyone marrying into a French family learned French. This state of affairs did not immediately change but by 1951 even the old did not converse with each other in French. The 19th century brides from other stocks learned French to communicate with their mother- and father-in-law, but their children did not. Intermarriage particularly with Germans was so common that there was no later resistance to Engl-izing. The situation among the Belgian French at Brussels in Door County, Wisconsin, was much different. The Belgians were very generally using the Walloon dialect in 1951, but, while the immigrants had known standard French, the second generation could make little of a sermon in French. There was mingling with Flemings in the neighborhood. Everybody had become proficient in English. Bilingualism was persisting more than in many places because whole families worked together at dairying.

85.9 The **French of Louisiana** do not represent late immigration
parallel to what occurred in Kansas and have not had any direct influence on French in Kansas. Intrinsically their linguistic history is of great interest and has been treated in various studies (see inter alia, Haugen: *Bilingualism in the Americas*, p. 33). It has been of three varieties, the French of the educated New Orleans families and their economic equals on the great plantations, Negro French, the speech of the labor force on the plantations and of certain layers of the population of New Orleans, Cajun French, the language descended from that of the Acadian refugees. The first maintains itself well as a family language marking caste; all speakers or nearly all are bilingual. Negro French has been largely displaced, sometimes preliminarily by Cajun French and later by English, sometimes directly by English. Cajun French is in the 1960's the ordinary speech of a great many people of southwestern Louisiana, but bilingualism is nearly universal, and during the twentieth century English has been increasingly displacing French. Education in French all through the history of the Cajun settlement since the eighteenth century has given the language prestige and impeded deterioration among the educated. Education in English has however become so nearly universal that as a cultural language displacement has been taking place with the effects general in areas where the for-ling speakers have been immigrants rather than original settlers like these people. Displacement has been more general on the borders of the area, but penetration has also occurred.
Bibliography for French Canadians.


De - Desrosiers et Fournet. La Race française en Amérique. Montreal, 1911.


E II Elliott, A.M. "Speech Mixture in French Canada." AJP, X (1889), 133-158.


Ga - Gailly de Taurines, Ch. La Nation Canadienne. Paris, 1894.


Hu - Hughes, Everett C. French Canada in Transition. Chicago, 1943.


Se - Sixty-first Congress. Second Session. Senate Documents Vol 92


86.1 Statistics on French Canadian population in the United States

as given by Truesdale (see 84.1) of interest to the present study are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>New England (rounded)</th>
<th>Massachusetts</th>
<th>Kansas</th>
<th>Illinois</th>
<th>Nebraska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fws fb</td>
<td>fws fb</td>
<td>fws fb</td>
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<tr>
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<td>535,501 302,496</td>
<td>333,000 206,000</td>
<td>153,553 96,386</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>850,491 394,461</td>
<td>519,000 275,000</td>
<td>250,024 134,387</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>947,792 385,083</td>
<td>613,000 277,000</td>
<td>298,528 134,659</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>870,146 307,786</td>
<td>627,000 240,000</td>
<td>292,109 108,691</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,106,159 370,852</td>
<td>743,000 264,000</td>
<td>336,871 115,241</td>
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</table>
### Family Size 1930 -- Percentage of French and English Canadian Families Having 3 or More Children

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<thead>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hamp.</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Inability to Speak English, 1930 -- Percentages by Age and Sex for All the United States for French-born in Canada and Their Children (T 195)

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>Fb</th>
<th></th>
<th>Fp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-over</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Percentages by States and Sexes for French-born in Canada (T 199)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both Sexes</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Both Sexes</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>N.H.</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.I.</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>Conn.</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>Nebr.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Year of Immigration of French Canadians Resident in the United States in 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>U.S. Absolute</th>
<th>U.S. %</th>
<th>Kansas Absolute</th>
<th>Kansas %</th>
<th>Mass. %</th>
<th>Vt. %</th>
<th>Ill. %</th>
<th>Neb. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-30</td>
<td>36,096</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-24</td>
<td>55,352</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-19</td>
<td>23,531</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-14</td>
<td>16,866</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-10</td>
<td>56,318</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-earlier</td>
<td>67,097</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>73.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Kansas these statistics are in harmony with those given above for Cloud and Rooks County. Of the 27 states thus analyzed by Truesdell only Wisconsin has a higher percentage than Kansas of arrivals before 1900. There it was 84%. Minnesota (77.2), Iowa (76.8) and South Dakota (78.8) approached the Kansas percentage. For Michigan the percentage of these early comers was 44.3%; nearly as many (38.7%) had come during the 1920's. The age of those born in French Canada and resident in Kansas in 1930 also harmonizes with the figures on year of immigration. There were more people 75 or older than there were under 40.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Under 40</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>17.5%</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>17.3%</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>12.2%</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>7.7%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
United States immigration statistics for French Canada are of doubtful value. "There are literally millions of persons crossing the Canadian boundary in either direction every year" (T3), making it difficult to distinguish true immigrants from the others. Besides between the United States and Canada "there has been a considerable interchange of population from year to year. There were in Canada in 1931, for example, 55,632 . . . French, born in the United States . . . mainly children of French Canadians" (T44). Moreover the immigration statistics for years earlier than 1899 do not distinguish between French Canadians and other Canadians. They show arrivals of less than 100 a year from 1899 to 1906 and 308 for 1907. In the years following rounded to the nearest thousand the Immigration Commissioner reported for the whole United States:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are chiefly valuable in emphasizing the wave-like response to economic and political (war) conditions.

The cleavage between the French in Europe and the French in Canada is centuries old. The French began settling Quebec in 1608 and practically ceased to emigrate to Canada by 1700. Less than 10,000 persons had then come to New France; estimates vary (WD 130).
S. A. Lortie fixes the number at 4,894 (Mo 72 quoting S. A. Lortie, *Origine des Premiers Colons Canadiens-français*). From these few the later millions are descended.* Provinces contributing more

* McInnis maintains that there was "virtually no immigration after 1675," (Mc 105) but Lortie’s tables show 1,092 between 1680 and 1700. Certain authorities fix at 60,000 the population of Canada in 1763.

than 65 emigrants were according to Lortie:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Picardy</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perche</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normandy</td>
<td>958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brittany</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjou</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touraine</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limousin</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angoumois</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poitou</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunis</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saintonge</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champagne</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauce</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ile de France</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1,714

It is the custom to emphasize the large number of Normans in this immigration, (for instance, E 140-142) and to conclude that the peculiarities of Canadian speech are to be explained by this fact. It is perhaps well to point out, however, that most of the provinces in the western part of France north of Bordeaux are all well represented. The westerners north of the Loire furnished less than two hundred more than those south of the Loire, and in the more northern contingent, the contribution of Normandy was less than two hundred
greater than the sum of those from the other provinces above the Loire. The contribution of the Parisian province, the Île de France, may be regarded as of slight importance to the multiplication of the settlers because the administrators who did not become permanent residents were usually from there, and were sometimes born elsewhere. Linguistically their importance should not be minimized, for such people were among the most mobile element in the community and their linguistic influence was doubtless great. Though there exist perceptible dialectical differences between various areas in Quebec, even between those situated close together, no one has yet attempted to explain these differences by the dialects of the original inhabitants of the various early settlements, and Quebec can be regarded as a unit, quite distinguishable from Acadian.* The

* Elliott speaks of "speech oases consisting of southern French dialects, used in a few scattered villages of Acadians, such as St. Grégoire, Bécancourt, etc., that are situated on the south of the St. Lawrence, opposite Three Rivers" (E 142).

characteristics of both these dialects are most easily explained as differentiated from each other and from the French of France through the workings of time in the areas of all three forms of speech.

The severing of blood ties with France was followed by the severing of political and economic ties in 1760 and 1763 and of cultural ties, largely at the same time, but more markedly after
the French Revolution and France's orientation toward indifference and hostility to religion, particularly to the Catholic Church. (HS 5, DP 699, S 106, A 128) After the First World War Canada drew somewhat closer to France (B 220), but the relations did not become ardent. They again became warmer when, during the Second World War, Montreal became the publishing center of the exiles (Sa 173).

The only tie that remained was the language, which was the dearer because it was different from the speech of the hostile English Canadians, and for which it was impossible to find any standard of excellence other than that already established by the written word and the pronunciation of Paris.* This remaining

* Contrast the Boers' development of Afrikaans from Dutch.

tie to France became more important in Kansas than in Canada, because Canada resisted accepting priests from France, and the first generation of settlers in Kansas were served by such men. The English on taking over Canada in 1763 perceived that it would be well to propitiate the Catholic clergy, and the conquerors gave it special privileges and authority, so that the Church became the best ally of the British government for nearly two hundred years. Both these political forces were in complete sympathy with the desire of the Quebecan people to remain distinct from the "English" Canadians, the British in application of the dictum "Divide and Rule," the Church because it was dangerous to allow the pene-
tration of English Protestantism. The English agents were not always, however, skillful, and the Canadian rebellion of 1837 had its manifestations in both Upper and Lower Canada, the English and French sections. The emigration to the United States immediately following was partly of a refugee character (Ma 249, La 293), not great in numbers but pathfinding in character. No later political event in Canadian history had any perceptible direct influence stimulating emigration, not even the recurrent talk of annexation, by the majority, particularly by French Canadians and the descendants of the earliest English, regarded with dread (S 122), not even the creation of the Dominion in 1867. A semi-political factor, sending French emigrants to the U.S. rather than western Canada was dislike of "English" institutions coupled with other distaste for such people (WW 220). There were few attempts to hamper emigration by political procedures in spite of anxiety over the exodus, though there was encouragement of settlement in undeveloped parts of Canada, such as road construction along the margins of the St. Lawrence valley in the 1860's and the efforts made in the early 1870's to bring French settlers to Manitoba, but they produced small results.

86.6 Population pressures with the accompanying economic phenomena provided the only important push for emigration from French Canada (DE 101, HI 170). The five to ten thousand immigrants from France were most fecund. They numbered 70,000 by 1763 (some say 60,000; A 301) and these people became "the recognized ancestors of four
and one-half million Canadians and perhaps one and one-half million Americans" (WD 130). The total increase during the last century for pertinent parts of Canada by thousands was

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1,299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>3,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>4,309</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1851 they constituted 38% of Canada's population, in 1951, 31% (WD 135). Most of the French in Canada have been Quebecans. In 1901, the French there numbered 1,322,000; there were 326,000 "English." The French in other Canadian provinces totaled as many as the English in Quebec. Quebecans had important settlements in Ontario and in northern New Brunswick.*

* The Acadians elsewhere in New Brunswick and in Nova Scotia receive no separate notice in this study. They have furnished Kansas Canadians with a priest, but are otherwise not related to the present purpose. In certain parts of New England, notably in certain cities in Maine and in Hartford, Conn., Acadians have in modest numbers been nineteenth and twentieth century immigrants. Settlements older than English-speaking settlements, notably the Acadians of Louisiana and those on the American side of the St. John River in Maine are of great interest and extended considera-
tion of them is here rejected with regret, because Kansas has been unaffected by them and offers no parallel. In general it may be said that until the twentieth century both these groups resisted Engl-izing as vigorously and as successfully as the Quebecans. The twentieth century has, however, seen great penetration by English. The people in Maine, being the smaller groups, are in the 1960's more nearly Engl-ized, but numerically French has lost many more speakers in Louisiana.

specified Quebecan and French Canadian are used interchangeably hereafter.

Canadians had multiplied by 1851 more than ten-fold since 1763; emigration had already taken many French from Canada. Agricultural methods had not greatly changed (La 295, Lo 284); the good lands of the original area of settlement had all been taken up several decades before. The people were obliged to spread further or become miserable. The landholding system, as described
above for France, excluded fragmentation (Hu 8). A family chose an inheriting son, and others, properly helped, sought employment elsewhere when there were enough arms to work the farm (Mi 27, 86 et passim, Hu 8). There was never the sentiment that a given bit of territory should support all the persons born upon it. Departure from one's birthplace was regarded as a natural phenomenon. Reproduction was unstinted; no matter how many children in a family, ten, twenty or even more — many observers attest to family size (for example S 235, E 145), every Canadien was sure that all would find a livelihood to the glory of God and the race (S 238). Early marriage was the custom, and the older children helped bring up the younger. No more orderly system for the mass reproduction of the human species has existed. By the mid-twentieth century contrary pressures had developed (Mi 269), but earlier fecundity begat emigration.

86.70 Geographical considerations prevented much spread to the north and west of Quebec. By the time that the French felt the need for expansion beyond the province, British immigrants were already in possession of the best of Ontario. Not the cold, but the inhospitable and barren nature of the Laurentian Shield prevented penetration of the north and of the west too, for the Shield comes down from the north to Lakes Superior and Huron and even reappears on their south side, blocking for hundreds of miles penetration of the Canadian West (HM 135). Consequently, Quebecans of the mid-nineteenth century looking for homes in the West found the
plains and prairies of the United States much more accessible than Manitoba. But New England and New York were still easier to reach -- even walking there was possible, and with the opening of industrial developments in New England, the French flowed in that direction from Quebec (HM 125).

86.7Ig The most important expelling economic consideration at work in Quebec was the inability of agriculture to expand further in the Saint Lawrence Valley (WD 220, Hu 12, HM 124) and the exhaustion of the important sources of lumber supply. A legislative investigation of 1849 recognized that "the decline in lumbering operations along the tributaries of the St. Lawrence" was causing emigration. The surplus men were no longer able to find winter work there "and the investigators' concern was not only with New England factories but also the pull to the prairies of the west" (HM 126). Kankakee, Illinois, was in the prairies of the west. The largest of the tributaries whose white pine forests were exhausted was the St. Maurice River (WF 334) that flowed into the St. Lawrence at Trois Rivières, whence came settlers ultimately reaching Kansas. At the same time too there was agitation because expansion into the Eastern Townships, that is, the country to the north of Vermont and New Hampshire, was being hampered. Here, indeed, financial maneuvers were delaying settlement of agricultural lands. The British-American Land Company had a huge grant there, and despite high prices had succeeded in founding English settlements there. The prices, however, kept out set-
tlers of all types, and it was only little by little that the French took over this area adjacent to their old settlements. "English" financial maneuvers caused bitterness between them and the French in the region of Montreal and Trois Rivières during the middle of the nineteenth century, contributing further to the push for emigration among the French (WF 339). Conditions in French Canada from 1870 to 1910 have been described as a continuous state of depression (La 241). Canadian industry did not develop at a rate at all calculated to take care of the increased population (La 295). The push for emigration was continuously strong and as long as there were free lands in the American West, the push continued somewhat in that direction, that is, toward Kansas for one place. The turn of the Canadian West came shortly afterward, and efforts to interest the French of Kansas in becoming Canadian citizens again drew a few of them away, but they had been too long in the south to endure the cold. They complained that there was ice in the wells in July. In the total movement of French Canadians, departures for the West played a small part. Most of the French went to New England.

86.80 The Catholic Church, at least since 1763, has been the most important force in the direction of French life in Canada (see particularly S 11-51). In 1931, 99.4% of the French in Quebec were Catholics (145), and similar statements could be made for any other year (cf Mi 31). After the conquest the British allowed those who wished to do so to depart. Those who left included most
of the seigneurs (A 301), roughly, country squires, who much more democratically than the seigneurs in France directed local Canadian life. The colony was left "without its natural lay leaders and its most ardent French patriots. The religious leaders faithful to Catholic tradition, for the most part stayed with their flocks, and, unchecked by an equally competent lay group, became and have since remained the all-powerful group in the province. . . . [The French Canadian] feels, and probably correctly, that it was the Church who saved his language from disappearance [S 50], and possibly his race from amalgamation" (DK 700-1). It has largely been an independent force, much more respectful of Papal authority than France is (B 263) but controlled by Rome only to the extent of settling its internal dissensions (WF 381), tax-supported (A 104, WF 64, S 13), allowed great political ascendancy by the British government (S 12), as long as London was a potent source of authority, fully productive of its own personnel (S 18) after the English conquest so that foreign influences, above all ideas from France (S 26, 31), were of no consequence, with respected bishops and with a parish system that made the priest a most powerful social agent in his small domain. He and his parishioners seem very seldom to have been at loggerheads. This was partly because he was recruited from among the habitants (Hu 11), was well educated for his work, though not in such a manner as to give him notions of grandeur or of other disturbing character. English
and Protestant were for him and for his parishioners synonymous (S 49, 21); he practically forbade mixed marriages (S 23). The Catholic Irish were in Ontario; the few in Quebec were absorbed into the French. The "English" spoke a heretical language (S 22, 29), and priests and people were convinced that faith would be lost if French were lost (A 329, S 20, 47, HS 4). Not that the priests had to make any effort to preserve French in their parishes. But as soon as exportation of population began, the emigrants had the ingrained idea that they would cease to be Catholic as soon as they ceased to speak French (inter alia A 329). This sort of sentiment has its parallel in every immigrant group, but it was stronger among the French Canadians than among others because the "English" were a constant danger (A 307), a danger that had been and would continue to be successfully resisted. In the years before the middle of the nineteenth century, ecclesiastical fears of this type caused the Church to discourage emigration to New England and to promote settlement in, among other undeveloped lands, the "American Middle West" (WC 170). Later their attitude changed. The Catholic Church in Quebec was neither an uplifting nor a depressive force in the non-religious life of the people, who were not priest-ridden in the sense that they were exploited (B 262, Lo 285). But the Church was a powerful directive force (E 149, S 3 et passim), the parishes were democratic theocracies, democratic because representatives of the people made many decisions, theocratic because the representatives, chosen to suit
the clergy (S 14), yielded to superior lights as long as yielding
required only modest outlays of money for non-religious purposes;
they supported to the limits of their resources religious expen­
ditures, and bound religion into much that elsewhere may be slight­
ly related to it. The priests, too, seldom differed with their
bishops, and the bishops had no hesitancy in declaring sinful al­
most anything not to their taste. André Siegfried quotes a pas­
toral letter of the Bishop of Quebec of Sept. 22, 1875: "Not only
is the Church independent of the Commonwealth -- she stands above
it. . . . It is not the Church that is comprised in the State;
it is the State that is comprised in the Church " (S 35). Siegfried
also cites the Bishop of Rimouski as claiming that the refusal
of the Sacraments would not have been made unless there were those
who resisted, but the frankness of statement evidently infers quite
general agreement. Siegfried was no friend of the Catholic Church,
but another visitor from France, a Catholic himself quite sympa­
thetic in general, L. Arnould, writing in 1913, portrays the bish­
ops as trying to control all conduct, not always successfully when
it was a question of amusements, but with sufficient authority to
guarantee the financial failure of any hostile journal (A 133).

Direction of education in the province of Quebec was left
to the Church throughout the period interesting us (S 65 ff).
All elementary schools were parochial, and while a board of edu­
cation passed on budgetary matters and expressed themselves on
sundry subjects, they were almost always receptive to pastoral suggestions as long as money outlay was modest (S 71). Education then adhered to the ideals set forth above as those of the church (S 72). Religion and language as national emblems were bound together in the child's training. And though education was free (S 65), during the period of most interest to us, education was not too much insisted upon (S 70) especially for boys. They were needed in the fields. In 1916 the literacy rate was 87% (B 287). Horace Miner in Saint Denis, data collected in 1936, relates that regularly in plowing a small boy drove the team while the farmer held the plow handles (Mi 148); the boy might be his son, but if he had none, he hired one. Miner says further: "A generation ago many of the men in the parish could not sign their names. [In the early nineteenth century a petition of 87,000 French Canadians bore 78,000 crosses and 9,000 signatures (B 281).] The women have always been the scribes of the families. They keep the farm accounts; and the local deputy to Ottawa says that it is invariably the women who write, requesting positions for their men" (Mi 36). School lent prestige, however, and the maintenance of the parochial schools was an accepted duty, a habit carried into the United States.

86.82g The importance of the family was very great. Marriages occurred early, arranged by parents, but in accord with the desires of the contracting parties. The numerous children each acquired
a function in family organization recognized by the others -- the future priest and the inheriting son were known for such and their lives and the lives of others, insofar as affected, adjusted to the prospect -- so for people with other functions. Obviously adjustments were necessary in the United States, but the traditions were more easily maintained, the revolution less, than in stocks -- the Italian for instance -- where the family was strong but less democratically organized. The habit of each person's accepting an assigned rôle made the shift to industrial life in New England easier. But parish and family discipline made for a society less permeable to outside influences than most. The traditional gaiety of the French Canadian added to this effect; though a surface phenomenon, it was a protection against the pressures of ridicule and disdain. A trait working in the opposite direction was interest in politics, the habit of participation to reach desired goals.

86.9 Resistance by French Canadians to absorption by the English-speaking people whether in Canada or in the United States has been a conscious state, a result of their "passionate devotion to their language, their religion and their traditions" (S 231). In Quebec no territory has been lost (A 245) even though in the cities the "English" long succeeded in maintaining almost acknowledged social superiority (S 100). Indeed, the English speakers have tended to be absorbed. French Canadians sometimes bear the names of soldiers in the troops disbanded by the English after the conquest of 1760 (Mc 136, Dr 696) or the names of British settlers in the Eastern
Townships. These names are almost all Irish or Highland Scotch. Marriage to their owners could be accomplished within the faith. Marriages to non-Catholics were rare and combatted vigorously by the Church (A 99). The Glacier-like advance of French speech into the Townships and even beyond into the northern portion of bordering American states has gone on without end (A 322, E 146, De 17, Lo 280, 294, Hu 19, HM 90). The superior birth rate of the French constantly increased the number of children born into French-speaking homes. The French have been quite conscious of this "revanche du berceau" (revenge through the cradle) and proud of it (see for example A 322, DP 705, De 16), at least until recently when "revanche du cerveau" (revenge through the brain) has been invented to rhyme with and displace "revanche du berceau." Part of the resistance to Engl-izing has taken the form of efforts to improve the quality of Canadian French. Though there are intellectuals who would discard the practice of Paris as a guide, the ideal usually accepted is that of Europe. The movement at once strengthens resistance to English by providing a standard, and weakens it by leading the habitant to think his speech is inferior (Mi 33). Resistance in Canada to shift from French to English has been, however, until recently less than the resistance to shift from English to French, as statistics cited by Jacques Henriripin show. The percentages of persons of French origin reporting English as their mother tongue were:

1931 - 4.78%  
1941 - 5.89%  
1951 - 7.77%
The corresponding percentages for persons of English origin reporting French as mother tongue were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of men</th>
<th>% of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>0.87%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>0.96%*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data from 1931 for the Province of Quebec show the greater tendency of women to be monolingual.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Those of Eng. mother tongue who learned French} & \text{32.7} & \text{24.8} \\
\text{Those of French mother tongue who learned Eng.} & \text{45.5} & \text{32.4}
\end{array}
\]

"We may suspect that assimilation is the more intensive in proportion as the ethnic group of those assimilated is more weakly represented in the milieu in which they live. Thus, in Quebec Province, where they are relatively low numerically, 8.4% of the British have French as their mother tongue. The percentage is 6.1% for Montreal, where the British are 17.7% of the population. Let us now consider the French living outside of their "glacier": 29% have abandoned their original tongue. . . . For a given "ethnic density" the French Canadians seem to assimilate more easily than the English Canadians. That may be because of the greater difficulties encountered by the French, when they are a minority group in the establishment of minimum cultural facilities (schools, radio)" (WD 175). In spite of this, from 1941 to 1951 in Quebec and New Brunswick because of the birth rate the number of French speakers increased. A danger to French in Canada is the invasion of the vocabulary by English (already studied in 1889 by Elliot, EII 133 ff, noted by Arnould in 1894, A 248). Words
for new things are taken over from English (Mi 276). While a like invasion by English in the United States is always a part of the process of displacement of immigrant languages, the phenomenon in Canada has no great significance, less than the French themselves attribute to it. The invasion is minor compared to the territory Romance and Latin hold in the English language. The vocabulary invasion by English (Mi 244) is slight in the country (A 247), great among the inhabitants of cities, and the movement to the cities has become increasingly marked (Mi 248, La 242), but city life in the province of Quebec offers few dangers to French as compared to those the language has suffered in American cities. Like other studies of the Quebecans, this one has given little consideration to a growth of bilingualism. Bilingual persons are not rare in the cities but a good knowledge of both languages is rare except in the practice of business where it is advantageous (Mi 32), and is sometimes lacking there when it would be profitable. Still, bilingual instruction is urged (A 325), and more or less exists (Mi 32), more in the 20th century than earlier (B 289).

87.00 New England, the destination of the great mass of French Canadian emigrants, received them, sometimes on abandoned farms but much more importantly in the mill towns, that is, unequally distributed with great concentrations. The rural inhabitants of Quebec became urban masses. As such, their social development might be expected to contrast with the evolution of the rural
settlements in Kansas. The contrast, though important, is not so great as might be imagined or at least was not so for many, many years, largely because of the constant interchange of population between the country of the habitants in Canada and the new settlements, thus perpetuating in the United States certain rural characteristics, partly too because all French Canadians had received the same training in resistance to outside culture. As to numbers in New England, we have already seen that approximately 2/3 of the French Canadian stock in the United States -- stock defined by the census as immigrants and their children -- lived in New England during the first decades of the twentieth century, and the territorial distribution remained the same later. Estimates as to how many persons of French Canadian ancestry, counting the third and later generations, there are in the United States vary. The Canadian "fws" of the census sank from over a million in 1930 to 900,000 in 1940 and 758,000 in 1950, but the stock in a broader sense has of course grown larger. Nathan Heyfits quotes two estimates of 1923, one of one million and the other of one and three-fourths. Heyfits, in 1960, adds, "O.A. Lemieux has drawn my attention to a recent [estimate] of two and one-half million" (WD 137). Taking all generations into consideration the high estimates seem reasonable, and we may therefore consider that New England contained 1 2/3 million citizens of French Canadian ancestry in the 1950's, nearly half of them in Massachusetts.* Theriault, he also writing in 1960, considers
* The estimate quoted by Lanctot for 1935 (La 262) is 1,700,000 for the U.S., 876,000 for New England. It does not specify how many generations it includes. It gives 9,000 for Kansas which is \(2\frac{1}{2}\) times the fws of 1930 while the estimate for Illinois is 8 times higher, and that for New England is only 18% higher.

estimates just below one million the best for New England. He is probably right for the number that could be affected by the spirit expressed in the manifesto of 1949 made at the centennial celebration in Worcester, Mass. "Upon the spiritual plane, the Franco-Americans are Roman Catholics; upon the temporal plane they are American citizens; finally they are by tradition, language, and spirit French" (WD 393). These words differ but little from those of declarations uttered for more than half a century previously. They were not so factually exact in 1949 as they had been earlier, but they bespeak a spirit that leads to like proclamations in the 1960's. The term "Franco-Americans" does not apply to the French who are resident in Canada. To a Canadian, whether French or English, an American is an inhabitant of the United States. Franco-Americans do not include the French from Europe in the minds of those who use the term; at best Europeans would be included only if their Catholic faith were warm.
The persistence of the Franco-American ideal among the children of the 1950's is well expressed in this quotation: "My generation, too, was indoctrinated with the idea that we are Franco-Americans. We never say we are just Americans. Our language is still very dear to us -- not the language of the Frenchman but the speech of the "Canadien." We don't want to lose it because we feel that it is a symbol and a memory of the strong faith and family ties given us by our parents and grandparents."

Historically there were French Canadians coming to the United States at least as early as the Revolutionary campaigns into Canada (La 294), but immigration of importance did not begin until the pull of higher wages for work in industry began to be felt (HM 125). The first comers to what was later an industrial center appeared in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, in 1814 or 1815 (HM 123, WW 216, WC 164). Other mill towns received their first French as follows: Worcester, Mass., 1820; Manchester, N.H., 1830; Lewiston, Me., 1831; Southbridge, Mass., 1832. All these towns except Southbridge had over 20,000 French inhabitants in the 1950's. Southbridge's total inhabitants numbered less than 18,000 in 1950; most of them were French, but not all Franco-American. Theriault in 1960 published estimates as follows (WD 392-399):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Range</th>
<th>City, State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30,000-40,000</td>
<td>Fall River, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woosocket, R.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000-30,000</td>
<td>New Bedford, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lowell, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000-20,000</td>
<td>Biddleford, Me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fitchburg, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lewiston, Me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manchester, N.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nashua, N.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pawtucket, R.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central Falls, R.I.*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Hansen (HM 214) provides a map showing well distribution in New England and New York State.

This listing does not include important elements in Burlington, Vermont, and neighboring towns, nor those in the south half of Massachusetts' Connecticut Valley, Holyoke to Springfield, nor in a great many smaller towns (Ma 254) where the French element became very strong in proportion to the total population. With Southbridge, Skowhegan, Maine, is a good example. Where the French made a less imposing proportion of the population, they were still fully independent of the Americans. The dependency everywhere was primarily limited to job procurement. The early industrial comers were often the nomadic and unstable element, but the French soon gained a reputation for reliability -- or docility, some said (HI 188, B 215).

87.02 In the main the Canadians succeeded the Irish on the lowest rung of the economic ladder (HI 201). The Irish were fewer to
the north of Massachusetts. Where the French preponderated, so did their churches. In 1949 three-fourths of the Catholic parishes in the diocese of Manchester were French, over 2/3 of those of the Portland diocese and 3/5 of those of the Burlington diocese. In these same dioceses, the number of French priests in 1935 was 92, 98, and 35, a total of 225, whereas in Massachusetts there were 270 (La 262). The dioceses farther south having the highest percentage of French churches were Fall River, 26%, and Springfield, 33%. In other words in Massachusetts where the French were most numerous the competition from the Irish was from two to three times as great as in northern New England. The French were later in part succeeded as economic footballs by the "new" immigrants who also were Catholic; competition and struggle has, however, been with the Irish (WC 168, La 246, Ma 266 et passim).

87.03g The immigration was moderate until the Civil War; the war stimulated it (WW 216), and afterward it swelled mightily (Ma 250). The "mal des Etats-Unis" had seized the country. "Whole parishes were deserted and their empty houses boarded up" (Lo 284). There was a subsidence with the panic of 1873 (HM 169), but again the in-flow was very large through the eighties (HM 211) and until the hard times of the nineties began. After that economic crisis, immigration resumed as shown above to end with the great depression of the 1930's (La 297). The years in which the American economy was in poor shape were not only years of light immigration. They were years during which many returned to Canada, often to
come back again later. This back and forth movement was in the 19th century much more marked than for any other immigrant stock. The "new" immigrants, especially the Italians, were almost as fluid in their movements, but their period of restlessness was shorter. The resulting conservative influence was of greater duration in the case of French Canadian culture, also more evident to the Yankees and the Irish and to the Canadians themselves because the Europeans of the 1870's and 1880's behaved differently. Those French who returned to Canada had been little affected by a stay in New England. At St. Denis in 1936 in a parish totaling 700 persons there were 40 adults who had "spent a few years working in New England. . . . They never learned English since they had French 'bosses.' They never went to moving pictures or theaters. They did a new kind of work but after hours the women knitted and the men smoked and talked, just as they would have done in Canada" (Mi 41-42). The influence of such a life with the prospect of return to Canada was considerable, but still, its importance has perhaps been exaggerated; the western settlements were culturally as conservative without benefit of such frequent exchange of population with Canada.

In New England the parish priests of French Canada did not accompany the first immigrants. Indeed the movement southward was abhorrent to them (WC 169, Ma 256) because it subjected their people to many evil influences. But presently they perceived that they were needed, and arrived hoping not only to preserve their
own but also to win new territory for their faith. This missionary prospect was to be accomplished not by conversions but by the fecundity of their countrymen (Lo 282). They were transplanting their organization and their practices at home (La 244) and with these features all the rest of their French culture, most notably and most sacredly their French language. "Faith is lost with language," they said (Ma 320). Naturally the Irish, completely in charge of Catholic affairs in New England, did not welcome the advent of a competing clergy (WC 177, Lo 290, De 224, N 337). They saw a threat to unity and had not had the experience of sharing dioceses with other stocks, as was true where the Germans were numerous beyond the Alleghenies. The French immigrants stayed away from church rather than attend the Irish parishes or else became "discontented, insubordinate, uncontrollable" (WC 186, see also N 339). They were not even content with European French pastors (N 330).

History of Growth of French Parishes in New England. The French themselves had to call in the Canadian pastors; the hierarchy was loath to create national parishes. To be sure the first Bishop of Burlington, in the state of Vermont, where the Irish were less numerous, was French, but from Brittany. On his arrival in 1853 he tried unsuccessfully to procure Canadian clergy. He was obliged to import seven priests from his native province (WC 172, Ma 258). However, a national parish in charge of a French Canadian priest had been established in Burlington in 1850 (DE 226,
WC 163). Earlier Father Zéphyren Lévesque established a congre-
gation at Worcester which is regarded as having become a French
national parish by 1849. The parishes became numerous after the
Civil War. Between 1868 and 1890 sixty-three were founded (Ma
270 ff, WC 174-5). With a very few exceptions, the founding pas-
tors bore Quebecan names: Gagnier, Dauray, Bédard, Chevalier (WC
176) to mention a few owned by remarkable men. The parishes were
conducted very much as in the old province. There the Church was
an established Church and money was obtained through governmental
channels, but the budgeting had been determined locally, and the
Canadians showed themselves as generous in New England as they
had been before emigration. Though the founding of the parishes
made permanent a floating population (WC 180), the parish became
a yet firmer center of national activity than in Quebec because
there was no refuge beyond it. No very serious pressures except
from Irish colleagues diverted religious behavior from the old
pattern brought from Canada until the First World War. The French
fought the Irish stubbornly in this matter, and their insistence
on national parishes was even at times riotous (WC 184, HL 257,
263). Still, at the beginning of the twentieth century there were
"forebodings that the assimilative tide would sweep away the great
network of Franco-American parishes" (WC 188). When the insistance
upon Americanization came from all sides, the adjustment did not
take the form of language abandonment. Then the French recognized
that they were not Canadians, but Americans, and in 1931 Mrs.
Wessel wrote: "'We want an American-trained French clergy,' said one Rhode Island priest, 'a clergy that is "American-minded."'" (WW 245) Vocations to the priesthood were numerous enough to satisfy this demand, but the old priests were not anxious to be displaced, and Theriault holds that the hierarchy deliberately left them in charge because it desired a French clergy lacking dynamism from age, tending to ossification in old habits, thus making the young drift to other parishes. This was his view of the condition existent about 1940. Of a later period, he says in 1955, "In recent years the hierarchy of the Church has begun to exert marked pressure upon the traditional Franco-American parishes... A number of more or less positive steps have been taken to force changes in the direction of making these parishes conform to the basic policy of the Church. It is reasonable to assume that these steps are not taken without a careful reading of the opportunities, even the necessities, created by internal changes in the habits of language and the interests and values of the Franco-American parishioners" (WD 408). The report in 1960 from several of these parishes was that priests, aged less than 50, spoke English with each other, French only with their seniors, so that resistance to linguistic change would be slight among them. For French Canadians of the second and third generations the national parish often lost its lure; 19,000 belonged to French churches in Fall River in 1957, 11,000 to territorial parishes (HL 267). The situation in conservative Lewiston was similar. Still, French churches on the average had preaching in
French at two-thirds of their masses.

87.12 The early pastors did their best to discourage "mixed marriages" (Lo 288), meaning marriages with others than French. They were successful for some time. In 1909 the Senate investigators at Woonsocket interviewed 175 children under 14 years of age employed in the factories; 113 of them had both parents born in Canada; 11 had mothers but not fathers born in Canada and 4 fathers but not mothers born in Canada; the other 48 had neither parent born in Canada. (Se 64) Since men and girls of the second generation of the French may account for most of the parents not born in Canada, we may assume that intermarriage was nearly non-existent. In 1960 parishes could still be found where the priests maintained the effort, but by then the battle was lost, for in most of the towns possessing large French settlements there were other Catholic stocks, and the defense was weak against them, particularly if they were not Irish. At Saint Anthony's in New Bedford in 1955, out of 50 marriages, 27 were "mixed." In 1880 in Fall River seven eights of the marriages involving Canadians were between "Francos," in 1937 half, in 1961 one fifth (FL 265).

87.2 Parochial schools were established almost immediately in French parishes, sometimes against resistance from nativists (WC 183). In 1908 they had grown to number 133 with 55,000 pupils (De 231). They tolerated very little English until the pressures of the First World War came to bear. The teachers were sisters
much oftener than in Quebec, and some of those Yankee-born, were educated in Canada (B 217). Sometimes, too, they came from France, much more frequently than the pastors. "Franco" sisters ultimately were in the great majority. The hostility of 100% Americans to everything foreign during and after the First World War led in the schools of the Quebecans to some compromise as to the language of instruction, belated as we shall see for Rhode Island, earlier in Vermont and New Hampshire, fully accepted only very late in Maine (Lo 291), where in 1927 the lower grades knew little English, and the higher grades had a "fair knowledge" (Lo 291). By 1960 even in Maine where instruction in French held out long -- in the last years despite the law -- French was used only in instruction in French as a foreign language and in religion, sometimes not too successfully in the latter case. One pastor said, "They spend 90% of their time explaining in English what the French means" (see also HL 269). For such instruction meaning is more important than language; so "prayers must be learned in English as well as in French" (WD 409). In 1966 a young lady born during the Second World War wrote of conditions in the Connecticut valley in Massachusetts. "We still have bilingual schools, but they are weakening rapidly. My own grammar school and parish church are constantly being threatened by incoming families who no longer or never did speak French. More and more time is being spent teaching, praying, singing and sermonizing in English. There is an undercurrent of resentment and panic in the hearts of the old
people who observe the rapid changes. We must give in to the
demands of the Irish bishop. Even our French Catholic High
School [highly rated] is being threatened. The Bishop wants to
amalgamate all the Catholic high schools into one single school." In
the days of greatest immigration the parochial schools over­
flowed, and many children attended the public schools, achieved
bilingualism almost at once, and came to regard French as meant
only for the home and the backward.

87.30 Politically the French were at first regarded as an inert
group. The influence of their priests was then against naturali­
zation. But the Quebecans were accustomed to political action
(Mi 245). The clergy began to see the advantages of political
control, promoted naturalization, and after some years the French
took their place as a group (Lo 289, HM 212, MA 296) which was
very potent where their numbers were great. They used their
power to conserve their ideals. "Their ambition has always been --
once naturalization in their adopted land was secured -- to con­
stitute bodies devoted to the preservation of their customs and
language, as well as to safe-guarding their faith" (La 244).
These words were written in 1929. A somewhat earlier example
shows the application of this policy. In Rhode Island in the
early 1920's when "hyphenated" Americans were anathema everywhere,
Robert Dexter wrote of them, "They intend to see to it that their
young people remain French-Americans. They do not fear the hyphen;
they glory in it" (DG 216). When in 1922 the Republicans with a "Franco" governor whom the French had helped put in office sought by means of the Peck Bill to require English as the language of instruction in all schools, the French, who were one-sixth of the electorate, rebelled and the next administration was Democratic, even though the Canadians were thus obliged to line up with the Irish. The compromises worked out advanced instruction in English, but cautiously. Another example. In certain cities of Maine Irish machines prevailed politically. The French allied themselves with the Yankees and secured changes in state laws that allowed them to take over municipal administrations where they were strong. At Lewiston in 1960 an Irishman said bitterly, "Now that they have control of the city they don't hesitate to show they are French. Most of the men on jobs in factories talk French together." He perhaps exaggerated, but Lewiston had received a later reinforcement from Canada than most cities. After a merger, a company had closed down a plant in eastern Ontario where half of the employees were monolingual Quebecans, and moved the personnel to Lewiston. Circumstances were not always so favorable to the conservation of the French language, but the political power of the French in New England was a definite deterrent to assimilation. Other ethnic groups have developed political power also, but have not usually exercised it to the same end.

The struggle for survivance is perhaps most dramatically illustrated by political activities, though no phase of Franco-American life in New England can be treated without touching it.
American commentators became as eloquent upon the subject as the Francos themselves. "Survivance, preservation of religion, language, and customs had become an obsession with the French Canadians as a result of more than a century's struggle to maintain their identity under British rule in Canada" (WC 183). So spoke Mason Wade in 1951. There was more heat earlier. "Schooled and encouraged by their success in preserving themselves a nation apart in Canada they [came] to the United States with the same ideals" (DF 367). "These Frenchmen have struggled to keep themselves a separate group, untouched by any assimilative tendency" (DG 215). These are the words of Robert Dexter in 1923 and 1924. In 1930 he spoke somewhat less harshly, but still emphatically, "The French-Canadians are in many ways the most racially conscious of any group which it has been my experience in some fifteen years of social work in this country and Canada to have come across. . . . An essential article of faith among the French [is] that English-speaking and Protestant America is materialistic, impious and in need of regeneration [cf. La 246, Lo 292] and that possibly the French through their staunch Catholicism and unsullied tradition may act as the necessary redeemers. [A] French writer, M. Wilson . . . says that they are fighting without stop or without mercy to conserve their language and their dogmas . . . and that they will use all human means to postpone the supreme hour of the agony to the race under the mortal blow of assimilation. [Such statements] are extreme but nevertheless they are their own statements and reflect their own attitude." (GD 73-75). More exactly they re-
flected the attitude of the generation of French then active, and they must not be understood to imply disloyalty to the United States. Even for the 1880's Hansen is right in saying, "it was a new kind of nationalism, one that was strongly tinged with Americanism" (HM 212). Leaders of the Survivance were still eloquent in the 1960's; for example in Le Travailleur of Worcester and and L'Indépendant of Fall River. But even these leaders weakened in practice. Ph. A. Lajoie, editor of the Indépendant, was also a choir director. Despite his admonitions to others he used English before his choir "so as to be understood." "He does not seem to know," remarked a priest sadly, "that we have the same need for our sermons." The Indépendant became a weekly in November, 1962, ceased publication the next January (PL 274).

32g The Franco-American press, as implied just above, has been politically militant (B 247), devoted religiously (De 234), and was at one time powerful. As literacy increased, the number of readers increased, and from about 1890 to 1930 the journals expressed ideas which the numerous readers were willing to receive; all were ideas bound up with the survivance of French. But the number of readers has greatly fallen off. A competent authority estimated in 1960 for the Indépendant of Fall River that there were no more than a thousand subscribers for a population in the area of 30,000 "Francos." The decrease has not been caused entirely by loss of linguistic competency among readers; persons past thirty could easily establish the habit of reading the printed words. Perhaps the most important cause is that the other news
media supply information earlier; also the militancy has tended laterally to produce more smiles than sympathy. Few have cared to echo the Travailler in shouting "Traitor" at those unenthusiastic in the work for survivance.

87.4 French Canadians organized societies of national character as early as 1834 in Canada (De 123). They began forming them in the United States in 1848 and as time went on they became more and more numerous. "These societies, without confusing their individual interests, became federated, with the goal of defending more effectively their common interests of race and religion. Such was the avowed aim of the 'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique' founded at Woonsocket, R.I., in 1900, today counting 307 lodges and 23,400 members" (De 235). So wrote Desrosiers and Fournet in 1911 (see also Ma 291) and listed further five similar societies, but the latter never achieved a commanding position. General conventions, where all participated, were held repeatedly (De 237). Besides acting as insurance groups the societies promoted the establishment of new parishes, promoted French Catholic interests in many ways, and acted politically (B 217). "By their active propaganda in favor of naturalization, they helped to consolidate the political influence of our compatriots" (De 236). The Franco-American society that has exerted the most influence is the Union St.-Jean-Baptiste.* The Association Canado-Améri-

* Curiously, the "Francos," in speaking of this society rhyme the saint's name with 'clean,' which is a bit of testimony as to how strong the tendency is not to use terminology employed
caine has also been important (HI 259). Local informants feel that the 
Union persists as an insurance society primarily. The meetings 
were in the 1960's still conducted in French, but degenerated 
into English when financial matters of any importance had to be 
settled. Without financial agenda, only oldsters attended.

87.5 The family among French immigrants to New England remained 
a force of great importance. It made the ties with Quebec close 
originally (N 367, HI 188), and they weakened only when new immi-
gration became inconsiderable. An immigrant of age 3 in 1900 said 
in 1960 that he felt great need for visits to Canada while his 
parents lived, that such trips were very pleasant while his bro-
thers and sisters were flourishing, but that afterward they were 
of indifferent interest. His case seems typical, and the next 
generation found still fewer attractions. Visitors from Canada 
to families long established in New England were sometimes regarded 
as irksome after 1950. Canada by 1960 had become simply the goal 
of tourism, an important goal because of religious pilgrimages. 
These later tourists, even when competent, sometimes pretended 
to be unable to speak French at their stops in Canada. The fre-
quency of employment of mothers of families in New England exerted 
both disintegrating and conservative influence on language usage. 
The children played more often on the streets in such cases and 
learned English, sometimes with an Irish accent. Sometimes though 
they were under the care of their grandmothers with whom they
could use only French. On the whole the family was a conservative force, for while it was a close unit, stratification of authority was not overemphasized and the generations mingled with something nearer harmony than in many stocks. Thus the linguistic habits of the old could not be too greatly disregarded. The family, as the seat of reproduction, was of great conservative importance. Fecundity among the Canadians held up well, and was once the basis of great hopes. Gailly de Taurines wrote in 1894, "The Canadian population will hold fast and increase in the United States. Its movement of expansion is but at its beginning. What pressure will this American France exert, alive and vigorous as it is, upon an Anglo-Saxon population in process of decay" (GA 214).

French among the Franco-Americans resisted displacement longer than immigrant languages brought into New England by other stocks. This phenomenon is to be explained partly by the ease of communication because it was "the transfer en masse of a civilization: schools, churches, journals, and professions, all complete" (Lo 286). In 1900 Nevers could say, "The Anglicization movement has been definitively contained" (N 367). But, already in 1906, Siegfried was writing, "These emigrants . . . seem to have absolutely severed from the bulk of their race . . .; they continue to speak the language and cluster about their parish priests. . ., but, [though] you may row up against the stream of British civilization, the stream of American civilization submerges you every
time" (S 125). However, in 1912 Father Magnan boasted, "Subjected
for years to a systematic pressure exerted almost everywhere, at
school, during catechism, at church, in the factories, in social
relationships and calculated to achieve nothing less than the in-
noculation willy-nilly with the Hibernian virus bearing an Ameri-
can label, we find them still Canadians at heart, their speech a
little the worse for wear but still French, absolutely as if they
had left only yesterday the banks of the St. Lawrence where, how-
ever, they were not born" (Ma 306; also 296). He also boasted
that they were bilingual (MA 298). In 1929 Lower recorded that
rural French south of the settlements near the border had been
yielding to English, but he goes on, "Those communities where
they settled in compact blocks, as in Nashua, Fall River, Woon-
socket, and so on . . . maintain that no impression is being made
upon them and French is being spoken even unto the third and
fourth generation, a contention the force of which is not lessened
by a stroll about the streets of such cities. Many minor centers
seem also to be holding out" (Lo 293). Mrs. Wessel in 1931 modi-
fies their claims somewhat: "The French Canadians insist and our
data would corroborate the assertion that their adherence to the
French language is not inconsistent with the use of English . . . .
We have here a people that remains not only bi-lingual, but bi-
cultural . . . Franco-American not French Canadian" (WW 245). A
few years later Theriault had less confidence, and in 1955 he
wrote, "Outside of the churches and schools in the everyday life.
of Franco-Americans, habits of living give every appearance of being in a highly unstable state ... do not present a hopeful prospect for the future of French as a language of everyday use. ... It is still possible for members of the older generation to transact business, pray, read newspapers, and converse with their neighbors exclusively in French" (WD 409). There were still some who had been in New England forty years unable to speak English. The middle-aged shifted back and forth from one language to the other. "Among the young English tends to be the language in use. French may be understood, and frequently is, but it is much less frequently used. Very often one finds a marked reluctance to speak French" (WD 410). On a walk through a fête champêtre, presumably at Nashua, the town with which he was intimately acquainted, "French was heard only occasionally and very rarely indeed from children and young people talking among themselves." The report from Manchester for similar occasions for the last half of the 1950's was that men in their fifties "would start off talking French together but pretty soon it was English." Such behavior was not what was meant when a Frenchman from there said in 1929 that it was "more bi-lingual than the capital of Canada" (Lo 281). In 1947 Sandwell found Franco-Americans hardly distinguishable from the older population elements (Sa 170). As at Lewiston, there were still in 1960 settlements or sections of settlements where small children played habitually in French, where people in early manhood shifted from one language to the other hardly aware of the change, but by that time there were many settlements too where there were children like a certain nine-
year old girl in eastern Massachusetts. Questioned by her past-
tor as to why she answered him only with nods and head-shakings,
she finally explained, "Sister says that we must talk French when
we talk to Monsignor and I don't know any French." Irreverent
small boys settled the matter by crossing the street as Monsignor
approached, and from that vantage point shouting "Hi, Father."
In communities in western Massachusetts where children were pro-
ficient in 1960, by 1965 those of the same age had abandoned the
use of French though they understood it still. H.B. Lemaire con-
cluded his chapter on French in New England in Language Loyalty
in the United States (preliminary edition 1964, printed edition
1966) by saying "Generally speaking, one must conclude that the
present generation is forsaking the French language. . . . It
seems [however] to have taken on a new aspect and to be proceeding
in an unexpectedly hopeful direction" (FL 278). He has developed
the point that the hope is based on an elite group which is "study-
ing the French language," in other words learning it like any stu-
dent of French anywhere.*

* Lemaire's chapter alternates in tone from its first page
where it begins, "Over a million people in the United States
speak French natively," and adds in the next paragraph, "In some
cities French continues to be spoken in the home, at work, and
at play. However, in many other areas Franco-Americans are
abandoning the daily use of French" (FL 253). Almost all the
data and facts cited in the chapter support the prospect of
abandonment. The tone is apparently influenced by moods varying between nostalgia and self-justification, which may be summed up in the phrase, "Too bad, but it can't be any other way."

West of New England and New York (27,000 fb in 1900) the French Canadians in the United States have been most numerous (HI 187, Ta-xvi) in Michigan (30,000 fb in 1900), Wisconsin (10,000), Minnesota (12,000), and slightly less so but more significantly for Kansas, in Illinois (9,000). Let us neglect the story of the missionaries and the coureurs de bois. Desrosiers and Fournet describe the later movement thus: "In 20 years, from 1850 to 1870, thousands of French Canadians spread through the Ontario region of Essex and Kent [in Michigan, the counties nearest Detroit], penetrated the forests of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, became miners on the shores of Lake Superior, lumber cutters elsewhere. The discovery of new mines, the fortunes of the lumber industry, the financial crises cause the multitude of these improvident workers to shift about. They were always searching for a new job" (De 252). To near Detroit the French came in colonial days; the Detroit neighborhood was the center of distribution (HM 131, 152; De 248). The uncomplimentary terms employed by Desrosiers and Fournet seem mostly to have been provoked because these immigrants were sometimes bad Catholics (see also MA 276), but "one thing singularly facilitated [Faith's] victory, it was the pious and constant use of the French language. . . . This population did not cast off its traditions, its language,
its family customs” (De 252, see also Ma 253, Ta-xxvii). And a number of national parishes were established; in Michigan the diocese of Grand Rapids contained six in 1909 (19 French priests), that of Marquette seven (20 French priests). There were also two in the diocese of Duluth in 1908. The diocese of Saint Paul had four French national parishes in 1908 and contained 12 French priests in 1909. And parochial schools teaching French were founded, and the Union St.-Jean-Baptiste came west. But in 1941 the maintenance of French was written off there by Lanctot, “The French element in the west is melting into the American mass” (La 298, see also N 368). Except in Illinois we shall not follow the later fortunes of these settlements.

The Illinois French Canadian settlements of some importance in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Ta-xvi) were those at Chicago (HM 128) and, thirty miles south, at Kankakee and in its neighborhood.* The early French settlements in the area near St. Louis -- Kaskaskia, Cahokia, etc. -- had lost importance. The beginnings at Chicago antedated the foundation of the city (P 422). Ouilmette and Beaubien were among the pioneers who settled there a number of years prior to 1821. French priests preponderated

* In Aurora just west of Chicago, there was a French National parish, Sacred Heart, with 115 pupils in its school. In 1915 the number of pupils had sunk to 85, but the priest was still French. In 1960, while Sacred Heart was still labeled French, its priest was an Italian; in 1948 his name was German.
there until the diocese was established in 1844. The first permanent French church was Notre Dame de Chicago, founded in 1866. Practically in downtown Chicago, it has maintained itself as a French church of the type needed in a great metropolis; it is in charge of personnel furnished by the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament. The French became localized in what was then the suburb of Brighton Park to the southwest of the city, and St. John the Baptist's and St. Joseph's Church, later St. Joseph's and St. Ann's, were founded nearer to them. In 1951 the neighborhood of St. Joseph's was 90% Polish, but it was still labeled "French" in 1960 without a Frenchman among the four priests serving it. A French pastor was, however, in charge till 1950; by that time St. John's had no French personnel, though in 1960 it still bore the label "French and English." By then St. Louis of France, located far to the south on 111th Street, had lost its national label, but it still had a pastor named Dionne. Saint Joseph's remained French in language until the First World War, although a novena in Polish was established in 1914. The French clung to it because a shrine to Saint Ann -- with relics -- was established in 1900. The Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste, which had come west by 1878 (Ta-xxxiii), established organizations both in Chicago and Kankakee; at least the latter endured into the 1960's.

87.81 The Kankakee area had its first settlement in Bourbonnais, for the town of Kankakee did not come into being until 1855 after the Illinois Central had been built through. Bourbonnais was
named for François Bourbonnais who was a trader in the area at least by 1825. Bourbonnais, probably belonging to a family that had settled at Kaskaskia (Ca 67), had a Pottawatomie wife and through her gained 640 acres, part of which was on the later site of Kankakee. He appears to have had no dealings in real estate, leaving that activity to Noel LeVasseur, who was in the neighborhood by 1822, trading with the Indians on the Pottawatomie Reserve (HM 129). Le Vasseur (1799-1879) was born at St. Michel de Yamaska in Quebec; in 1817 he began his trading with the western Indians, and settled definitely at Bourbonnais in 1832. When after ceding their reservation in 1832, the Pottawatomies of this area were moved out to Iowa in 1836, LeVasseur acquired considerable amounts of their lands. Some of this he sold to speakers of English, but he had French neighbors by 1839, and Antoine Marcotte who had been in Chicago for three years came on to Bourbonnais in that year. But immigration of importance began somewhat later. In 1840 Le Vasseur returned home to the Yamaska area which lies some thirty miles upstream toward Montreal from Trois Rivières. After his departure for the west again, "the stories he had told to his Canadian countrymen, of how fortune smiled on the frugal and industrious in his adopted home, illustrated and corroborated by his own success, kindled their imaginations. His reports were published far and wide. . . . 'They caused a great sensation. In some localities people became greatly excited and prepared to sell their farms and holdings forthwith in order to go at once to
But it is said that immigration did not commence until 1844" (Ca 71). The names of the arrivals of that year appear sometimes in Kansas. The immigration continued, increased by a new wave of LeVasseur propaganda and the reports of scouts sent out in 1847. "The French immigration [to Bourbonnais] practically ceased with the years 1850, 1851, and '52. ... For years all immigrants from Canada, whatever their ultimate objective, came primarily to Bourbonnais and made this the base of their first plans and operations. Many of them settled afterwards in other portions of the county or in neighboring counties. ... From old Bourbonnais and these, her nearby children, sprang all the French Canadian colonies of Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas" (Ca 71-72). At least for Minnesota this last statement is an exaggeration, but for Kansas it is true. In 1847 the French group was strong enough to receive its first resident pastor, Father Courgeault. The French settlement was then growing rapidly. St. George, a few miles to the east had a chapel in 1848 and a resident priest in 1854. The hamlet was named for St. Georges d'Henriville in Canada. In general, the Canadians seem to have come from Trois Rivières or near it or from the Eastern Townships not far from this district. Kankakee received a resident priest at St. Rose's as soon as the town was founded.

Growth of the Kankakee Settlement. The most remarkable of the settlements was St. Anne, twelve miles farther south, which was the scene of an almost unheard-of phenomenon among French
Canadians, a heresy. It is usually stated that the village was founded in 1852 by Father Chiniquy, but St. Anne's Centennial History maintains that St. Mary, now Beaverville, and L'Érable, several miles farther south had then already split off from St. Anne's parish. In any case the two villages had priests with French names as late as 1915. The southern edge of these parishes marks the utmost limit of the French settlements. The western was not far beyond St. Anne's, but stretched out farther near Kankakee. To the east the French have been an important element in Momence twelve miles from Kankakee (De 263). To the north in Manteno 10 miles from Kankakee, St. Joseph's parish was still labeled "French and English" in 1960 though the pastor's name was Lavery; it was Lareau in 1949. St. Anne and St. George, similarly labeled, also had shifted from French to Irish pastors by 1960, St. Anne before 1949.* In 1960 St. Rose in Kankakee was qualified simply as French

* Tassé (Ta-xvi) also mentions Les Petites Îles as one of the villages in the Kankakee group of settlements.

but of the four serving priests, only the Right Reverend Emile J. Cousineau (in St. George from 1937 till 1949) bore a French name. From 1850 the population of the area grew rapidly. The French numbered 1,500 families in 1860 (C 17). In 1910 there were in Kankakee County 1,071 foreign-born French Canadians and 1,970 children of foreign born; in Iroquois County to the south there were 316 foreign-born and 709 of foreign parentage. These numbers
should be increased very materially by members of the third generation, but 7 to 8 thousand is probably the maximum number of French in the district. The territory was not solidly held; Bourbonnais and St. Anne were focuses and the landholdings grew thinner the farther one was from the focus. The town of Kankakee, which was described by Tassé in 1878 as "half French, half American" (Ta 313), attracted the Canadians. In 1910 over a third of the French in Kankakee County were in the city, but they were much less numerous in both the county and the city than the Germans. In 1930 there were three times as many foreign-born Germans as French in the county and in the city more than half again as many. Foreign-born from the British Isles were still more numerous. Still the French were important enough to elicit the following encomium from Campbell in 1906. These "people have been sober, industrious, energetic and progressive. . . . From among them have been chosen men who have honorably fulfilled positions of public trust; and there is not a legitimate industry or business, there is not a profession . . . that is not today graced by descendants of the early French settlers of Bourbonnais" (Ca 72).

Returning to St. Anne and Father Chiniquy, we find in Shea's History the following: "A considerable settlement of French Canadians had grown up at Bourbonnais Grove, under Rev. Mr. Chiniquy, who had incurred censure in Canada. He had been received into the diocese of Chicago, under the belief that he had thoroughly reformed. The hope proved delusive, and Bishop O'Regan
found it necessary to withdraw his faculties. The unfortunate man denied that he had been suspended. . . . Bishop O'Regan invited the Rev. Mr. Desaulniers from Canada, who disabused the people and brought them back to their duties . . . Chiniquy, however, continued to disturb the peace of the flock and openly apostasized, setting up a church which he called the Christian Catholic, obtaining the aid of deluded Protestants. He was then excommunicated, and has since maintained for years scurrilous attacks on the Church" (Sh 618-19). This account was published in 1892. The facts set forth in it, aside from emotional coloring and inaccuracy regarding Bourbonnais Grove, are in accord with those contained in other versions. Father Chiniquy was a crusader for temperance in Canada, better known for his zeal against alcohol than for his unorthodox theology, but vocal on many subjects. "Among others, he deplored the departure of those Canadians who were going to seek among our neighbors 'bread, space and true liberty,' elements essential to the life of nations occurring in abundance in the United States" (La 223). He deplored the departure of others, but when he found his own liberty hampered, he led a multitude of followers to Kankakee, and immediately afterward to St. Anne. The ecclesiastical tempest broke forth almost at once, and Chiniquy announced the establishment of the Christian Catholic Church in 1856; 1,000 parishioners followed him. He and Desaulniers, who was installed at Bourbonnais in 1856 and had led the orthodox, contended for the church property. The matter went
to court and Chiniquy won. His church in 1860 became the First Presbyterian, and the orthodox Catholics were unable to support a resident pastor before 1871. All was not tranquillity among the new Presbyterians, and a Second Presbyterian Church was organized in 1861. A young Protestant from Paris, France, presided over it. Chiniquy continued to nourish his enthusiasm for temperance, and became a lecturer often absent from his congregation. Placide Boudreau (1841-1921), a local convert of Chiniquy's, exercised pastoral functions during the lecturer's absences and taught the parochial school. In 1888 Chiniquy formally severed his connections with St. Anne and the two Presbyterian churches merged. The former pastor returned twice for visits. He died about 1896. Boudreau gave up his pastorate in 1899. His successors, Louis Giroulx and Pierre Beauchamp, preached in French in the morning and in English later in the day. Beauchamp was succeeded in 1917 by Morton Merrell who possessed Huguenot ancestors but knew no French. When he left in 1922, "the older members of the congregation missed their French-speaking pastors. Rev. Pierre Beauchamp was contacted and said he would return if a unanimous call were extended" (BC). A poll revealed that a majority desired him, but not a unanimity, and French definitively disappeared from Presbyterian services. For a few years more, until about 1928, French was of advantage to the proprietors of stores. At the beginning of the century French had been the ordinary language at home of parents with young children. Shortly
before, children of non-French parents in the village had learned only French on going to school, but soon all schooling was in English and the children were lapsing into English at home unless discipline was strong or bribes considerable. In 1951 even people with gray hair were using no French with each other as they left the Catholic Church after an Assumption Day service.

87.84 Elsewhere in the area, linguistic developments varied somewhat. At St. George, where disruptive forces did not exist as at St. Anne, French in 1951 was not so badly off. After-church conversation was often in French even among those of the third generation, but the young were few in the community. Through the depression of the 1930's the parish had shrunk from one hundred families to thirty.

Kankakee, 29,500 inhabitants in 1950, as the recipient of a population reaching the age of retirement continued into the 1960's to have pastoral need for French, though from very early a German Catholic element was important in the town and later a Polish group. There were families which used exclusively French at home in the 1920's, though in general persons born in that period were not expected by strangers among the older French to understand them. Still it was possible to trade in French until 1930. In general by 1961 only those born at the beginning of the century were proficient in French. People older than this still preferred to confess in French. Sermons in French had disappeared shortly before 1930. The situation at Bourbonnais was similar.
Children born as late as 1918 learned French, and in 1961 the very old conversed together in French.

87.85g The French in the whole Kankakee district are quite conscious of their connection with Kansas. Some of the older people have lived in Cloud or Rooks Counties, many more have visited there, and a great many have relatives in those settlements. Visits from Kansans have not been infrequent. On the other hand the connection with Canada has practically been broken; even by 1940 there were few who went back there to visit, and no one speaks of correspondence with relatives. The only French connection of importance besides that with Kansas is with Chicago. The metropolis has absorbed much of the overflow population which earlier sought new lands to the west.

87.9 The Englizing of French Canadians throughout the United States proceeded slowly for many years. In the west where settlements were small it then advanced rapidly so as to be practically completed by 1960. In New England the resistance was still active in the 1960's, but the younger generations were habitually using English.
Speakers of Spanish in the United States have been in great measure immigrants from Mexico or their descendants, including old populations in the southwest. The Puerto Ricans who have come to play so large a part in New York and in a few other cities have not appeared in the Trans-Mississippi area. Because of their lack of significance for Kansas, only a single paragraph (88.01) is devoted to them. Immigrants from Spain and Central and South America have been quite limited in number in this country, negligible in Kansas. Since Mexicans are the only Spanish speaking stock significantly represented in Kansas it is the only one considered at length in this study. Mexicans are defined for this volume as for Volume II (§ 45.02g), an immigrant or descendant of an immigrant from Mexico. For New Mexico and the San Luis Valley in Colorado this study uses the term Hispano for descendants of colonial Spanish-speaking stock.

Puerto Ricans, particularly in New York, began to pre-occupy various investigating groups about 1950. By 1958 the production of studies was great. No attempt is made here to analyze this production or to make specific citations. Every author finds something to say about language, usually to express concern over the problems it raises in dealing with the Puerto Ricans. In general the population of the city has behaved on the theory that monolingualism in Spanish is something to be cured by Engl-izing the migrants. In general too the Puerto Ricans have behaved like
other immigrant populations, that is, evolved toward proficiency in English. Two major factors complicated the evolution. One is skin color with the usual results of segregation and discrimination. The other is rather peculiar to Puerto Ricans. They flow back and forth between their island and the continent more easily by far than any other for-ling stock except perhaps French-Canadians. No government interference hinders them at the frontiers because they are already inside. The equivalent of the steamship steerage in airplane travel transports them back and forth cheaply and swiftly. The movement presents problems in education roughly similar to those of Mexican migrant workers. It also means that the Puerto Rican population in New York contains elements with a great variety of length of residence. A factor of somewhat less importance is that some have beginnings of acquaintanceship with English gained before migration, perhaps 40% some authors estimate. Because of these special factors the Engl-izing is chaotic though existent.

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Immigration to the United States from Mexico as officially recorded by the Commissioner of Immigration was until 1908 very minor and specifically directed to California. Indeed only 2107 Mexicans were officially admitted in the six-year period from 1902 to 1907, and only 10 of these gave Texas as their destination. The states to which Mexicans might come via Texas were represented by similar figures. Clark's report of 1907 shows that numbers far superior to these were crossing the border into Texas. In August and September of 1907 11,567 laborers were admitted at El Paso, and near Brownsville, "in the early autumn of 1907 sixty boats were said to be employed in ferrying Mexicans across to the United States" (Cl 475). Beginning in 1908 the Texas-bound share of the immigrants reported by the Immigration Commissioner leaped up to be from 60 per cent to 75 per cent of the admissions. We may therefore regard the Commissioner's Report for the next twenty-five years as at least indicative of what was actually happening. Returns to Mexico have been very numerous at times. One estimate made to Clark in 1907 was that 50% remained in the United States (Cl 520), but the departed often came back. Even those deported in later years often returned. American and Mexican data on the subject are at wide variance. In general uncounted entries into the United States compensated departures except during the depression of the 1930's.
### Mexican Immigration Destinations in the U.S. 1908-1932

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>To Kansas</th>
<th>To All States of U.S.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>To Kansas</th>
<th>To All States of U.S.</th>
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<td>1908</td>
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<td>1932</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>51,042</td>
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</table>

Inasmuch as Kansas received little part of later immigration, no statistical attempt is made here to follow later movement specifically. With the tightening of United States entry requirements and the ensuing return to prosperity, illegal entries made by "wetbacks" became so numerous as to render official statistics more worthless than before. In 1942 during the Second World War the **bracero** system was instituted by negotiations between the governments of Mexico and the United States which brought for seasonal employment "Mexican nationals" into the United States. The original arrangement went on until 1947, bringing in between
50,000 and 120,000 workmen (NM 267) per annum for limited and supervised employment. Renewals have not always been easy to arrange because of the demands for preference in employment for American citizens, but the employers' outcry has been more powerful. With modifications the system was still in operation in 1966.

As the United States continued to be prosperous, Mexicans wished to come north for permanent residence. Sponsorship by Mexicans already here, and by employers for men who had worked for them satisfactorily as braceros allowed a considerable immigration. In 1963 the National Council for the Spanish speaking affirmed that 5,000 Mexicans per month were entering the United States and that there was a waiting list of 125,000 (Esp45). This phenomenon and the birth rate among Spanish speakers of ultimate Mexican origin has made them the most rapidly increasing ethnic element in the population (F-sp49).

The geography of Mexico contains one feature of primary importance in considering the character of emigration from that country to the United States. Except for the lower Rio Grande Valley and to some extent the country adjoining it toward Monterrey, northern Mexico for some hundreds of miles is country of nearly the same aridity as New Mexico and Arizona. Consequently the inhabitants are few, and even if overpopulated, the region is incapable of furnishing many emigrants. The labor force for building northern Mexico railroads came from farther south. Be-
beyond this stretch of barren land lies the central plateau where the population has always been much heavier and whence the emigration to that part of the United States beyond its border country originated. In 1924 57% of the emigrants to the whole U.S. came from the central Plateau, 25% from the northeastern border states which included Chihuahua, the principal outlet state from the plateau (T 22, quoting Foerster). The data collected by Taylor for Mexicans in Chicago in 1928 (T-II 49) are the most illuminating for the origins of Mexicans living in the United States far from the border. Of 3132 Mexicans 68.3% were from the central plateau states (Jalisco, Michoacán, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Aguas Calientes), 19.9% from non-coastal states to the north, 6% from the distrito Federal, 5.8% from the rest of Mexico. The origins of the Mexicans in Orange County, California were very similar (T-III, 45). Statistics on repatriates, 1930-1932 (T III, 45) also support the statement, as well as showing that most Mexicans in Texas and many in the border counties of California came from neighboring states in Mexico. Clark said in 1907 "The immigrant of interest is the one who has recently appeared in the field, coming from the central part of the Republic, leaving his ancestral home and callings, and ready to venture almost anywhere in search of work." (Cl. 467). Before railroads were constructed, the barriers to travel from the central plateau of Mexico to well watered sections of the United States were fully as great as the barriers separating Croatia or Greece from the
same region. Even later the difficulty which Mexicans found in returning home persuaded workers who had at first thought of traveling back and forth that it would be well to bring their families and live a number of years among the *gringos*. The control of passage of the border between Mexico and the United States is no easy matter because there is no natural obstacle (the Rio Grande River is easily passable), but it would be much more difficult without the stretch or arid territory in northern Mexico.

The region of origin of Mexicans who came to Kansas was the same as that of the great majority of the Mexicans in the United States except those living but a short distance north of the border. The central plateau to the northwest of the city of Mexico was the general area of birth (particularly see R 9, Fr 34). The area in that part of the State of Jalisco to the northeast of Guadalajara furnished more emigrants than any other limited region, but the larger area of emigration extended scarcely one hundred miles to the southeast and, with decreasing frequency of departures, about 800 miles to the north. In other words many more people came from Guanajuato, Aguas Calientes and Zacatecas than from Durango and Chihuahua, few from Chihuahua except from the capital itself. The emigrants were peones and of mestizo blood, sufficiently Indian so that a few knew what their tribal identity was. Local patriotism played very little part in their behavior. As members of *la raza* they mingled freely with each other.
The early history of Mexico as it affected twentieth century emigration to Kansas is mainly the history of the linguistic conquest of the country. The infusion of Spanish blood was such that hardly 10 per cent of the Mexicans of 1921 as opposed to the mixed blood mestizos and the Indians could be classified as Caucasian. The census of 1940 recorded 2,490,909 persons as speaking Indian languages; 1,253,891 as bilingual* (It 128); there was some underenumeration — in 1946 the non-Spanish speakers were estimated at 3,000,000 (Ki 68). In 1895 the census fixed the number of those with Indian mother tongue at 2,000,000 (We 7). The general opinion was that non-Spanish speaking Indians very commonly avoided the census takers. It is significant, however, that the

* Many of these people are able to speak at least some Spanish and have been able to do so for many years. In 1908 and 1909, J. K. Turner and L. Gutierrez de Lara, "a Mexican of distinguished family" (Tu 4) interviewed Yaquis, Pimas, Opatas, and Mayas with facility. Though at one point to gain an informant's confidence de Lara qualified himself as a Papago (Tu 54), it is improbable that he could speak all the Indian languages, though all these belong to the same linguistic family (It 131). Certainly Turner's interviewing could be only in Spanish. Ruiz's Chapter IX (Rz 158-172) is a readable account of the efforts to Hispanify monolingual Indians in Mexico. The chapter was written before publications by an American scholar who participated in the efforts, Swadesh.
states of little interest to this study, those east of the city of Mexico, were those with the largest proportion of persons giving some other language than Spanish as their mother tongue. The rest are here considered habitual users of Spanish. Indeed, the mestizo population lives quite separately from the Indians, and considers itself as something different (TR 66). It is proper in Mexico to proclaim your Indian blood, but just as well that a full-blood should not be your grandfather. Clearly a small ingredient persuaded most of the rest of the population to adopt the language of the conquistadores. In any case all emigrants to the United States have been completely Spanish-speaking. There was no state of bilingualism among them, and their Spanish shows little dialectal variation, so that there has been no question as with German and Italian, of English displacing a standard language that was more or less artificial in the mouths of people that spoke dialect at home. The Spanish of the emigrants had some sub-standard features, but these were certainly no greater than the sub-standard characteristics in the English of the people with whom they have habitually dealt in the United States (and those are comparatively minor). There will here be no report on the manner in which the Spanish language made its conquest in Mexico. It is sufficient to say that the shift from Indian language took place early enough so that emigrating Mexicans have had as great a loyalty to Spanish as any stock immigrating into the United States has had to its ancestral tongue.
Mexico (1876-1911) under Porfirio Diaz enjoyed peace, an insalubrious peace, but a peace that allowed population to increase, railroads to be built, and resources to be exploited by foreigners. From 1875 to 1910 the population increased from 9,495,157 to 15,160,369 and in the decade of revolution went down to 14,334,780. The increase to 1910 was not such as ordinarily to embarrass a growing economy, but rural conditions deteriorated in spite of the existence of peace. Taxation favored the rich partly because of corrupt practices. Formation of more and more great estates was encouraged. Government thus promoted distress among the lower rural classes. It also provided the means of escape through emigration by granting railroad rights to capital that found this means of exploitation profitable.

The Mexican Revolution which began in 1910 took the country through a long period of chaotic political conditions; there was frank anarchy in 1916. In 1920 a certain stability of government returned which became firmer and universally accepted with the passing years. Population resumed its vise; in 1940 it stood at a little less than 20 million, in 1960 at nearly 35,000,000. It was growing at the highest rate in the world (Rz 198). In the 1930's under the left-tending Cárdenas Mexico was prosperous as compared with its neighbor to the north, and Cárdenas could receive back former emigrants with something like a feeling of superiority to the country so economically distressed as to eject those whom it had earlier accepted. Mexican government later gravitated toward the center and at times somewhat beyond. Cooperation between
the government of the United States and that of Mexico became possible in the control of labor migration. The bracero contracts have had close supervision both north and south of the border. The readiness of Mexicans to become braceros, temporary expatriates, is testimony to population pressures.

88.4 The political push for emigration from Mexico was almost all indirect. At and near the close of the worst political troubles Villistas found it prudent to absent themselves from Mexico, no matter what their status in Villa's forces. There were, therefore, among the laborers who came to the United States a certain number of unacknowledged political refugees -- unacknowledged because the followers of Villa were no more welcome to the government of this country than to Obregon's. But here they could not be identified as different from any other Mexican. Otherwise politics behaved as a push only through economic channels. The Mexican government's official hostility to the Catholic church made no religious refugees except among the clergy itself.

88.50 The religion of the Mexicans was universally Catholic. Once in a very great while an immigrant in the United States can be found who was a Protestant before leaving Mexico, but they are rare. The censuses of 1895, 1900, and 1910 each reported over 99% of the Mexicans as Catholics. The census of 1940 showed 96%, but less than 1%, 177,954, were Protestant (It 142). Commenting on this proportion Ugarte, who is pro-Catholic, says: "The high percentage of Catholics reported by the census expresses -- approximately of course -- that of those baptized in the Catholic
church; not so well that of those who die in its bosom, and much
less that of practicing Catholics, which was unfortunately much
lower. Not only in the official quarters, but in a great part
of the population, there existed the fear of seeming to be Cath­
olic, and Mexican Catholicism of this epoch had a very large share
of shamefacedness or of excessive prudence. There were, however,
many families and individuals who were solidly Christian and who
were the nucleus of the subsequent Catholic revival, provoked by
persecutions " (U II, 426). The persecutions referred to are
those undertaken by the leftist governments later. The republi­
cans who preceded Diaz were also hostile to the church. In fact
the greatest "reform" of the "reform" governments of the mid-nine­
teenth century was transfer of the very extensive church landhold­
ings to private ownership. Diaz was tolerant to the point of not
enforcing anti-clerical laws. The parish priests did not increase
in number quite in proportion to the increase in population during
his regime, but a number of monastic orders were allowed to enter
the country and their work among the lower classes doubtless helps
explain the faithfulness of immigrants in the United States. The
character of the religion can best be judged by this passage from
Ugarte: "The pontifical coronation . . . of Our Lady of Guada­
upe (12 Oct. 1895) has been most important because of its fully
national and even international character: there were present
at it in the midst of an enormous multitude which came from every
section of the Republic, 11 archbishops, 28 bishops, and 100 priests:
18 of the 39 prelates came from abroad (15 from the United States. . .)
to pay homage to the Queen of the Mexicans.... Her cult is the most popular in Mexico, for there are churches consecrated to her in almost all inhabited places and altars to her in almost all churches, and her images are venerated in every Mexican home. The pilgrimages to her sanctuaries even from remote spots are famous" (U II, 428). To reconcile the two quotations from Ugarte it is only necessary to remember the differences in piety of women as distinguished from the indifference of men. Testimony to this difference in Mexico is copious.

Turner, after expressing his disapproval of the influence of the Catholic Church upon the Mexican, adds, "Yet it must be admitted that the Church alleviates his misery somewhat by providing him with some extra holidays. And it feeds his hunger for sights of beauty and sounds of sweetness, which for the poor Mexican are usually impossible of attainment outside the church" (Tu279).

Education in Mexico was rudimentary during most of its history for all but a small elite. The peace of Diaz did allow for the establishment of schools; there were 5194 in 1878, 12,068 in 1907. Illiteracy decreased during this period as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Illiteracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These are the figures furnished by Ugarte; Lopez Gallo quoting Covarrubias, fixes the proportion of illiterates at 81%. Both found their assertion on the 1910 census; presumably Covarrubias was counting unschooled young children. In 1895 they
were 18.7% of the population (We 19).

The years of chaos did not improve the situation. Progress was resumed with much greater energy after 1930, when the Revolution was firmly established, but in 1940 63% were still illiterate (It 165). Even in 1960 something over one-third of the Mexicans could be classed as illiterate, and school attendance among children did not rise as high as 60% (Ro 28). This state of affairs meant that the emigrants to the United States had in their language a weak cultural instrument.

88.52 The family in Mexico was a strong institution. In the lower classes it emphasized the authority of the parents, the importance of supervising daughters until marriage, the closeness of the extended family, and community control of standards by village opinion. The large admixture of Indian blood did not prevent the family from having many resemblances as an institution to the family among Christian Mediterranean peoples. It was of a character to uphold a firm linguistic tradition. Throughout the major immigration movement commentators on Mexican family life in the United States emphasized its strength, but under pressures in this country it weakened. Iturriaga, speaking in 1950 of "the causes of the weakening of family bonds" (It 13), attributes the phenomenon to factors developing in Mexico similar to those that the emigrants met north of the border.

88.53 Formal Mexican social institutions beyond the family and the church were nonexistent for the Mexican peon. He was informally
controlled socially by his relations with his patrón and by village opinion. The dependence on the patrón made him ready to accept similar direction in the United States. Nothing fully replaced the village control when he emigrated. A colonia to the north of the border was most frequently not sufficiently static.

The peasant's life in Mexico in the late nineteenth century was not migratory, though railroad construction within the nation and mining in Chihuahua drew men from their homes to act as a leavening group for similar future behavior beyond the border. The revolutionary armies later threw some men upon the roads. On the whole, however, the emigrating peon had been accustomed to a life in which he did not rebel at authority, but tended to escape tyranny by lack of complete or prompt response to orders unless he was under close supervision.

The percentages of the Mexican population engaged in agriculture were from 1895 to 1940 as follows:

- 1895 - 68%  
- 1900 - 69.5%  
- 1910 - 68%  
- 1921 - 71%  
- 1930 - 70%  
- 1940 - 65%

Two thirds lived in villages in 1960; over half of the population farmed (Rz 210). During the period of emigration to the United States the proportion increased rather than decreased. The emigrant had often been a farmer, at least brought up as a farmer, or son of someone who had been a farmer.
Landholding in Mexico had always favored the large estate, the hacienda, but until Diaz's time there had also been much communal land held by the villages. Besides, each villager had had a small portion of land as his private possession. In addition there was much unoccupied land with the title held by the government. The legal distinction between this land and communal holdings was often ill-defined. In 1883 Diaz promulgated a law on vacant lands that was so administered that many villages lost their holdings to investors and speculators who acquired vast stretches of territory through the favor of the government (LG 250 ff, V 444). The lords of the haciendas were influential enough to resist such procedures. Only the small landholder suffered. He was in such straits that his indebtedness increased and the number of persons in outright peonage was, thereby, also augmented. In 1910 two per cent of the agricultural lands belonged to small proprietors; one percent was land belonging to local communes. The lands in small holdings were poor and crowded between large estates. "Finally hunger forced these small groups of farmers to abandon their small parcels or hand them over to neighboring haciendas to whose owners they went to offer their labor in exchange for a life materially disgraceful, spiritually subhuman" (He 151).

Peonage was a normal state. In 1910 of the 68% of the population engaged in agriculture, only 3% were "free rural," something like 3% were "semi-rural," and 63% were "subject to servi-
"Feonage is a debt relation between the employee or tenant and his employer, in which the former is to serve the latter until the debt is extinguished, receiving in the meantime subsistence and certain customary prerequisites. The debt is seldom paid in full, because, as a rule, neither party seriously desires it to be paid. If the employee discovered that his account with his employer was about even, he would, in many instances, make this an excuse for obtaining a liberal cash loan from his 'patrón' to celebrate the next 'fiesta,' and the 'patrón' would probably encourage this extravagance on the part of his employee. In Mexico peonage rests solely upon custom and has no specific legal sanction" (Cl 469). This statement of Clark's shows no distress on his part in contemplating the institution. Indignation usually seethes within the commentator. Bulnes speaks thus: "There are families who have been taking more than 100 years to pay off a debt of $50, and have not succeeded in escaping from the usury of their masters" (quoted by LG 268). The push exerted by peonage for immigration was not so much because of its humiliating features as because its victims were becoming hungrier and hungrier as the years went by. Except for accidental bumper years production of food stuffs did not increase during the administration of Diaz and fell off notably (about 15%) during the years of chaos. The part that each peon received grew less through population increase and through greater shares for the rich. The lethargy which is traditionally
attributed to Mexicans is largely to be explained by the fact that much of the population was undernourished. Perhaps *is* rather than *was* is the appropriate word, at least as applied to small growers, but this study does not consider conditions in Mexico posterior to the 1930's. When Mexicans first came to the railroads of the United States, if given subsistence money, they purchased food of the type and amount to which they were accustomed. "Contractors and foremen find the efficiency of Mexican laborers so much greater when boarded that it pays to give them regular meals instead of rations, even though higher wages must be paid to compensate them for the increased cost of living." (Cl 480). Clark evidently bases this statement on information from management. Weyl, a predecessor of Clark's in the Bureau of Labor with similar sources, referred to undernourishment four times (We 15, 16, 18, 69). A telling sentence is this: "Peons are caught stealing corn intended for the cattle and using it for their own consumption" (We 18). Another example from capitalists is the quotation from F. H. Harriman published in the Los Angeles Times in March, 1909, and quoted by Turner: We have had a good deal of experience with the Mexican and we have found that after he is fed up and gets his strength he makes a very good worker" (Tu 278). Reports from social investigators are in harmony.

Railroads in Mexico, as was said above, were important in promoting emigration. Before Diaz there were less than four hundred miles of railway in the country. The main line of the
Mexican Central, which runs from the city of Mexico to El Paso, Texas, through the country which later furnished most emigrants, by way of Aguas Calientes, Zacatecas and Chihuahua was opened in 1884; branches were added until 1908, notably one to Guadalajara in 1888. It was a standard gauge. The National Railway, a narrow gauge line went westward from the city of Mexico far enough to penetrate the emigrant country and then turned north; in 1888 it arrived at Laredo, Texas, by way of San Luis Potosí and Saltillo. These two lines were built "with capital from the United States and a heavy subsidy per kilometer from the government" (U II, 444, see also LG 249). American capital also accounted for 80% of the mining investments in this period (LG 299). The acceptance by Diaz of this capitalistic invasion of his country has been scathingly condemned by all later Mexican citizens. For the present study its importance is that it made American corporations well acquainted with the labor resources of their neighbor and as ready to exploit them as any other resources to be found south of the border. The Mexican railroads and mines were in some sort catalysts for the movement into the United States. The National Road in 1901 "had brought north about 1500 laborers; practically all of them had crossed over into Texas. . . . Laborers [on the Mexican Central Railway] in the vicinity of the city of Chihuahua brought from Aguas Calientes and farther south, were constantly leaving for the United States so that a considerable part of the force was really labor in transit. . . . The representative of
one group of mining properties in the State of Chihuahua said that he had brought to that vicinity approximately 8,000 laborers from Zacatecas and the older mining districts of central Mexico, and that not far from 80 per cent of these had left, a part going to New Mexico and the remainder to Arizona" (Cl 470).

Agents recruiting for companies in the United States, despite the American law, were at work in Mexico. Most commentators speak of them (inter alia Cl 471, Bu 39, NM 168). Their role has perhaps been exaggerated. They were not welcome to the owners of estates, who did not relish their tampering with the cheap labor supply (Cl 472). Rural recruitment in the regions providing manpower for work in the United States had therefore to be accomplished more or less secretly by merchants, government officials or others for whom such activities did not furnish the primary means of support (cf Cl 472). The agents of the Mexican railways could work more openly and brought men up close to the border; then recruiters for companies beyond it presumably became active among these laborers who had already been broken loose from their villages.

"In Mexico," said Clark in 1907, "railways have given the opportunity and the inducement to emigration. Needing unskilled labor for their construction and maintenance, they drew upon the agricultural population along their lines, at first for a few days or weeks of temporary service between crops and later for more extended periods. At first the true peon was extremely averse to leaving his home . . . , but gradually he became bolder and more
worldly-wise and could be prevailed upon to work for a month or so a hundred miles or more up and down the line. . . . He became attached to cash wages. . . . The railways, bringing a greater variety of wares at lower prices, have made possible the attractive shop of the railway town. . . . The peon . . . has become more of a spender and so a more persistent earner. . . . The railways thus have attracted labor and have held it more and more permanently from a constantly widening area along their lines" (Cl 469). The emigrants have not all been peons. In Tecolotlan in 1948 those "who have gone to the United States appear not to have been the poorest element of the population, but on the contrary seem to have been drawn disproportionately from the independent farm laborer group, and from the sons of upper class merchants" (Hy 248).

Mexicans living in the large towns along the railroad were among the emigrants to the United States. Books dealing with emigration and even studies of the conditions under Diaz and during the Revolution seldom analyze life in these places. A justification lies in the fact that even in them many inhabitants were rural workers or, more commonly, had been reared in the villages. The cultural and economic state of these people was therefore little different from what is described for the country. The importance of the towns for emigration lies chiefly in the fact that they could be and definitely were centers of recruitment. "In Mexico itself," said Clark in 1907, "the enganchadores
work principally among the city and tramp population" (Cl 476). Some of the towns were railroad centers and work in railroad maintenance in Mexico could prepare men from the back country for better paid experience in the United States. Such employment in Mexico was not likely to be regular and employment agents worked in the towns in a less hostile environment than elsewhere. Many of those who became emigrants, as muleteers, were already accustomed to a wandering life.

88.70 The economic situation in Mexico became worse in the decade following the fall of Diaz. The railroads deteriorated rapidly and no road system had yet come into existence. Land reform, though it was the revolutionary aim perhaps most loudly proclaimed, made no advance. Agricultural production was hampered. Education could not be improved in the chaos. Though reaching the border was more difficult, the economic push for emigration to the United States was increased during this period.

88.71 In the 1920's the economic position of Mexico became stabilized but not greatly improved. The railroads deteriorated less rapidly. There was enough land reform after 1924 so that in 1929 Frank Tannenbaum could publish a book called The Mexican Agrarian Revolution, but the title implies more progress than had been made, at least economically. Even in 1955 Tannenbaum, while enthusiastic over the political and social outcome of the revolution, found the economic result imperfect (Ro 204). Still the Mexican rural worker, the campesino, was in the late 1920's receiving attention; 4,261,191 hectares were turned over to communal organizations be-
between 1924 and 1930 (LG 391-2). Migration within the Republic had not yet been greatly promoted by industrial development. Pressure from overpopulation in 1930 was approximately the same as in 1910 (ra 54). The push for emigration in 1930 was somewhat less than earlier because the campesino could hope.

Between 1930 and 1940 the proportion of the Mexican labor force in agriculture declined from 70% to 65%. In other words Mexico was able to take care of a larger proportion of her population otherwise than on the farms, but in 1960 the population was still two-thirds rural. The liquidation of the great estates in favor of the small cultivators had gone on rapidly in the 1930's. There was less pressure to leave the farm, and Mexico was able to take care of those forced by the depression in the United States to return to their native country. Mostly they did not go back to farming, and like returning emigrants everywhere found that the old country was not ideal, but many stayed in Mexico. The years following have brought new problems to Mexico, largely because of population increase.

The illegal entries by Mexicans into the United States became much more numerous when the laws grew more severe. In 1949 McWilliams said "the number of wetbacks is currently estimated at around 80,000" (NM 300). One result was many forcible repatriations especially after 1930. People so returned had usually been in no state of distress if they had been long north of the border. They were therefore unlikely to find Mexico to their liking and soon became wet-backs again.
The geographical linguistic uniformity of Mexico has already been noted. The events of the period of great emigration, 1900-1930, affected language but little. The Mexican revolution had no planned program and no prolonged propagandistic battles. The new vocabulary brought to the common man was therefore restricted in character. There was no lack of manifestos, but the revolutionary leaders themselves were, to judge by their conduct, often not greatly interested in the content of their own proclamations. The intellectuals who were their assistants bandied words with each other without being too much concerned about convincing the masses. The constitution of 1917, which has been generally accepted, was the work of a body not representative of all factions. It contains contradictions both of philosophy and of institutional arrangements. Governments with varying policies have found it convenient as justifying whatever they proposed to do. If its phrasing had been of great interest to the people it would never have gained acceptance. Presumably, its phrasing was of little interest because the words used were not those conveying meaning to the campesinos. The emigrants from Mexico to the United States arrived with a vocabulary no more limited in power of abstract expression than that of the generality of immigrants, but like others they were ready to let English fill the vocabulary vacuum.

The characteristics of the Mexican emigrant most affecting his future in the United States were his mestizo physique, the behavior ingrained in him by peonage and undernourishment, his
concept of family structure, the nature of his Catholicism, and his affection for his language and his raza. He was more patient and less responsible than the people of most emigrant stocks. He was unaccustomed to achievement by verbal activity. Language was less important to him as a tool for advancement than as a source of pleasure and relaxation.

For the Mexican the pull of the United States was almost exclusively economic. The treatment that he received after his arrival here was not calculated to give him a sense of much greater freedom than he had had as a peon. Daily life was not measurably better. But the pay was five times as great, and the cost of living not increased in the same proportion. He came in an era when the need for unskilled labor was great. Until the First World War there was competition if he went far east; after 1914 his services were welcome anywhere as long as the United States was prosperous, that is, until 1930. Therefore employment agents, enganchadores, came to seek him at the border. In the first decades the railroads furnished him free transportation to the scene of his labor, by intent for their own jobs, and rather often for others too, involuntarily. The Mexicans, Clark says, "are constantly lured away from the railways by farmers and ranchers. In 1907 30 per cent of those in southern Kansas are said to have deserted to work in the wheat fields. [This was unusual; American "tramps" usually furnished the migratory workers in the wheat fields.] Whole gangs at a time leave the Texas
sections to pick cotton.... The Southern Pacific Company loses to the mines a large fraction of its labor each year" (CI 472). Clark concludes, "Railways are the great labor feeders to other industries" (CI 474).

To come to the United States, as to take work in the cities or on the railroads of Mexico, the peons at first left home only temporarily. "Many of those passing through El ¡aso have made the trip from central Mexico to Arizona or to Kansas City for a second or third time, but after a number of such trips the home tie loosens, and it is not unusual for the family ultimately to accompany the husband" (CI 474). The pull on the female Mexican was thus exerted later than the pull on the male. But Mexican women were accustomed to work in the fields. For migrant agricultural labor (which affects Kansas only in the beet fields) she soon became as important as the men. Elsewhere the pull continued to be largely through the men, for in the cities Mexican women did not become significantly part of the labor force for a long time.

The emigrant who had returned to Mexico usually regarded life in the United States as more pleasant than it had seemed at the time of his residing there. Humphrey says of the people at Tecolotlan, in Jalisco, in 1948, "They, on the whole, manifest an amazing amount of good will toward the United States. There is a great desire on the part of most young men to go to the United States" (Hy 248). The returned emigrants promoted the
desire because they became merchants, among the most prosperous in their village. The desire to go was the greater because entry to the United States was not easy. To become a bracero was difficult, says Humphrey, and Topete a little earlier recounts long days of standing in line even when he had gone from Guadalupe to Mexico to obtain a place.

89.00 The states of our union on the Mexican border all have important Spanish speaking populations, part of which originated before 1848. Colorado also has some of the old stock as well as a significant Mexican population of twentieth century origin. Mexican migrants have worked in many other states and significant colonies have grown up in a number of cities. Some of them are treated later (Sections 89.00 ff.). The Southwest receives our first attention; conditions there are sometimes far different from those in Kansas, but all conditions existent in Kansas are also to be found in those states.

89.01 Census reports for those of Spanish mother tongue in 1940 are perhaps the most revealing statistical material available, though they are based upon a 5% sample.

The 1940 census figures indicate some under-enumeration if one compares them with the estimates published by Carey McWilliams in 1948, his estimates were based on numerical data from various sources, but could not yet make use of the 1940 mother-tongue statistics of the Census Bureau.
His estimates are in the left hand column; an estimate for 1960 is at the right (founded on F 290).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
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<td>Texas</td>
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<td>1,375,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>1,375,000</td>
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### Mother Tongue -- Spanish -- 1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Speakers</th>
<th>Foreign Born</th>
<th>Foreign or Native Parentage</th>
<th>1930 Foreign Born</th>
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<td>Kansas City, born in Mexico</td>
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<td>1,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichita, born in Mexico</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>543</td>
<td></td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topeka, born in Mexico</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>649</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
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<td>Omaha, born in Mexico</td>
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89.02 Return to Mexico during the depression of the 1930's was extensive, as has been inferred in other sections of this work. Bogardus, without citing his sources, gives these statistics:
In the last three months of 1931 the repatriations numbered 53,000. The decision to leave was sometimes voluntary, sometimes semi-voluntary, sometimes practically forced. Communities rather than to provide relief encouraged departures, sometimes providing money, sometimes using cruder stimuli.

Spanish speakers of native parentage in Texas were sometimes the descendants of immigrants arriving after 1900, but they were commonly too the descendants from Spanish colonial stock with infused Indian blood. In New Mexico the Spanish speakers are almost all Hispanos born in the state. In Colorado they are mostly of the same stock either early settled in Colorado or more lately arrived from New Mexico. In California they may be of the early Spanish stock native to the state, New Mexican Hispanos (not commonly) or the descendants of early twentieth century arrivals. The case in Arizona is similar to that in California.

The Hispanos of New Mexico made their first settlement near Santa Fe in 1598, in the town itself in 1609. The settling Spaniards were not on the leading edge of an advancing wave. They were an arrow shot from far to the south across the great arid regions to the north of Mexico's central plateau. Even upon arriving at the valley of the Rio Grande the Spanish found only a small region near El Paso del Norte that might become fertile; above, the desert closed in on the river so that only on its
very banks were there prospects of developing it for cultivation. In modern times Spanish place names are rare from Las Cruces above El Paso almost to Socorro; the road between the two towns is 152 miles long. Above Socorro to Albuquerque, 71 miles, Spanish names prevail along the river, but in the back country Anglo place names are mingled with the Spanish. In the neighborhood of Albuquerque except along the road to the east Spanish place names take over all the way to the Colorado border and beyond for some distance. To the west they do not extend far in New Mexico rarely beyond the Continental Divide, that is some fifty miles. To the east they stretch almost but not quite to the Texas border, though Anglo names are found along the railroad and trade routes. The heart of the district extends eastward from the Continental Divide across the Rio Grande to the further slopes of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, the most eastern range of the Rockies in this area, narrowing to the south so as to exclude Southeastern New Mexico. The counties within this area include three fourths of the Hispanos (S 30). To the west of Las Vegas except in the larger towns, along roads or in Albuquerque and certain suburbs Anglos are out of place. The scientists at Los Alamos have been socially as well as geographically isolated. As far to the east and southeast as Tucumcari and Fort Sumner, the Hispanos tend to regard Anglos as invading foreigners, but most of this southeastern region is quite sparsely settled. The North Central New Mexico area at points belongs to the Pueblo Indians rather than to the Hispanos.
Aside from this northern area and the settlements near Las Cruces and Socorro on the Rio Grande Hispano group life is not often developed in New Mexico, though a region to the north and northeast of Alamo Gordo (85 miles north-northeast of El Paso) is now shared with Apaches and Anglos and the arid road westward from Socorro was settled more by Hispanics than by Anglos. Census reports identify the important Hispano regions described above as over 75% Spanish-speaking.

Indians were a problem in New Mexico for centuries. The Spaniards did not establish themselves with ease. Except for a very serious revolt in 1680, they met little opposition from the Pueblo Indians who were normally peaceful and sedentary and taught the newcomers how to live in this region, though the Spaniards, coming, in both Europe and America, from countries where rainfall was light and water precious, had less trouble in adapting themselves to New Mexican conditions than northern Europeans would have had. But the Pueblos and the Spaniards had common enemies who contained them both, the Navahos, the Apaches, the Utes and on the north and east other tribes. In the period of prosperity after the Mexican Liberation, the Utes and northern Apaches drew back. Northern New Mexico was settled by the Hispanics in the 1830's and 1840's. Perils in other directions continued; rather they increased for a while. American sovereignty did not eradicate the danger from the Navahos and southern Apaches until the 1880's. The troubles of the Hispano
settlers and Pueblo Indians from these marauders indeed grew greater over a long period of time, as the raiders were acquiring horses and firearms. The amalgamation of Indian and Spanish-speaking elements never became complete. Quantities of Indian blood flow in the veins of the Hispanos, much less among the rich, but it usually entered the inheritance many generations ago. Hispanos and Indians are distinctly separate groups. Those Indians who continued to live in the pueblos went on using their own language, often acquiring Spanish as a second language, but only for use with outsiders. By 1960 English had replaced Spanish as the auxiliary language among young Pueblos, and some of their elders might be trilingual. Geographically, the region of the Pueblos shrank rather than expanded, and over most of the Hispano region Spanish has no competition from Indian languages.

New Mexican colonial isolation was almost complete during the Spanish period. The government came from outside. No trade was permitted except by means of the long, hazardous route into Mexico. Connections with Texas and with the settlements farther west did not exist. The Anglos until the last ten or fifteen years before they conquered the area were still far away, never near enough so that smuggling in defiance of Spanish law became profitable. The stream of cultural importation was almost choked off because children were seldom sent away to be educated. The rich seldom found it worth while to bring in furniture, and the craftsmen to make it did not arrive.
The independence of Mexico changed relations between the Rio Grande valley and the south lands but little; the distance was still great. But from 1822 on the Anglos could trade with New Mexico unhindered by the government. The Santa Fe Trail developed, was marked and received some protection from the American government. New Mexico developed an appetite for the wares that the Anglos brought, and could furnish in exchange skins and craft productions that were easily transportable, fabrics of local design for instance. There was a period of modest economic prosperity during the sovereignty of the Mexican republic, but it did not endure much beyond that time, at least for the Hispanics. With the Anglo conquest in 1848, Anglo exploiters arrived. The threat from Apaches and Navahos finally grew less, but predators whose weapons were legal technicalities became active. New Mexico except perhaps at Las Cruces was now cut off from the rest of the Spanish speaking world. Its isolation in that respect became greater until the Mexican immigrants of the twentieth century arrived. Anglo agricultural settlers did not become numerous, but the Anglos gained title to great tracts of land; most often they were stockmen who were glad to use New Mexican labor. The tillers of the soil from Europe and from the eastern states for many years found free land much more to their liking along the regular frontier. The original rich New Mexicans had the advantage over those invaders of understanding the methods necessary in the area. Some remained strong
and shared political power with the Anglos. Thus Spanish was acceptable in the territorial legislature and the courts (FSP 41), and in 1910 when the territory became a state, the Federal stipulation that all state officers should speak English was accepted with reluctance; the Hispanos succeeded in forbidding linguistic or literacy tests for voters (FSP 54). The Anglo invasion never has become serious at the level of workers in the Hispano districts, but in business and in the rest of New Mexico the speakers of English have become so numerous that in 1960 of the 880,000 inhabitants it seems that something less than a third had Spanish as their mother tongue. The proportion of Hispanos, not absolute numbers, had fallen off greatly in twenty years. Still the Hispano population has increased with the passing decades. Mixed bloods and Creoles were estimated at 61,000 in 1846 (N M 68), Hispanos at 250,000 in 1950. Inasmuch as the Anglos have become the dominant element in the population, exercising economic hegemony, it is clear that most Hispanos are poor. They are poor because at least until lately, they have been farmers with insufficient holdings. The process by which their holdings were reduced is well described in Leonard and Loomis's study of El Cerrito (LL 4).

89.14 The Catholic church served all Christians in New Mexico until after the Anglo conquest, and practically all Hispanos thereafter. Also it served few but Hispanos. As an exception in 1900
the church at Springer was for the "American settlement." But in Albuquerque the only church was Spanish. In New Albuquerque, however, St. Mary's was "exclusively for English speaking people and Sagrado Corazón was "for the Spanish people." The clergy has not been significantly Hispano since 1848. The behavior of the earlier priests often deviated greatly from the Catholic ideal; they had large families for instance. They also tolerated practices too reminiscent of Indian religions and did not repress the excesses of the Penitentes when they developed. The Holy See did not turn the region over to the Irish or Germans from the States, but it is probably important that the Hispano priests were not inclined to cooperation with the government in Washington. The diocese of Santa Fe was erected in 1850 -- New Mexico had had no episcopal see before -- and J. B. Lamy was appointed the first bishop. Until 1918 the archbishops (Bishop Lamy became archbishop in 1875) bore French names, though in this century there were two bishops with German names and in 1943 an Irishman. Lamy brought in French priests. They preponderated into the 1930's. In 1960 the majority bore Irish names; Spanish names among them were hardly more numerous than in 1900. Still under all regimes the parish priest has been important, consulted upon other matters than those religious. His influence has been limited, to be sure, by the inclusion of several villages in one parish. The character of the clergy has been such that the church has tolerated rather than advanced Spanish and things Spanish; indeed
since 1918 it has been a markedly Engl-izing force.

Education among the Hispanos in New Mexico has been limited. Burma wrote in 1954, "Over a quarter of the population [of New Mexico] has had four years or less of schooling and one tenth have had no schooling at all. The Hispanos are largely responsible for this poor record" (Bu 19). The explanation is that most of the Hispanos live in impoverished country districts (see inter alia S32, 72). Providing schooling (at least till the 1960's) has been a grave burden for the community so that short school careers, which have allowed children to go to work, have also relieved the scantily furnished public treasuries; therefore village opinion regards absenteeism with indifference. Grants from the state were long neglected (S 33). Such a situation has helped to preserve the linguistic status quo. Even when there were schools, the character of country education was not conducive to Engl-izing. An old man at El Cerrito speaking of a period when there were still Indian predations said, "I went to school very little... The school term was short and we were taught in Spanish... catechism... A, B, C" (LL 13). The schools were not public until 1896. In 1910 Espinosa was on the staff of a four-weeks teachers' institute in which 21 of the 25 teachers receiving instruction were Hispanos. "Not one half could carry on correctly an ordinary conversation in the English language. They taught in districts where only Spanish is spoken
and gave some of the instruction in Spanish" (EP 411 note). Espinosa then felt that all measures to repress the use of Spanish on school play grounds were vain, but in 1917 he declared that Engl-izing was being accomplished through the corruption of Spanish. "The New Mexicans are educated in English schools, and necessarily all possible influences are changing gradually the Spanish constructions into English constructions with Spanish words. . . . The people are beginning to think in English and for expression seek the Spanish words which convey the English idea" (EP 417). In 1940 Sanchez was particularly exercised by the plight of the child entering school. "He cannot speak to the teacher and is unable to understand what goes on about him.... The school program is based upon the fallacious assumption that the children come from English-speaking homes" (S32). In the same year, 1940, Leonard and Loomis reported that the people then "realized that if the native is to compete with the ever increasing number of Anglos, a first essential is to speak good English. . . . Despite the desire. . . , it is seldom that a local boy or girl attains any degree of proficiency in it. The girls usually speak it better than the boys because of their longer and more regular attendance at school. . . . Usually natives themselves, the teachers are inadequately prepared and are often unable to speak English correctly. Although a state law requires that nothing but English be spoken in the school this regulation is not adhered to.
Knowledge on the part of the children that the teacher understands Spanish tempts them to speak it. In case they cannot make themselves understood in English they are likely to use their native tongue" (LL 52). The attitudes and practices of both pupils and administrators have changed in many places since 1940, but bilingualism, if not complete Englishing, was still a goal in the 1960's and the obstacles in many places were unchanged. The schools are thus a less potent force for Englishing than in many places, but they are nevertheless a major force, and have become increasingly so, partly, because the teaching personnel has had greater training (S 77). In 1888 the complaint was that in the majority of the schools instruction was in Spanish (F-SP 72). Without resistance from the Hispanos, because of future economic advantage for the children, English has in general displaced it. Still the teachers may not be too adept in English and the administrators may be puzzled and awkward in handling the situations that result (F Sp 108, S 78).

The family among the Hispanos has enjoyed great importance, both the immediate and the extended family. At least until the time of the Second World War, age carried great prestige in the making of decisions. Tradition thus dominated social behavior, and language is an important social tradition. When both knowledge of the outside world and the pressure for change from outside institutions became greater, the prestige of the old de-
creased, and the experience of the young who had lived for a while away from the village gained weight. These people were usually well versed in English (See LL 60 for the effect of a CCC camp.) However, at least as late as 1940 distaste for living conditions in the outside world, where no one spoke Spanish kept many people in their villages (LL 72). Small wonder when a common alternative was work in the beet fields, and when the lot of those in the towns seemed to country people fully as hard (LL 66) as their own.

89.17 In colonial times in New Mexico as in Mexico there were large land grants and villages organized with communal holdings. The ordinary Hispano lived in one of the latter. In the rough country north and northeast of Albuquerque the cupidity of the Anglos when they arrived left the small personal holdings virtually undisturbed. But some of the 'rich' who lived in a patriarchal manner without having acquired much education and with no legal finesse at all fell a prey to title-contesting newcomers after the United States became the sovereign. In 1967 better educated Hispanics were still trying to make recoveries. Communal lands were regarded as part of the public domain, and gave rise to similar activities. (On land distribution, see S 61 for Taos County.) As in Mexico under Diaz the poor became poorer. Part of the "rich", as said earlier, had a better fate; great Hispano families have wielded political power, and in the better valleys Spanish landholders maintained respectable
bank accounts in 1918. The great families gave the small His­
pano operators political candidates who in some sort understood 
them, and Spanish speakers retained power in government (see 
particularly S 55). The rich did not help the poor men greatly 
in making economic progress, but because of them the poor were 
left more or less undisturbed in their isolation. In 1907 Clark 
wrote: "Thirty years ago the New Mexican had no use for money. 
There was not even an iron hinge in his hut. . . . Jury fees 
were almost the only money country men ever saw. . . . Then 
came the railroad. . . Now, except in remote localities, the 
adobe hut . . . usually contains an iron bed, frequently a good 
cooking range" (Cl 501). What Clark described remained near the 
ideal, at least until the welfare ideas of the New Deal began to 
percolate -- rather ineffectively (S 66) -- into remote places. 
The poverty of most rural Hispanos was long a potent factor in 
the maintenance of their Spanish speech (see inter alia S 28 & 
32). They were generally too poor to travel, too poor to maintain 
efficient schools, too poor to provide markets that would draw 
many salesmen among them, and their lot was too poor to tempt 
Anglos to come live on farms where they might suffer the same 
fate; thus the belief that Anglo neighbors might improve their 
English (LL65 ) was unrealized. In 1911 Espinosa estimated that 
80,000 persons spoke at most only a few words of English, 50,000 
none at all (EH 17).
But there was a factor that made their poverty ultimately draw them more frequently into the outer world. Their farms did not provide enough to live on and they worked for others, for the estate owners and, usually only seasonally, for sheep ranchers in Wyoming and Utah, for beet growers in Colorado, and less often in Texas, Arizona, and California at work on ranches and railroads (Cl 502); the needs of the Second World War and of developing towns afterward provided work elsewhere. When they began to work in the towns, they did not necessarily move to town; they learned to commute. At this new work English was the common means of communication and more people in the villages became accustomed to English. But the commuters, weary of the travel without income from their land during periods of drought, became restless and after the Second World War emigration became common.

School attendance with obligatory instruction in English, which after the Second World War was usually cheerfully accepted because of the economic advantages of knowing English, made everyone more or less bilingual except the old and a few born in remote regions before 1940. In the 1960's however, rural and village usage almost always adhered to Spanish for all purposes but intercourse with Anglos.

89.18 Town-dwelling Hispanics other than older women had almost all become bilingual by 1940. Many had not become Engl-ized to the point of abandoning Spanish. Still, Engl-izing forces
were at work much earlier. Espinosa in 1911 said, "Among school children, especially in larger cities and towns, and among those who work in the cities as clerks, porters, laundry girls, etc., there is to be seen not only the greatest English influence, but even astonishing speech mixture such as phrases half Spanish half English, etc., and it is not at all rare to see Spanish-American people in the stores or streets, speaking Spanish and mingling here and there English words which are not felt to be English" (EH 16). He speaks also of conversations between parents speaking Spanish and children speaking English (EH 17). Ghettoizing has made for linguistic conservatism; almost always the Hispanos have lived in a Spanish quarter, had their own small tradesmen, their own church, their own restaurants and beer parlors. In 1917 Espinosa mentioned as cities in which "the Spanish element is still the all important and predominant one, Santa Fé, Taos, Socorro, Las Cruces, Tomé, West Las Vegas" (EP 410). The people in them continued to be Hispanos after 1940, but the habit of speaking English acquired in the schools and also frequently exercised at work, in certain circles, even in certain communities, began to establish English as the language of usual intercourse. Not always and by no means everywhere by the 1960's. Albuquerque as the largest town was most nearly given to the use of English in the Hispano quarters. In general the larger the town the nearer it approached this condition, but size is no perfect linguistic index.
The relations between Mexicans and New Mexican Hispanics must engage us briefly. The separation between the two was so complete for half a century that whatever common identity they had had was lost. When Mexicans began to appear in New Mexico about 1900 it was usually as elsewhere as railroad laborers. When they spread into other work it was not usually where there were Hispanics, but if both elements were present, they were in economic competition, and relations were strained. There were mutual feelings of superiority, greater on the part of the Hispanics, for they were at home and knew what was right and proper. They held the ground that had been theirs, but the competitors from the south usually won elsewhere, as in the beet fields and more or less the mines of Colorado. When both elements together form a group regarded by Anglos as a unit, the hostility tends to disappear so as to face a common cause. The hostility has not in southern New Mexico prevented some inter-marriage. The people from the south are then absorbed into Hispano culture. A similar phenomenon is not uncommon when Anglos, usually immigrants from Europe, have married Hispanics. The Spanish of the Mexicans and New Mexicans is noticeably different though mutual intelligibility is unhampered. The Mexicans tend to reproach the Hispanics for not speaking as they do, and the New Mexicans answer that they are not Mexicans.

In examining the linguistic state of Hispanics in New Mexico the eastern and southern borders of the main region will first
be considered, then the main region itself, Albuquerque and the
country adjoining it and an axis running northeast to Colorado
and finally the south part of the state, beginning a few miles
below Albuquerque. The method of presentation will for this state
be a summary of observations made during a two-week survey in
1962. This method of approach has been chosen because other
more thorough studies have been made and are being made and this
report gains in value if its impressionistic character is frank­
ly recognized. Remarks preceded by an underlined initial are
information gained through interview. Ages noted in parenthesis
are approximate except for those below 20 and over 70. For in­
formants of high school age or less male or female indicates
sex. Question marks indicate doubt as to correctness of infor­
ination.

89.21 Tucumcari and southwest.

TUCUMCARI (latitude of Albuquerque, 40 miles from Texas,
population 1950, about 8500, about 40% Hispanic) long a quiet
county seat with after 1901 some railroad importance -- popula­
tion then about 3,000 -- became more important because it is
below the site of the Conchas Dam (construction employment,
then irrigation of the Canadian River valley) -- growth brought
in both Hispanics and Anglos, the former from surrounding areas.

Informants, if Hispanic, except M. spoke English with ac­
cent. Three groups of children playing in neighborhood of St.
Ann's church (2 groups, boys average 17 and 12, one group girls,
10) all using Spanish. Hospital signs to guide patients and
visitors-bilingual.
Mr. A (47), 3 grandparents born Spain, one Indian. At Santa Rosa till 1945. Knew only Spanish till school. Boys and girls 16 or 17 talk English mostly (? above). Young parents speak English at home (?). Some mostly old confess in Spanish. E (female 14) Parents use \( \frac{1}{2} \) English \( \frac{1}{2} \) Spanish. (Proportions?). She talks whatever handy. No Spanish allowed at St. Ann's school. Addressed small sister in Spanish. Mr. S (1889, Anglo minister of Protestant Hispano Church) -- 50 or 60 poor attenders left in his congregation, another Protestant Church more prosperous. Here 12 in high-school age group, mix up their language, their Spanish bad, vocabulary limited. Preaches partly in Spanish, 10 or 12 prefer English; 2 old ladies know no English. A time coming when no Spanish will be needed here. Some Hispanics own farms. First National Bank has Hispano vice-president; tellers are Anglo women, bookkeepers in part Hispano. M (male 17) son of grocery store owners near St. Ann's Church. Mother born 75 miles west speaks little English, same for others in that neighborhood. Father speaks more because he buys for store. His nephews and nieces and all children in neighborhood speak Spanish constantly; learn little English before going to school. All trading in store is in Spanish. Parents illiterate in both languages. He plans going to college. Dr. G (45) he couldn't practice without Spanish.

CUERVO (44 miles west in ranch country, 15 east of Santa Rosa, in 1950, pop. 250) Mr. V (Hispano 40) and son 12. Son works regularly, but in school too. 20 pupils, Hispano teacher
from Santa Rosa allows Spanish on playground. Sisters in high school at Santa Rosa use English half time. Mr. V's grandparents lived here too; he learned to read English, not Spanish. Not much more English now than in 1930.

SANTA ROSA (59 miles west by south from Tucumcari, in 1950 population 2200, 85% Hispano) A group aged 4 to 6 playing in Spanish, others 10 to 14 using English. Two well-dressed women 45 speaking Spanish. R (male 16) Hispano himself, spoke English with an Anglo friend his age, used whichever was handiest with other friends. Father P (Hispano 38) St. Rose of Lima Church had all notices in English. 709 contributors in 1961, a dozen with names not Spanish. 8 o'clock Mass in English for children, other Masses Spanish and English. He brought up elsewhere, knew little English on starting to school. At Santa Rosa people older than 55 know little English; those his age speak Spanish at home except with little ones to give them a start at school. All teachers here insist on English. Children in town know English on starting, but not those from country. The difference between town and country is general. The Spanish here is not so good, better to north where people don't accept strangers. Here tourist trade is important. Miss G (Hispano 18, on a lonely ranch ca. 20 miles west of Santa Rosa near Milagro) attends high school at Santa Rosa -- at school English mostly, on bus to and from mostly Spanish. Mostly Spanish at home. Learned to read and write Spanish in high school. Parents born southeast of Santa Rosa.
PASTURA (19 miles southwest of Santa Rosa, population 12 families, a run down place) Mr. M (Hispano 66, storekeeper, his English correct for short phrases, but elements left out of longer sentences) On ranch 3 miles west 1922-1956 -- now store and school bus driving. Learned English at school -- almost everybody learns English. Priest comes once a month, preaches in Spanish, part of the announcements in English. People who left went to Clovis (a railroad section had been at Pastura), to other New Mexico cities, to Texas and to Los Angeles. In small cemetery no stones later than 1951, only two with English inscriptions, 1933 and 1951.

FT. SUMNER (55 air miles south-southwest of Tucumcari, 35 south-southeast of Santa Rosa, in 1950, population 2000) A (male 18, Hispano) Town half Hispano. Boys mix English and Spanish. Girls speak more English, more willing to do what they are told to. An Anglo friend has picked up Spanish. At home it's Spanish. His sister's husband an Anglo, won't allow her to speak Spanish to children. Young husbands and wives use little Spanish.

YESO (22 miles west of Ft. Sumner, founded 1906, population 350) Mr. O (Anglo, 60, merchant) Here 28 years. Most customers Hispano. Twenty years ago many couldn't speak English almost all can now. Hispano-Anglo proportions unchanged. When he came from Tennessee Hispanics were same as niggers; now O.K. if educated. Intermarriages. People took claims during depression; then failed. Rich men buy when poor have to leave. Hispanics gradually coming
down from north. Most teachers are Hispanic and now they have a Hispanic county superintendent. Machinery has cut down section gangs; trade lost.

VAUGHN (56 miles west of Ft. Sumner, population 1360) Town is less Hispanic, railroad background. In restaurant one waitress out of 5 Hispanic. Cemetery has a Catholic Hispanic section and a general section mostly Anglo. In Hispanic section, nearly equal number of inscriptions in Spanish and English in 1940's; almost all English later: shift in one family: 1942 Spanish 1956 English. Mr. X (Anglo, 23, filling station) Born here; never learned Spanish; the Hispanics his age don't speak it with each other.

ALBUQUERQUE (founded 1706, population 1960 185,000) All agree that city is a center of English, even in 1917 Espinosa speaks of Albuquerque as dominated by English (EP 410-411). But in the 1960's there were important limitations. There is an Old Town near the river and a New Town mainly to the east. The Old Town is nearly all Hispanic; the New Town largely Anglo, especially in northeast. Comments here concern the Old Town, except for remarks on the University of New Mexico. There half of students from the county, 15% or 20% of enrollment, was Hispanic. Casual speech of Hispanic students on campus increasingly English but one heard Spanish. In the city there is also College of St. Joseph with 75% to 90% Hispanic enrollment. Prof. R (55, Anglo, native of state) Hispanic students have small Spanish vocabulary,
read poorly until it is extended. Janitors hard to understand when talking to each other; rather good Spanish when speaking formally. Intermarriages becoming more common; they mean desertion of Spanish. More Spanish heard in business section than on campus. Mr. M (19, Hispano student) If you speak Spanish to some one in Albuquerque they think you are crazy. Father R (Hispano, 40) His nephews in Albuquerque laugh at the quality of his English. He tells them that he is better off than they; at least he knows two languages. Informants in surrounding villages except on the main highways, felt that there is more English in Albuquerque. On highways about the same proportion. Investigator's observation in Old Town showed Hispanics in south west part of town using English to each other including six 4-year-old girls. In a workman's neighborhood a block or so from San Felipe de Neri English prevailed. A father of 40 chided in English his 10-year-old son on a bicycle. A little girl teasing her teen-age sister was answered, "Oh, shut up." Before church at 7:30 change of Masses much English but some Spanish, once from 8-year-olds alone together. Some women about 30 talked Spanish until one of their number left; then shifted to English. At the 9:00 change, there was more Spanish, including talk by teen-age boys.

Country to southeast of Albuquerque. After Moriarty the villages considered are those south of Tijeras (16 miles from Albuquerque) on New Mexico Highway 10 as far as Mountain Air.
They lie in a valley on the mesa east of the Manzano Mountains, a district of small ranches at one time relatively prosperous. Prolonged drought had been particularly bad here in 1962.

MORIARTY (40 miles east of Albuquerque, population 500)

Mrs. C (37, restaurant proprietor, mostly Hispano but a quarter Irish, born to the north in a purely Hispano area, married to an Anglo) Anglo children here know no Spanish. Hispano children play bilingually; it is common now for them to learn English and Spanish together. Little ranchers largely squeezed out and moved to California but returning.

TIJERAS (16 miles east of Albuquerque, has a cement plant)

Mrs. R (50, Anglo, merchant) The plant hires mostly Anglos, but the neighborhood is half Hispano. Some picnickers because of woods. All Hispanics her age know English (so did a Hispanic customer in his 70's who came in).

CHILILI (ca. 15 miles south of Tijeras, early a pueblo tormented by Apaches, now nearly deserted). In cemetery many graves without inscriptions, four have them. Two are for Irish who died in 1873 and 1883 (in same family), the others in Spanish for two Hispanics who died in 1900 and 1909.

TORREON (15 air miles north of Mountain Air, population ca. 150) The cemetery has many more graves than inscriptions, none in English except some English names of months and English date order. So, the stone for José J. Sanchez 1913-1958, but a metal plate has letters brazed on saying "R.I.P. José Sanchez
quien fue 'Católico Ejemplar' Arch. Byrne." [Church programs in English.]

J (male, 5, Hispano, an enthusiast for T.V. programs, speaks excellent English) His father works on rock crusher.

MANZANO (5 miles south of Torreon, founded as a town 1829, in 1950 pop. 434) Church had in Spanish a list of ushers and another of women to clean priest's house. All names were Spanish except Frank Lajuenesse. The spelling of this French name seems indicative of its local pronunciation in Spanish. In the cemetery the earliest English inscription was of 1937. One Spanish inscription read "AÑ Deda" instead of "Años de Edad."

E (male Hispano, 5) playing in the road, knew but little English, but was quite willing to talk in Spanish, so was his brother aged 3.

PUNTA (i.e. Punta de Agua, 5 miles north of Mountain Air, 20 houses, mostly empty) In cemetery all inscriptions but two of 1905 in Spanish; the oldest legible was of 1896. Mrs. E (28, Hispano housewife) She didn't speak English before she went to school, but now the children learn it. Everybody who is left here is bilingual and goes away to work somewhere in town.

MOUNTAIN AIR (45 air miles southeast by south from Albuquerque, in 1950 population 1500) 30 cars arrived for 7 o'clock Mass -- all held Hispanics. The lightest people arrived in the best cars. Those who seemed most Indian arrived on foot. The Hispanics live in the south part of town; they are about half of the population.

Mr. G (45, born here in 1917, Anglo, operates filling station) All younger Hispanics know English but use Spanish to each other.
He speaks enough Spanish to trade and get by. He has talked to people who know no English along the Rio Grande 30 miles west. School was too far away from them. The schools have spread English within his time. He played with Hispanos when a boy; no segregation, though they live apart. His father and grandfather homesteaded in 1916 and bought four relinquishments besides. Most ranches are large now and use Anglo help. Anglo proportion has increased some.

89.24 West and northwest of Albuquerque. Grants (70 miles west of Albuquerque, last 55 through Pueblo Indian reservations -- some of the older Indians speak Spanish as a second language; a uranium town, railroad background from 1881, founded 1872, population in 1950 2250) Mr. W (Anglo, 60, visiting at St. Theresa rectory) 3/4 of the population Hispano (true for Catholics at least) many born here, many have come in. It is all Spanish country. Preaching only in English here but in Mission at San Rafael (near to south) and San Mateo (more distant to north) there is preaching in Spanish.

Cuba (65 air miles north-northwest of Albuquerque, in 1950, pop. 841) A (18 Anglo, working in filling station) here six years, lived before at Albuquerque, linguistic conditions very similar here as there -- 70% Hispano -- most but not all can speak English. Thinks more highly of Hispanos here than at Albuquerque -- Very few of Navahos on reservation just to north know Spanish.
RIO GRANDE VALLEY near Albuquerque

Belen (30 miles south of Albuquerque on river, founded in 17th century, in 1950 population 4500; business was thriving) In drug store two highway patrolmen talked to each other and to the sales personnel in Spanish. So did other customers. There were Anglos in supermarket near by, proportion 75% Hispano. All Hispanics spoke Spanish together but addressed Anglos in English. Mr. G (Hispano, 32, farmer from 15 miles south) and son (10). Everybody in their neighborhood Hispano. Boy plays in English or Spanish depending on who his companions are. Early Mass is English, rest Spanish. Mr. T (36, drugstore owner) Learned Spanish before English, but his children know only English, oldest aged 3. He uses Spanish in directions on prescriptions for Hispanics, translates doctor's orders; uses dictionary to be sure of current terms. Spanish decreasing here as at Albuquerque. His sales girls mix in English when talking to customers; gives prestige. They feel flattered if addressed in English but are more at home in Spanish. He helps Anglos attempting to use Spanish.

Bernalillo (17 miles north of Albuquerque, settled 1698, in 1950, population 2000) In cemetery many graves without stones especially for children. Inscriptions for children from 1923 to 1932 were 5 in Spanish, 5 in English. Language of inscriptions for adults:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>% of Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910-9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In post office X (Hispano, 30) talked Spanish to Y (48) an Anglo (the only one seen), and joked with a Hispano girl Z (17) in English. He addressed ZZ (40) in English and continued conversation in Spanish. Mr. M (50) has two small children who speak English more frequently than Spanish. The town is completely bilingual.

Santa Fe, Taos and north. In 1917 Espinosa said, "Some of the very isolated places like Taos and Santa Fe are yet thoroughly Spanish and will continue so, perhaps for more than a century" (EP 410).

SANTA FE (founded 1609, in 1960 population 34,000, tourist oriented, half Hispano) Mr. G (50, curio merchant) His sales staff furnish the interpreters for him with Indians who come in from the pueblos and want to use Spanish in selling their wares. Otherwise he doesn't need Spanish, though the town is 70% Hispano. Mr. R (48, railroad agent) Yes 3/4 Hispano, but 99% can speak English. Children talking together use Spanish until they have been in school a while; then they take to using English.
The shift has been gradual, but it has been too fast to suit the artists and old timers. Personal observation at hotel: the bell boy greeted the floor scrubber in English; both were Hispano. A Hispano taxi driver struck up a conversation in Spanish. On street a couple (50) talked in Spanish. Before cathedral women were using Spanish.

RINCÓNAGO (20 miles southwest of Taos, population scattered) Mr. M (46, mission worker for a Protestant church, son of an immigrant from over-seas) serves several mission stations in area; people in them almost all bilingual Hispano. The Hispanos hang on to their language, not like immigrant stocks; only a few try to get away from it. The brother of a Hispano friend was ridiculed on returning to community for not speaking Spanish. Mission schools have been decreased as public schools improved. Missions near Dixon, Truchas (high altitude).

TAOS (69 road miles NNE from Santa Fe, first mission 1617, permanent settlement 1696, pop. nearly 2000, tourist and artist oriented) Town 85% Hispano. In 1940 96% of school population was Hispano. Business service personnel Hispano, dealing with customers in Spanish. Mr. G (Hispano, 45, operates filling station) Learned English at school; lived with great grandmother who spoke no English. They have seen to it that their children knew English on going to school; handicapped otherwise. The children use English all the time. Has relatives who won't speak Spanish. At court house much official work in Spanish, deeds are in Spanish. There are people in back country who know no English.
Language of inscriptions at principal cemetery:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>% of Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910-19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-49</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-59</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many unmarked graves, which explains earliest language proportions.

QUESTA (20 air miles n. of Taos, as many miles south of Colo.; town half on hill, half in charming valley, in 1950 pop. 700, large majority Hispano) Mr. O (Hisp. 73, exact. Storekeeper) Here all his life. People of his generation don't speak English. He is an exception, because he herded sheep in Wyoming. [This exception is not uncommon] Don't do that now; people stay in valley (farms, cattle, sheep, lumber). At school children must play in Eng. He thinks they should be allowed to speak both languages. It's Spanish once out of the school house. But they have become really bilingual. People ought to know both languages; at Hot Springs Hospital, where he was with a child, they wanted him to stay as interpreter; the staff should have known Spanish. His grandparents came here about 1845, from Santa Fe, he thinks. [This was probably the time of first settlement. See San Luis, Colorado.]

89.27 Northwest of Santa Fe

ESPAÑOLA (2½ miles nnw. of Santa Fe. pop. 1500) On street a Hispano man addressed two women 45 and 30 in Spanish, so for
others. Mr. R (32, runs machine shop, Hispano) Does business usually in English, sometimes has to, passes time of day in Spanish. Children play in English (a woman companion agreed.) More Spanish here somewhat than in Albuquerque, but less than in Hernandez (see below). There are some Anglos here. (The English of these two was very nearly perfect.)

HERNANDEZ (4 miles nw. of Española, small) The small holders here seem to have been relatively prosperous, since there are in the cemetery here fewer unmarked graves. The proportion of inscriptions is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>% of Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-49</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-59</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example: Carla A Senna, Nasio (for nació) Aug. 22, 1892. died Jan. 29, 1941. En pas (for paz) gode.

This is the most linguistically conservative cemetery recorded.

S (9, Hispano, chicken raiser despite his years) His grandfathers are dead, his great grand-mother speaks no English, but his grandmother can; sometimes his parents talk together in English. He spoke English before going to school; he has older brothers and sisters. Everybody here speaks Spanish.
CEBOLLA (70 air miles nwm. of Santa Fe, small) There are two small cemeteries, one with five legible inscriptions, the other more recent with two inscriptions, in which the other 16 graves unmarked except with undertaker's labels; the two are in Spanish and of 1956 and 1959. The other cemetery has two inscriptions in English, both 1911, three in Spanish 1910, 1912, 1942. One commemorates a man born in 1838 at Ojo Caliente, 38 air miles to the southeast demonstrating further the spread of settlement in the mid 19th-century. Mrs. P (Anglo, 65, operator of filling station and store, also ranch owner with husband, 640 acres. Homestead had burned down.) Here since 1948 little change in language since then, though a few have learned English. 90% Hispanics here. At Canjillon, some 8 miles southeast, only the children who are learning in school speak English. Two customers arrived who spoke English badly. She succeeds in trading with a woman who knows only three English words. She understands some Spanish, but hasn't the nerve to speak it. In high school they make the Hispanics take Spanish; for many it is the hardest subject. Most Hispanics have small places here, 20 to 40 acres and have permits to pasture in forest. Practically all work out, some at Los Alamos, some sheepherding up north or in sawmills. One family who held an old Spanish grant divided it up into 40 acre lots for the children. Some of them teach. (The community organization which Mrs. P has described is typical. Not mentioned elsewhere is the fragmentation of larger holdings
through inheritance and the transformation of communal holdings into government land for the exploitation of which certain grants are made.) A few Anglos have moved in recently who look down on the Spanish and call them Mexicans; she finds the Hispanos lovely friends. (Events surrounding the burning of the ranch house had been a test.)

TIERRA AMARILLA (13 miles farther on, county seat, in 1950 pop. 500, qualified in 1917 by Espinosa as thoroughly Spanish -- EP 411; scene in 1967 of a small riot caused by Hispanics seeking to recover 2,500 sq. miles due them, they contended, by Spanish grant.) A score of boys and girls, 12 or 13, leaving school spoke Spanish. In restaurant waitress 20, spoke English with an older woman employee; they were Hispanics. Two girls 16, one Hispanic, one Anglo, were using English. Miss C (Hispano, 20, employee in office of County Supervisor of Schools) In her office they do most of their business in English, but elsewhere in courthouse much Spanish. In assessor's office for instance many come in unable to speak English. Only at Chama (see below) are there many Anglos in the county. The vocational training teacher was the only Anglo teacher in the county, all teaching in English and English is to be used on the playground. When she started to school many did not know English, fewer ignorant now. Hispanics here about four generations.

CHAMA (further north, 8 miles from Colo. line, pop. 1000) Children leaving school spoke English; one out of 5 was Anglo.
Assembly of God has two churches here one Spanish, one English. Lumber center; loggers are Anglos mostly. Miss M (Hisp. 21, lawyer's secretary) Almost all speak Spanish. Because her younger brothers and sisters are in school, the family mixes the languages at home. Spanish on playground was permitted when she was in school. She learned English before starting school -- that is usual. Mr. Q (72, clerked at Parkview, just north of Tierra Amarilla 1914-31, employee of Highway Dept. 1931-1955, Hispano) The loggers don't learn Spanish. There are three Anglo merchants in town (two with Irish names, one with an English name). One of the Irish families knows Spanish well, the other pretty well, the third merchant knows some. He can read and write Spanish as well as speak; his wife can read it; younger people can't. He had to make reports to Highway Dept. in English. The children who go by from parochial school are speaking both Spanish and English; the children in neighborhood, though Spanish, play in English. Some here look down on the people in the county south of Chama. At Brazos (nearer Tierra Amarilla than Chama) he knew a clan that was smart without education. His grandfather came to the Parkview neighborhood about 1860.

The towns described in this section (89.25) are all in the eastern half of Rio Arriba County ("Upriver County"). Rio Arriba has been in some sort a synonym for pure Hispano country with small landholders. It, like Questa near Colorado farther
east (see preceding section 89.24), is territory settled late but without Anglo competition and the old civilization here has, with something of the vigor that accompanies youthful settlement, as many pristine characteristics as the country to the east of Santa Fe. The latter district, which occupies our attention next, has a greater complication of economic difficulties, and greater contrasts between town and country.

89.28  Santa Fe to Las Vegas and beyond

GALISTEO (20 air miles s. of Santa Fe, few inhabitants) A Hispano village was installed in a ruined pueblo, difficult to say what are pueblo ruins and what are abandoned Hispano constructions. Church had Latin responses for Mass translated in print both into Spanish and English. Notices bilingual. A box evidently intended for tourist contributions was accompanied with this notice: "Help us up-keep our church." First names on honor lists for boys and men are usually in the English form if there is one; Phillip, Frank, but Ernesto. Some use nicknames that are English, Dan, Joe, Tony, Rudy. Mr. S (55, store and bar proprietor, Hispano) Everybody here speaks Spanish except a few Anglos who have moved in. (An anglo filling station proprietor half way to Santa Fe had been here 4 years and knew no Spanish; but some of his best customers were Hispano.) This used to be a good little town, but the drought has made all little ranchers sell to the big and get jobs in town. Now most have moved to Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Colorado, Los Angeles, everywhere.
They got the jobs first, and then tired of commuting. The kids now know English before they go to school, learn from parents. He learned at school. All Hispano families here time out of mind.

WHITE LAKES (27 miles sse. of Santa Fe, 2 houses) Mr. & Mrs. H (Anglos, 64, have store and filling station) Here since 1947. He used to speak Spanish when a boy near Ruidoso [between Capitan and Tularosa, see section 89.29]. Here almost all can speak English, so he has forgotten Spanish. There used to be a lot of people up on the mesa, driven out by drought. Ranches here mostly middle-sized with both Anglo and Hispano owners. The Hispano children speak Spanish to each other. [In the store their parents would usually be with them.] El Cerrito described by Leonard and Loomis is in the area 30 miles southwest of Las Vegas. It was founded in 1844 (LL 10); the date indicates the period of agricultural settlement of the whole region.

LAS VEGAS (40 air miles e. of Santa Fe, founded 1831, New Town, pop. 7500; Old Town 6300.) The Old Town is also called Las Vegas Town and West Las Vegas. It is the county seat. It is a separate political corporation with a will to remain so; 99% Hispano. The Hispano element in the New Town is not small; the two together have 65% Hispano population. As the name implies, the Old Town was the first established, but it did not incorporate until the New Town had done so and appropriated the name Las Vegas. There is hostility between Old Town and New Town, in part racial, though the Hispanics of the New Town are
partisans for their section and not for the Old Town. Political manipulations perpetuate these attitudes. The effect is to make the Old Town particularly conservative linguistically. Teenagers, whenever possible, speak Spanish. Almost no Hispanos in the New Town have abandoned Spanish, but they are more cheerfully bilingual. Except for more bilingualism achieved through schooling the linguistic situation has changed little in 50 yrs. Some of the well-to-do ranch owners in the trade territory are Hispanos, and through them in part the social prestige of their language is maintained. The merchants also have Hispanos among them; the mayor in 1962 bore an Anglo name but was said to be more than half Hispano, comfortably bilingual. The region served by Las Vegas has, however, long been a distribution point for emigration elsewhere in the United States. In 1907 Clark said "A Las Vegas (N.Mex.) merchant received answers to an advertisement in a local Spanish paper from Texas, Arizona, California, Wyoming and Colorado" (CI 502). Mr. T (39, merchant, Anglo) When he went to school, there were separate second grades for Anglos and Hispanos; that was changed in the 1940's. The school system in the Old Town was put in in the 1940's. When he went to school there were no Hispano teachers. [He probably meant, in his segregated classes.] Now many teachers are Hispanos, even some administrators. He understands Spanish, but speaks only a little, though born here. Picked it up in business. In business he hires Hispano girls for the Spanish
trade especially in dealing with the students from Montezuma Seminary whose Spanish is hard for him to understand. (The seminary is to prepare candidates for the priesthood of Mexico, where seminaries are not allowed.) He often fishes in the back country, and there are many there who can't speak English, even people in their early twenties in some villages where kids don't go to school. The braceros who are sent through are not even allowed to get off their buses in Las Vegas. The Hispanics don't leave here because of the welfare situation. He was doubtless right for those beyond a certain age. The situation seems the same as in other areas where many are poor. Similar statements were made in other places, always by Anglos.) Politics is rough here. At Mora [see below] there are political employees in the court house without much education. On election day they take ambulances over there and park them beforehand; they know they'll need 'em. Mr. L (Hispano, 38, operates filling station) Kids in New Town play in English except at parochial school. He does business in Spanish, but that is exceptional [probably because of his station's location]. There are a bunch of rough necks over in Old Town.

Sapelio (12 miles n. of Las Vegas, few inhabitants.) Monuments and structures indicate that the Gokes were lords of the manor. Henry Goke (1843-1911) married a Hispano, Gumecinda R. de Goke (1851-1923). They had a son Henry (1870-1915). The other inscriptions in the small cemetery distribute as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>% of Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919-1929</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1939</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1949</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1959</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manor (unoccupied) and church located in isolation east of town. La Cueva cemetery farther north, town abandoned, showed Spanish inscriptions 1900's, 75% 1910's, 75%; 1920's, 50%; none later.

MORA (40 air miles ne. of Santa Fe, 30 n. of Las Vegas, county seat, population 300). The valley was settled in 1835. Utes and Apaches till then. The principal merchants are the Hanoshes, Lebanese. Their children speak English, Spanish, and Arabic. The social structures here and in a Lebanese village are similar. The church is important; with its two missions it has 2500 parishioners, of whom 11 including the Hanoshes are not Hispanos. There is preaching in English at early Mass at Mora's Church; other Masses are all in Spanish. There is a Presbyterian clinic near by. No professional people otherwise. There are 2 families with French names and 3 with German, the descendants of soldiers from Fort Union who married into the community. Father H (39, Anglo) Here since 1954. More Spanish than in Santa Fe. The children through teenagers think in Spanish. It's Spanish as soon as they leave the classroom, except that they usually address Father in English. [This was demonstrated. A teenage group waiting for him during the interview sent in a representative. He asked Father H. for directions in English and shouted them
back to the others in Spanish. No local rule against Spanish on the playground; it would be unenforceable. English here should be, and isn't, taught as a foreign language. The 5 and 6 year olds know none and are retarded thereby. Very few teachers in public schools speak English well; some with doctor's degrees have weaknesses in vocabulary and grammar. There are few now who do not know English, though some of the old understand only. Nobody objects to law that instruction should be in English in schools; the literate realize what an advantage it is to know it. There are a few well-to-do Hispanos. Many leave and do not return -- from this valley to Cheyenne and Rawlins for railroad work and seasonally for sheep herding. Many to Denver, Pueblo and to California especially Redondo Beach. They move out as clans. The situation as it exists here general through north-eastern New Mexico.

WAGON MOUND (41 miles ne. of Las Vegas, founded 1850, pop. 1200) In Santa Clara cemetery, the inscription to Charles L. Fraker (1841-1922) speaks of him as "Vanguard of the Plains -- Santa Fe Trail 1855-1868." The cemetery is rather populous with many graves unmarked or without inscription. The inscriptions between 1900 and 1909 are 2 Span., 1 Eng. proportion of Span. 67%, between 1910 and 1919, 4 of each, 50%; for the next three decades there are 2 each in Spanish; after 1950 the only one in Spanish is for 1953. Mr. M. (Hispano, 53, exact, the police force) Brought up east of here; didn't get past third grade, irregular attendance. Knew no English at 18. Then for five summers in
Wyoming he needed it. Supplemented conversation with a dictionary in working on English. [Now speaks fluently with heavy accent.] His children do better. Worked mostly on ranches in neighborhood with non-Spanish-speaking Anglo employers for nearly 20 years. Then here as night watchman and later as daytime police force. There have been five churches in town, but the Methodists have given up. The church of Christ is Spanish with a few Anglos. Santa Clara church holds about 400. The priest lives in a former store that he has taken over for a parish hall. Spanish here about as at Mora. [He was wrong, for there are many more Anglos here. Song sheets at Santa Clara are bilingual; the stations of the Cross are labeled in English.]

SPRINGER (67 miles nne. of Las Vegas, in 1950 pop. 1600)
Names in Catholic church are one third Anglo. Parochial school children in same proportion; all using English as they left. Hispano boy to three Hispano girls, "Hello, boys." Girl, "Aw, shut up." Mr. J. (Anglo, 50, barber) here two years. District more than half Spanish. Kids talk English mostly, almost all Hispanics speak English. Some Hispanics own land.

CIMARRON (20 air miles nw. of Springer, 40 ene. of Taos, founded 1841, pop. 900) Mrs. S.L. (Anglo, 50, postal employee and former teacher). Three-fourths Hispanics here. Just a few pre-school children know English. Pupils keep on using. Few speak Spanish in post office. Big ranches have bought out small. Lumber mills employ many from here and from outside. Many move to Albuquerque and California. [Probably a very reliable state-
ment on ultimate destinations of those departing because founded on postal experience.] For lack of Spanish she was once stuck in the Rio Arriba country [see Tierra Amarilla, etc. above] but that was some years ago.

RATON (north of Springer, 8 miles from Colo. pop. 8200, not visited in 1962, but former visits and information gained elsewhere show:) A mining and railroad town in marked decline. Hispanic population important, but proportionately more so during period of prosperity. Spanish yielding among those born after 1920 through economic and social pressures.

(for similar notes on southern Colorado see Sections 89.70 ff.)

New Mexico south of the Albuquerque Region.

SOCORRO (71 miles s. of Albuquerque, first mission 1598, permanent settlement 1817, in 1950 pop. 4400) An old world town, but in 1962 no notices in church, store windows, or court house were in Spanish. Plaque at courthouse names officials in 1940. Spanish names for the mayor of the town, all three county commissioners, five other officials out of nine. At ten o'clock Mass, all Hispanos arriving. A woman addressing her child, 4, said, "Don't you get up there." So, others with small children. Three teen-age boys that stayed outside were speaking Spanish. A little later another group of nearly the same age in park were using Spanish. Mr. Q (57, Anglo soft drink wholesaler) came here from El Paso in 1937. Had had to use Spanish there, but doesn't need it more than twice a year here, but his drivers are Hispanos and need it. Here even the Hispanos are getting out of the habit
of using Spanish. There is much less than when he came. The change has been gradual. The population is 65% Hispano; used to be 80% to 90%. Anglos have come in and Hispanos have gone to California and elsewhere. Mr. N (83, born near Guadalajara, Mexico, came U.S. 1919, speaks no English) Has seven children, some in California, some at Las Cruces. His grandchildren in California know almost no Spanish; those at Las Cruces speak it. He talks Spanish with Anglos here, sometimes with small boys who have learned from playmates. The Anglos speak fluently, but rather badly. Mr. C (Anglo, 20, filling station attendant, son of teacher) They came when he was a baby; he has learned little Spanish. His father at first had difficulties with children who knew no English; now almost all starting school know English.

Mr. G (59, see Datil) There are kids at Socorro that don't speak Spanish. At Socorro they are terrible; nobody uses it.

MAGDALENA (27 road miles w. of Socorro, in 1950 pop. 1300). A zinc mining town that has run down. Exists now on ranching and relief. Mrs. H (39, Hispano postal employee) She and two sisters all married Anglos; that's common. Everybody speaks Spanish except a few of the Anglos who arrived recently, but their children pick up Spanish from schoolmates. The Navahos here often speak Spanish and no English; others English and no Spanish. The priest who was here till last year preached in Spanish; the new one will not do so, but he does pastoral work and casual conversations in Spanish.
DATIL (67 miles w. of Socorro, pop. 213, fort 1888, town is of recent origin, mostly 1933 on) Mr. G (Anglo, 59, postmaster) came in 1915. He and 3 others only Anglos in school, 11 others. Speaks Spanish; but not so well as he used to. Wife's grandfather in 1882 was a pioneer here; Hispano families from Belen and Socorro came immediately afterward. His wife reads and writes Spanish.

QUEMADA (112 miles w. of Socorro, pop. 284) Mr. G (see Datil) came here after first year at Datil. His younger brother learned English from parents, Spanish from playmates and is fully bilingual. Studied, has a large vocabulary, and can outSpeak some Hispanics. Mr. L (40, filling station operator) Many Hispanics without accent and use no Spanish. Some old ones have accent. (He evidently wished nothing to get back to offend customers.)

CARRIZOSO (73 miles se. of Socorro, in 1950 pop. 1400, a division point on Southern Pacific; railroad came 1899; they were in 1962 talking of eliminating the division point) Mr. R (52, railroad employee, Anglo) Came in 1928, not many Hispanics could speak English then; now they all can. The generation born in 1910 began going to school.

CAPITAN (19 miles se. of Carrizoso, pop. 600, earlier coal mining) Mrs. E (52, postal employee) Almost everybody here now works at Marine hospital, but 600 have left, Hispanics went to California or wherever they could get jobs. The older generation didn't go to school. Now they trade in English, but talk together
in Spanish. The children mix languages in play, but the Hispanics use Spanish when playing alone. [This was also demonstrated by groups playing. Some mixed families seen.]

TULAROSA (49 miles s. of Carrizoso, in 1950 pop. 1700) Mr. D (40 Hispano, incapacitated veteran). The Hispanics learn Apache, but the Apaches don't learn Spanish. [Other informants said earlier Apaches had learned Spanish.] He knows three Anglos who can't speak Spanish. The Anglo children learn it.

ALAMOGORDO (14 miles s. of Tularosa, 87 miles nne. of El Paso, founded 1898, pop. 18,000 in 1960) Two women, 35 meeting on street, spoke Spanish to each other, but one of them addressed a Hispano merchant (52) in English. Mr. T (60, car salesman) Town 4 Hispano, but until the missile project influx the proportion had been higher. All talk English. Mr. Ch (45, laborer, illiterate, poor English.) His children read and write English and play in English. It's Spanish at home.

ORO GRANDE (45 miles nne. of El Paso, on Ft. Bliss reservation) Mrs. R (48, Anglo) Brought up here, learned Spanish before English. Most Anglos do. Many soldiers marry Hispano; many of these marriages fail.

LAS CRUCES (40 miles nw of El Paso, founded 1848, in 1960 pop. 21,000) In a drugstore frequented by many teen agers three-fourths were Hispano and all were talking English; also 2 isolated teen-age boys. In a solidly Hispano district a father, 45, was calling to his son in English. Small children
were using Spanish to each other. Mr. M. (40, Hispano) uses
English and Spanish about equally with his boys, 5 and 3 but
not according to a schedule [see also E (18) below].

MESILLA (3 miles sw of Las Cruces, pop. 1300, onion and
cotton country) Mexicans took refuge here in 1848 to remain on
Mexican territory, but the Gadsden purchase brought them back
into the United States. Seems as though in a foreign land. At
church 7:30 Mass Spanish; 11:00 English; 9:30 not specified. In
store practically mono-lingual Hispano proprietress dealt with
five child customers, ages 12 down, in Spanish. E (18, seen and
reared in Mesilla, wholesale deliveryman from Las Cruces) In
grades, though they used English in class, on playground it was
Spanish, there were only three Anglos. Las Cruces is different.
In the villages near it varies. Mesilla, Tortugas, Dona Ana, and
Anthony emphasize Spanish; East and West Picacho and Mesilla Park,
English. At junior high school at Las Cruces everybody used Eng­
lish; the Anglos were in the majority; the pupils came also from
the villages. Those from places where English was used outside
the classroom had no trouble, for those from the more Spanish
villages there were difficulties. The Anglos knew Spanish, but
didn't want to use it.

SANTO TOMAS (10 miles s. of Las Cruces, few in the agglomer­
ation, but populous country) Pecan farms, largely owned by Stah­
mann Farms. Their store contained all local notices in Spanish.
This was one notice (it had no diacritical markings): Manana se
Inicia la temporada en "La Taza" a los 2:30 p.m. Stahman vs. Vets ... Abrirá "Roque" y en el plato tendremos al "Chimuelo" Munoz, en las bases Reyes, Moreno, y Facio, en el short a "Buth" (etc.). Four Hispano employees and many children of school age as customers; everybody kidding in Spanish. Four miles further, four small boys were waiting for a school bus; three were from Juarez and one from California. All spoke English fluently with accent, but evidently used Spanish habitually. Their attitudes were as cheerful as those in the store.

Mesquite (13 miles SE. of Las Cruces, a shipping point rather than village, on east side of river and here the desert is close. Agricultural products has a plant) Mr. O (50, postmaster, Anglo) Here 20 years. 60% of mail boxes in office rented to Hispanos; 80% of the children in school are Hispanos. He speaks little Spanish, just enough to do business; most Hispanics speak English now. A principal who did not allow Spanish on school grounds showed good results; a later man who is more lax also shows results. Younger parents who speak good English are careless about teaching the young; their fault when children begin school without knowing English. Downstream it's cotton. Negroes brought in during war as pickers have in part remained.

[During this interview, three customers, 2 Anglos and a Hispano woman. She said nothing, showed a piece of paper bearing her name.]

Hatch (35 miles upstream from Las Cruces. pop. 1100) Cotton
near river, but mostly arid land. Town founded by an Anglo family with a different name. They learned Spanish and were, it seems, for many years feudal lords in effect. South of Hatch are several cotton ranches, at perhaps 10 miles the Hayner ranch. Less prosperous there than in boom times, four out of eight good but run-down houses unoccupied, a number of shacks empty, but still 4 families or regular employees and 19 braceros at planting time. At ranch, C (Hispano f. 16, mono-lingual mother in house interior) Mother born here, father from Mexico. She no longer in school, has a brother and sister in 9th and 10th grades. The Hayners speak Spanish (Her English was pretty; she relayed Spanish questions to her unseen mother.) In town, at restaurant many high school students. Hispanics and Anglos intermingled; of two buddies, often one of each; they spoke English. Older Hispanics and two Anglos were speaking Spanish together. An Anglo (52) addressed by waitress in Spanish. Mr. B (62, Anglo, merchant) Here 20 years and speaks little Spanish; it would be of some advantage. The younger Hispanics speak English frequently, but at home it's Spanish. High school groups in drugstore switch back and forth. Some Anglos know Spanish.

DEMING (61 miles w of Las Cruces, pop. 5700) Church office bore sign part in English, mostly in Spanish, saying not to disturb el parroco between 12 and 2. At 2:20 his mono-lingual Hispanic house-keeper feared to disturb him. Father X. was reported to know little Spanish, though sometimes, with obvious effort,
he preached in Spanish. Mr. & Mrs. P (55, Hispanics, though his paternal and her maternal grandfathers were German, and her maiden name was Wood) They use Spanish with each other, though her father in Las Cruces spoke English to his children. He brought up 35 miles north. Neither of them literate in Spanish, only in English. There is cotton country to the south and southwest. Machines are just displacing two or three hundred braceros brought in for the picking. Children in school play in English. High school students pretty much mix together and so use English. Their son speaks English to his children, 10, 7, 3, 2. It's funny when they try to speak Spanish; the 10-year-old doesn't know trece, catore (13, 14).

LORDSBURG (121 miles w. of Las Cruces, in 1950 pop. 3500) Mr. B. (34, Anglo, temporary filling station attendant) In Hatch through grade school. Learned to understand Spanish well only when he was in high school here and the Hispanics talked Spanish for secrecy before him. Now the high school kids talk with each other in English. Before Anglos at least. (Three early teenagers passed speaking Spanish) Talking in Spanish at high school age is kind of bad. There are some Hispanics past 60 whose English is imperfect, but mostly they are bilingual. Town is one third Hispano -- all native. Braceros are used 30 miles south in cotton fields.
Spanish activity in Texas began early in the sixteenth century, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century, while the Spaniards had a firm mission at Nacogdoches in eastern Texas, the only settlements in what Spain called Texas with steady and direct relationship with Mexico were at Bexar or San Antonio and at La Bahia Mission, now Goliad. But Spain did not denominate as Texas all the territory that the Republic claimed as such in 1836, much less what the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo brought to it in 1848. South of the Nueces River, that is very roughly, south of a line somewhat to the north of one which would connect Laredo and Corpus Christi, the country was in the province of Nuevo Santander. The state of Tamaulipas which took over from Nuevo Santander still has a narrow panhandle extending along the Rio Grande from above Laredo downstream. There were towns on the right bank of the river and ranches on the other side as the nineteenth century opened. Upstream for many miles the country between the Rio Grande and the Nueces where the latter river flows southward was part of the state of Coahuila in which there were bridgeheads at what are now Eagle Pass and Del Rio. Beyond in country that was part of New Mexico and of Chihuahua there was also a bridgehead at Presidio and finally the settlement at El Paso del Norte. All in all we may say that in the interior of the present Texas the only Spanish settlement of importance was at San Antonio, for La Bahia was small and not prosperous. However, along the Rio Grande, the
present border, there were settlements extending across it that help explain the present majorities of Mexican population in the neighborhood of the river. Within the present Texas there were probably about 5,000 speakers of Spanish in 1848 (N,M 52).

89.31 San Antonio or San Fernando de Bexar was founded in 1718, though the mission complex in the neighborhood had been in existence for a few years before. It became the capital of the province which had been constituted in 1691 and remained the capital until Mexican independence was won. Then Texas was combined with Coahuila in one state with its capital far to the south at Saltillo. While Louisiana was Spanish (1763-1803), San Antonio had legal communication with the east over a long road, but no flow of settlement was allowed to reach it from that direction. The Spanish kings rigidly enforced the decrees of no trade or communication except through Vera Cruz. There were no ports along the Texas coast. San Antonio was as isolated from the world as Santa Fe. The road to the Rio Grande crossing at what is now Eagle Pass was its only path to civilization. The Apaches harassed the settlers and the Indians in the missions, which grew slowly. The whole Bexar area in 1803 contained 2500 inhabitants including the garrison but excluding 362 on the other side of the river (Ha 303). In 1850 its population was 3500; in 1856 10,000 (WC, II 540).

In 1890 Lee C. Harby portrayed the Mexicans at San Antonio
as peddlers of chili, tamales and nueces dulces and as pecan shellers (HT 229). During the 1930's 8,000 wretchedly paid Mexicans worked with the pecans. What Harby's comment truly reflects is that the Mexicans at San Antonio had been driven from any more important commercial field than that of peddling. Earlier when the Mexican liberation opened up commerce, the Mexicans had developed a profitable trade with Saltillo, but the Mexicans appear to have been ruined by banditry and raids on the wagon trains more often carried out by lawless Americans than by Indians or Mexican outlaws. The Mexican trade was later revived with the Anglos as capitalists. They "secured the large Mexican trade which they retain today [1878]" (RS 163). A means of evading the Union Blockade in 1861-5 was to ship cotton to Mexico from San Antonio. The Tejanos -- this name for people of Mexican stock that arrived in Texas before 1900 is sometimes useful -- certainly continued to be a numerically important element in the population of San Antonio.

In 1892 Sweet and Knox are referring primarily to that city when they say "The Mexican element is a large feature in the population of Western Texas. . . . The majority of those in San Antonio live by hauling wood, prairie-hay, bones and other country produce into town" (SK 310). These gentlemen, unlike Harby who patronized the railways, were traveling "on a Mexican Mustang". Their report on Mexican occupations, probably picked up at the livery stables, shows that the teamster tradition re-
mained alive among the San Antonio Tejanos though they no longer took wagon trains to Saltillo. The size of the Mexican element then in the city is suggested by the list of marriage licenses for one week which Sweet and Knox copied from a newspaper. There were nine licenses; four were between persons bearing Spanish names (at least Spanish first names; one groom had an English surname, one bride a German). Of the other five couples, 2 bore English names, two German. In the case remaining it seems that a Jew and a Lebanese were being united (SK 299). The importance of the various linguistic stocks was also indicated by a sign on a bridge with English, Spanish, and German versions. Sweet and Knox describe rural Mexicans as "shepherds, teamsters and cattleherders. Very few cultivate the soil" (SK 310). They declare, "Many of the Mexicans residing in Texas can speak English, but they often deny that they can" (SK 313). They relate, however, that a Mexican ignorant of English was sentenced to five years in prison because he did not understand the interrogation (SK 323). Immigration from Mexico to San Antonio continued. In 1926 Handman counted as Tejanos people of the 2d, 3d, and 4th generations as well as the descendants of citizens of colonial times. Only 17% of the pecan workers questioned in 1938 had been born in San Antonio (MC 4).

89.32 The people in the lower Rio Grande valley were during the nineteenth century Mexican on both sides of the river except for many of the large landholders and these, if Anglo and resident, were more likely to be Hispanized than the Mexicans were to be
Americanized. As far north as Corpus Christi the rural population was Mexican. Paul Schuster Taylor appropriately names his book on Nueces County, in which Corpus Christi is located, An American-Mexican Frontier. José de Escandon, named in 1748 first governor of newly-created Nuevo Santander, established twenty towns and eleven missions in his province. Five of the towns were founded along the Rio Grande between 1749 and 1753. Two of these, Dolores and Revilla, were on the north side of the river; they were never important. The most important of the other three as a focus of colonization in what was to become Texas was Camargo. Laredo was founded in 1755. Its earliest citizens regarded themselves as in Coahuila rather than Nuevo Santander, but the town was, however, after the liberation, assigned to the coastal state of Tamaulipas, almost at the tip of its panhandle. By 1766 there was settlement near the lower Nueces at Petronella (TA 10). Spanish grants were made for most of the land in Nuevo Santander between the two rivers and occupation by Mexican cattle ranchers took place. Settlement was not without interruption, for the Indians made numerous destructive raids — indeed Indian troubles at least upstream went on until 1880 (TA 27), but Anglos were no factor in occupation of the district until 1846, though during the War of Texas Liberation and afterward they provided the same sort of threat as the Indians. The owners of back country ranches usually dwelt on the Rio Grande, leaving actual occupation to their vaqueros (TA 11). In
1839 the Americans did obtain a foothold in the farthest corner of the area at Corpus Christi where unincorporated Mexicans had dwelt since the late 1820's. The latter had packed southward goods landed among them to the towns on the Rio Grande until the Texan War stifled the trade. In 1845 Corpus Christi was made up of "some thirty houses and fifteen or twenty Mexican huts" (TA 23). The town became the point of assembly for Taylor's army of invasion.

Bad feeling between Mexicans and early coming Anglos (except for those who were Hispanized) was the normal condition from the time of the Texas War on. The hostility was particularly strong in the ranch country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. The Mexicans sold their lands to Anglos very frequently because the courts gave them no protection in case of legal actions. Cattle raids in both directions were repeated. Mexico was so ready to receive runaway slaves that slave holding in western and southern Texas was not profitable. Broadly speaking, the Mexican and Negro sections of Texas are still distinct. If slaves escaped south, peons escaped north, and the hostilities of the elements in power on both sides of the Rio Grande were increased by this involuntary exchange of the oppressed. The early Tejanos, drawn usually from the peons, suffered from the same contemptuous Anglo attitudes as will be briefly described later for the twentieth century Mexicans. The primary difference was that in the nineteenth century the Mexican was generally accepted as a permanent
and necessary part of a hierarchy, and his usefulness had nothing to do with the seasons. Cattle, unlike vegetables, fruits, and cotton, required attention the year round.

In the Rio Grande River towns and closely adjacent territory the nineteenth century situation was different from that in the ranch country farther east. In them the Spanish culture was little touched by the Anglo invaders, who were at first absorbed; old Spanish-speaking families sometimes bear French, German or English names (NM 86, quoting Jovita Gonzales). The motive for the Anglos taking Spanish wives was, it seems, economic. At least as late as 1930 in these river counties 60% of the property owners were descendants of the original Mexican grantees (NM 85). General friendliness came to prevail as long as the economy was stable, and new elements did not enter the population. Harby in 1890 describes Laredo and the neighborhood: "This is like being in a foreign country. . . . Spanish is spoken everywhere and even on the train one sees the signs in that language. . . . Along the streets [of Laredo] everything is Spanish, the signs, the language, the people. . . . Americans are there of course -- many of them -- but they are lost in the general foreign air. . . . The residences of the wealthy Spaniards are low, broad, and cover much space" (Ha 242-3). As he saw it, the Mexicans of Texas were not immigrants: "They are Texans by birth and their fathers before them, but they are of the Mexican race and have kept their blood, language, and manners distinct from the Americans" (Ha 243).
Eagle Pass, Del Rio, and Presidio are the only towns of more than six or seven hundred population on the Rio Grande River between Laredo and El Paso. There are long stretches of desert, and the mountains leave little room for irrigation. Eagle Pass is opposite Piedras Negras on the Mexican side of the river, and the Mexican town with its antecedent settlements served all urban purposes till 1850. Monclova Viejo just above Piedras Negras was the base from which the first governor of Texas departed in 1691 to take possession of his new province inhabited only by Indians, and a mission to San Juan Bautista was founded on the left bank of the Rio Grande. The governor's route eastward became a camino real (King's Highway) which led to San Antonio and on beyond. Commerce between Saltillo and San Antonio followed it. With American sovereignty came a need for a frontier post on the left bank, and the town of Eagle Pass was founded. It did not grow rapidly, but "gradually American traders came there from San Antonio and Goliad," says Harby (HT 235). He visited the town and did find Anglos there, but in the quotation above he meant Americans by nationality, rather than Anglos. He describes the town as Spanish. Del Rio, which has outgrown Eagle Pass, is opposite Villa Acuna. The town in Mexico is at the head of no important road and no real urban developments came into being on either side of the river. Del Rio is shortened from San Felipe del Rio, the name of a mission that failed, established in 1808. Other and later settlements also failed
until the Indian menace was conquered. In 1880 Del Rio had 50 inhabitants; and in 1890, 1,980. Presidio can claim 1759 as its date of settlement. A presidio, a military post, was established there in that year, but Apache raids after 1800 made most of the settlers move back across the river to Ojinago. The Spanish place names along the river on the American side indicate that the reoccupation was all by Mexicans. The town is in the midst of wild and lonesome country.

El Paso is the oldest settlement in the Texas of today. It is on the road selected after some hesitation from Durango on the Mexican plateau to Santa Fe, that is, on the life line from New Mexico to Spanish civilization. A mission was established there in 1659 and around it Spaniards settled (Hu 311). Refugees from the Pueblo revolt of 1680 took their stand there after retreat. After local Indian troubles the settlement was well established in 1683. There was competition for possession of the new town between the provinces of New Mexico and Chihuahua, but in 1685 it became part of New Mexico and so remained until after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

In 1884 El Paso became the terminus of the Mexican Central Railway (See Section 88.63), where the Southern Pacific had already arrived. The importance of this event was at first greater because of increased commercial rather than of immigrant activity. El Paso became the exchange point for goods arriving from the exploitations in Mexico and for manufactured items coming from
the north. Its interests lay primarily neither in Texas nor in New Mexico but in Chihuahua and the Mexican plateau, in Chicago and points east.

Western Texas, inland from the Rio Grande, waited until after the Civil War to receive any significant population. American ranchmen, employing Mexican vaqueros, usually arrived first. In the beginning some of these ranches were not large and their herds fed on the open range. Fencing here did not herald the arrival of the tillers of the soil, but of men who bought up great stretches of the range, and fenced out the small holders' cattle. Hence originated wire-cutting wars, not struggles of Anglos against Mexicans, but of feudal lords against rabble. The proportion of Mexicans who were retainers of the victorious varied with the distance from Mexico. At Carrizo Springs, founded in 1865 thirty air miles back from the great river in the neighborhood of Eagle Pass, escaped peons joined other vaqueros to form much of the population. In 1890 artesian wells brought truck gardening and Mexican seasonal workers to the area. Marfa (see further # 89.44), founded when the railroad went through in 1881 sixty miles inland from Presidio, some 350 miles northwest of Eagle Pass; gained a Methodist church in 1886, a Catholic in 1895. Odessa, some forty miles southeast of the southeast corner of New Mexico, was founded in 1886. Alcoholic beverages were forbidden there to favor German Methodists; prohibition was obliterated by the ranchers and cowhands in 1900. (See WC
for these last three towns). An earlier settlement was Castro's Colony. Its principal town, Castroville (see further 89.45), was founded in 1844 twenty-seven miles west of San Antonio. The colony contained 2134 settlers at the end of its first year. These were almost all Alsatians who remained farmers (crop growers). They employed Mexicans as hired men, but did not become dependent on such labor as the cattlemen did on vaqueros. At the time of its foundation this settlement was the most western in Texas (WC) except as noted for the river towns.

89.38 The Mexican population of Eastern Texas before 1900 is negligible, at least beyond the Colorado River which flows through Austin southeastward to the sea. Along or near the Guadalupe, the next river to the west, Spanish names mark the larger towns, San Marcos, Gonzales, Cuero, Port Lavaca. Forty-five air miles west of Port Lavaca is the early Mission of La Bahia at Goliad. But interesting early settlements of other stocks are farther west. The Polish settlement at Panna Marya between San Antonio and La Bahia was founded in 1855.

89.39 The twentieth century immigration from Mexico raised the number of Mexicans from 70,981 in 1900 to 683,681 in 1930 (NM 178). It was under way but had not reached large proportions in 1910. The fact that newly arriving immigrants tended to congregate in districts where the Tejanos had already established themselves comes out clearly in the census of that year. Though there were some cases in which the older and the more recent stocks remained
distinct, in general they assimilated to each other (T 410 ff.)
The counties containing over 1000 foreign born Mexicans in 1910
are nearly all those regions. Every county fronting the Rio
Grande except two of the most lightly populated held over 1000
of the immigrants; so did most of the counties along the lower
Nueces. Bexar County with San Antonio was the center of a dis-
trict where the counties with over 1000 extended westward on the
road to Eagle Pass; to the northeast and east a right triangle
of counties with a hypotenuse running from San Antonio to Austin
were in the category. Travis County where Austin is located held
1,954; 516 of these were in Austin -- the immigrants were numerous
in rural communities. Certain cities were also supporting large
settlements. The colony in Austin was comparable in size to
those in the largest Kansas cities in 1925 and so were those in
Fort Worth and Houston (406 and 476 inhabitants born in Mexico).
The old Mexican centers contained imposing numbers of foreign-
born Mexicans: San Antonio 9,906, more than 10% of the total popu-
lation, Laredo 7,081 almost half of its people, Brownsville 3,227
(over 30%); El Paso 12,297 (also over 30%). "Roughly speaking
[in 1949], there are ten counties in southern Texas in which so-
called 'Latin Americans' constitute 70% or more of the youngsters
of school age; 25 counties in which they constitute from 50% to
75% of the scholastics; and 19 counties in which the percentage
ranges from 25% to 50%" (NM 56).
40 Mexicans were drawn to Texas in the early twentieth century by two economic developments: the growing of cotton in western Texas and the citrus and vegetable farming along the Rio Grande. Cotton picking particularly demanded great forces of seasonal labor. The city settlements became in great part peopled by rural workers during the off-seasons. Handman reported in 1926 that the government labor agent in San Antonio estimated that he had shipped out over 200,000 Mexicans in one year (HM 35). The cities were winter quarters not only for the Mexican cotton pickers but also for many of the beet workers in northern states. Texans found the presence of migratory workers profitable as long as their wage scale was sufficiently low.

41 The distribution of Mexicans in Texas in 1930 and 1940 still followed the pattern that had been set in the 19th century. In 1954 Burna stated: "Approximately half the Mexicans in the United States, over 1,000,000 of them live in Texas" (Bu 36). In 1940 the proportion of foreign born had greatly decreased over 1930, but it remained highest in the areas in which it had earlier been highest. Statements such as the following are supporting testimony. In 1942-3 "the percentage of Mexican scholastics in Laredo was 95.7%, in El Paso 68.2%, in San Antonio 58.6%, in Corpus Christi 42.7%, and in Houston 10.3% (Bu 36 quoting Wilson Little). The census data presented below also show this fact. The reports come from western counties and cities; and, outside the Tejano district, from certain cities where the proportion of Mexican population was high relative to surrounding territory, but, as
will be seen, low compared with that in the district of early Mexican occupation. (It should be remembered that these data probably represent underenumerations, in 1930 because speakers of Spanish were not classed in the "Mexican race" unless foreign born or their children, in 1930 and 1940 because illegal residents escaped the census.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties on the Rio Grande:</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>% of Inhabitants</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>% of Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>38,343</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>9,275</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidalgo</td>
<td>41,522</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>14,939</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maverick</td>
<td>4,721</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>2,373</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presidio</td>
<td>6,774</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1,261</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Val Verde</td>
<td>9,542</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>2,797</td>
<td>18%</td>
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<td>Counties in southwest not on the River</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pecos</td>
<td>2,439</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<td>Reeves</td>
<td>2,569</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<td>Cities in Tejano area</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brownsville</td>
<td>8,407</td>
<td>38%</td>
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<tr>
<td>(in Cameron Co.)</td>
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<td>Del Rio</td>
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<tr>
<td>(in Val Verde Co.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laredo</td>
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<td>(in Webb Co.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eagle Pass</td>
<td>3,940</td>
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<tr>
<td>(in Maverick Co.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>11,377</td>
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<td>Other Cities</td>
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<td>Dallas</td>
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</table>

* Total foreign born white in city 1801 less 2/3 of other foreign born in county who numbered 59.
The number of the Spanish-speaking foreign-born to be found in the river towns is not adequately represented even by an accurate census because of large numbers who reside in the paired Mexican cities; but work in the United States.

Along the Rio Grande during the twentieth century the use of Spanish did not decrease. In most towns and counties among permanent residents there were more Anglos than there had been, but there were also more Mexicans. Mexicans of higher status continued to be numerous. Clark wrote in 1907: "The gradation, from those who associate on terms of equality with Americans to the peon, is so gradual that a race distinction as such hardly exists" (Cl 512). Burma in 1954 described conditions in Laredo, Rio Grande City, and Brownsville. "Here there is considerable prejudice but little overt discrimination. The city commissioners and law officers are as likely to be Mexican as not. Mexicans live anywhere in the city, have no separate schools and have their businesses on the main streets" (Bu 167). In Brownsville in 1930 Manuel reported that of 168 children in grades 6, 7, 8 (median age 15.2 years) 86% were born in the United States. Both parents were born in the United States in 36% of the cases, both in Mexico 30%; 88% of the parents used little but Spanish to their children; 4% were bilingual with them (Ma 7). Non-permanent residents, that is, seasonal workers in the counties on the border, were almost all from Mexico and Spanish was their only language. There was a great leap in the need for such labor
in the late 1940's. "In the Lower Rio Grande Valley there was less than 250,000 acres of cotton in 1945 but cotton acreage had expanded to over 600,000 in 1949." (Mi 13). Intensive fruit and vegetable farming also employed many. Eventually in this region in the 1960's, as in California earlier, the Mexicans became restive under exploitation and attempted labor organization, resisted by the Anglos. In this strip of territory in the 1960's there were probably more people who spoke only Spanish than there were who spoke only English. But there were more bilingual Mexicans than there were bilingual Anglos. The cause was partly that resident Mexicans very often became seasonal workers in other parts of the United States driven out of the area at times by wages acceptable only to wetbacks from Mexico (Mi 80). Efforts to solve the problem by labor organization did not develop significantly until the 1960's when outside of this area their motivation for using English was greater. The superiority in numbers of bilingual Mexicans over bilingual Anglos also occurs because schooling is largely in English; and because the Mexicans know that the use of acceptable English may lead to economic or social advancement. On the other hand most Anglos learn Spanish only to direct laborers or to sell merchandise. In the river towns relative proximity to the border is a factor in determining the choice of language. In Eagle Pass for instance few of the signs in the part of the business district farthest from the border are in Spanish; near the border they all are.
The bilingual Mexican is here: so seldom called upon to use his English that he would rather listen to quite imperfect Spanish than to make the effort to converse in English. On the other hand Anglos who speak Spanish poorly employ it with confidence, even gusto sometimes. Anglo ranchers (that is, stock raisers) are usually quite proficient in Spanish; the Spanish of farmers (crop raisers) is frequently bad. The ranch owners and their families are frequently well versed in Spanish while their employees may know no English at all.

El Paso is of especial interest among the Rio Grande towns because it was the entrance through which most Mexicans came to Kansas and the north, and because Anglos and Mexicans confront each other more sharply there than elsewhere; outside forces push more heavily upon activities within the city. El Paso was the port of entry not only for Mexican immigrants to the north-east with Kansas City as an early distributing point (Cl 475), but also for most of those going to New Mexico, Arizona and even California. The only Mexican railroad running to the border west of the Mexican Central with its terminus at El Paso was the line from Guaymas to Nogales. Ciudad Juarez, opposite El Paso, grew to be by far the largest border city in Mexico, nearly 125,000 inhabitants in 1951, half as large as El Paso, of nearly the same size a decade later. Of these twin cities El Paso is the economic center. A large proportion of the labor force of El Paso dwells in Juarez because living there is less expensive
and relatively free of the pressures of the American system. Because people from Juarez work cheaply the labor unions do their best to oppose residence south of the border. The Catholic diocesan authorities (El Paso became a see in 1914) also try to keep the Mexicans within their territory. Though six of the thirteen churches had priests with Spanish names in 1960, none of the officials of the diocese did. The Bishops had been Brown, Schuler and Metzger. The linguistic result of border crossing to work is that at least during the day time many more people in El Paso are habitual speakers of Spanish than of English. They are keenly aware, however, of the economic advantages of knowing English and schools instructing Mexicans in English have large enrollments. The high schools of El Paso forbade Spanish on school premises, but the rule could not be completely enforced. However, there were in the 1950's girls of Mexican origin who refused to speak Spanish in spite of others who thought it inappropriate to be using English to those whose background was Spanish. This attitude favoring Spanish was that of most bilingual Mexicans of all ages. Among Anglos anti-Mexican prejudice exists, but the political power of the Spanish-speaking is such that Anglos recognize that cooperation is necessary. Those to whose evident advantage it is to learn Spanish do so, though they expect English from all capable of speaking it.

43 The relations between Mexicans and Anglos in the twentieth century are much worse away from the border than they are close
to it. Even at the frontier the coming of Anglo farmers to replace ranchers in the irrigated district increased bad feeling. Carey McWilliams quotes Jovita Gonzales as writing in 1930, "The friendly feeling which had slowly developed between American and Mexican families has been replaced by a feeling of hate, distrust, and jealousy on the part of the Mexicans" (NM 87). This sentiment was aroused not only by displacement and exploitation, but quite often by Anglo contempt for Mexicans, which has been greater among those newly put in contact with Mexicans than among those who had for generations looked down on their Tejano neighbors. In the neighborhood of Ñorrizo Springs, the onion growers have been Anglos, and there and in neighboring areas the field hands have been Mexicans who became permanent residents because onions offered work in winter and early spring (T 323). The Mexicans could winter here and go into the cotton fields later. The growers were late comers and contemptuous of Mexicans. The scorn for Mexicans is largely based upon economic inequality; at least in areas where there is a Mexican element that is well-to-do, the status of all Mexicans is likely to be higher in Anglo eyes. The complexion and physical characteristics of the Mexican also give rise to low opinions; the lighter the skin or the less Indian the features, the readier an Anglo is to accept a Mexican as an intelligent being. But there is also a linguistic element in the Anglo attitude. Contempt for those unable to speak English, and there have been many Mexicans born in Texas
in this condition (T 378), also cases of Mexicans hesitant to exercise their English (T 442), has played as large a part in Anglo attitudes in relations with Mexicans as in dealings with immigrants from Europe. The attitudes described above are by no means limited to Texas, and we have to consider them in treating Mexicans in Kansas, but in Texas they are of more importance, both because the Mexican population of west Texas is so numerous and because most Anglos in Texas are southerners who transfer to Mexicans a great many of the traditional attitudes toward negroes. Paul Schuster Taylor dwells at length on the Anglo concept of the merits of Mexicans and Negroes (particularly TA 255, T 421). Repeatedly informants made it evident that in their opinion Mexicans were not as good as they though somewhat better than negroes. Segregation of Mexicans in schools was not so complete as for negroes, but the general opinion definitely favored such a practice and it often became an accomplished fact. The facilities were usually inferior, and the teachers usually (T 453), but not always (T 439), knew no Spanish. Officials were very frequently indifferent if not hostile to the enforcement of school attendance laws among Mexicans (for instance T 372 ff). The result of these tendencies is to diminish Engl-izing of Mexicans (for instance T 388).

Ranching in western Texas, even quite remotely from the border, employs a great many Mexican vaqueros. Their status is about that of cowhands or sheepherders of any extraction. The
land owners are in some instances Mexican and they too are on a social level with Anglos possessing comparable holdings. As among ranchmen on the border, Spanish enjoys good standing, and Anglo cowhands are likely to be quite proficient in its use. In the towns of this area merchants who deal directly with the ranch hands or with the large fraction of the towns' inhabitants who are Mexican know Spanish rather well. Other Anglos, including all Anglo children, are usually quite restricted in their knowledge of Spanish. Hondo and Uvalde, respectively 38 and 79 miles west of San Antonio, both county seats, population in 1950 — 4200 and 8700, may serve as examples for the more eastern area. In Hondo in 1961 two-thirds of the inhabitants were Mexican. The Anglos lived on the east side, the Mexicans on the west. Approximately half of the businessmen were practically ignorant of Spanish. A filling station operator, for instance, had in 1961 two Mexican employees who had been with him for over ten years. The two Mexicans spoke Spanish constantly together, but the Anglo employer had never learned their language. The Mexicans were usually bilingual or to some extent trilingual for there are enough Germans in the neighborhood to allow them to acquire a few phrases. At Uvalde, also in 1961, conditions seemed to be more democratic (earlier reports concur). Although a wedding celebration in an Anglo family used only English, and a church picnic in the public park was made up exclusively of Anglos, groups of children in the park of different ages had components
both Mexican and Anglo and were shifting back and forth between Spanish and English. A Tejano laborer who had lived all his life in the neighborhood said that he was normally told what to do in English, but that some of those who still spoke German had learned Spanish and were trilingual. Uvalde, founded in 1853, is somewhat older than Hondo. For the country farther west let us consider conditions in 1961 in Marfa and Pecos, some 150 miles southeast and east of El Paso and 95 road miles apart, population in 1950 3,600 and 8,000 respectively. At Marfa (see # 89.37) practically everybody was bilingual, though there were a few Mexicans who claimed not to understand English to save themselves the trouble of having to answer in that language, and there were Anglos whose English had none of the velvety quality that those who speak Spanish habitually transfer to their English. In the cemetery all the Wilcox graves bore Spanish inscriptions. Inscriptions in English appeared by 1932 but became numerous only in the 1940's. Pecos also founded in 1881 is farther inland than Marfa. The town is 49% Mexican. The older Mexicans are in much the same state linguistically as that described at Marfa, but the children have thought so much in English, they forget Spanish words or do not know them. High school students have some difficulty in understanding sermons in Spanish. Mexican parents were making an effort to bring up their children bilingually.
West Texas grain and produce farmers and towns serving them are less numerous than the ranchers and their towns. They prosper little unless there is a water supply for irrigation. As remarked of the farm owners in the Rio Grande valley, they are usually Anglos with only a limited knowledge of Spanish. In the back country they are in some places not so extensively dependent as the people in the Rio Grande valley upon seasonal labor, for there is more diversity of crops, largely because accessibility to markets for perishable produce is limited. In the Pecos valley, however, wherever there are farms, cotton is a common crop; and the seasonal laborers there are in conditions similar to those in cotton country elsewhere. As examples of communities largely dependent upon farmers, let us consider Castroville and Balmorhea in 1961. Castroville, as said above (# 89.37), is a town founded by Alsatians. The Alsatian dialect had not been abandoned in 1961; persons older than twenty-five years were able to speak it. In the cemetery inscriptions for Anglos in English begin to appear about 1910; German is no longer found after 1918 in the Catholic section; it persists into the 1920's in the Lutheran section. Inscriptions in Spanish were still being installed in 1961, though English had appeared by 1955. The persistence of Spanish did not mean that it enjoyed high prestige. The Catholic cemetery for Anglos was surrounded by a solid stone wall, the Lutheran cemetery by a barbed wire fence, also a new Lutheran cemetery had been begun in the most modern
cemetery fashion. The Spanish cemetery had been surrounded by a wire fence, but it was broken down at several points. The state of monuments corresponded. At the Catholic church all the servers were Anglos — with Alsatian names except for two that were Irish. In the week of June 5 to 11 out of ten "Mass intentions" only one was sponsored by a person with a Spanish name, though that one was at a favored time, 9:30 on Sunday. Anglos of high school age had learned neither Spanish nor German, but their fathers in business were trilingual. The German farmers in the valley seldom knew much Spanish because they made little use of Mexican help, but a considerable number had become ranchers on the lands beyond and were well acquainted with Spanish. Castroville is 24 miles west of San Antonio; Balmorhea is between Marfa and Pecos (see #89,44), that is, farther west than New Mexico's eastern boundary. It represents late development, for the town was founded in 1906. Irrigation was first undertaken in 1912, but the water resources were not fully utilized for irrigation until the 1930's. The population of the town fell from 1220 to 800 between 1930 and 1940; it spread out in small holdings beyond the corporate limits. A number of Mexicans had become landholders while the ground was considered of little value and with irrigation they became prosperous. About 70% of the population is Mexican, and Spanish enjoys some prestige. All the Anglos know enough of it to communicate adequately.
The cotton growing regions of western Texas, in addition to those near Brownsville and El Paso on the Rio Grande and of the weaker one on the Pecos River near Pecos, are those surrounding Corpus Christi and Lubbock and that in a strip of counties running south from the lower southwest corner of Oklahoma to the neighborhood of San Angelo. A district heaviest around Georgetown north of Austin may also be included. In these centers there are permanently resident Mexicans, very numerous in the area of Corpus Christi, surprisingly few in the Lubbock region considering the importance of cotton, moderate in number elsewhere, but before the introduction of machinery into the cotton fields the influx of Mexicans for picking and chopping made the situation that concerned them different from that found elsewhere. Seasonal workers everywhere are seldom regarded as responsibilities either of the communities where they work in the growing season or of the towns in which they winter. Their nomadic existence interferes with the school attendance of their children, and they are usually willing to accept the most rudimentary housing while working in the fields, also the poorest when they have no work in winter. Thereby they become the concern of social investigators, and numerous studies have treated of Mexican cotton pickers in Texas.

Taylor's study of Nueces County near Corpus Christi yields the following details of direct or indirect linguistic interest. The population in 1929 was at census time about 45% Mexican.
"If a census were taken in August . . . it would indicate the presence of probably from 10,000 to as many as 15,000 more Mexicans in a cotton season like 1929 or 1930. . . . The majority of the Mexican residents of the Nueces County area have come from . . . particularly the northeastern Mexican border states. Others, particularly since the extensive development of agriculture in 1908-10, have come from the central plateau states" (TA 94.95). Few of these Mexicans had families south of the border; postal money orders issued to Mexicans were sent to Mexico in only about 10% of the cases (TA 94.95). Few of these Mexicans had families south of the border; postal money orders issued to Mexicans were sent to Mexico in only about 10% of the cases (TA 104). A number of them had worked in distant parts of the United States, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Alaska. There was no disposition on the part of the Anglos to do away with the presence of the Mexicans; the cheap labor was too advantageous to them. The Anglos tended to make no distinction between Tejanos and more recently arrived Mexicans (TA 245). It was considered the right thing, a sort of badge or means of ordained subjugation, for Mexicans to speak only Spanish. A town school authority said, "On the large farms they make the Mexicans speak Spanish. The boss won't answer them in English because the Mexicans who can't speak English will then think you are making fun of them and leave" (TA 307). A large landowner laid the blame for the situation upon the Mexicans, "We try to teach them English but they don't learn" (TA 287).
The permanently resident Mexicans might become clerks in retail business, most usually girls. In the cotton picking season when migrants were numerous they were found in all establishments to deal with mono-lingual Spanish customers. But Anglo hostility was present. "Some people, especially newcomers, don't like to be waited on by Mexicans" (TA 176, quoting a chain store manager). These employees were of course bilingual. The schools were often segregated if the community was able to support two schools. The Mexican schools might be sub-standard. No attempt would usually be made to enforce school attendance because the tax payers did not wish it. "Why educate the Mexicans?" The Mexicans were not always resigned to this situation, but Mexican school attenders themselves were often unhappy in American schools because they were subject to hazing. Families ambitious for their children sometimes moved to Laredo where social ostracism of Mexicans did not exist. There were others who felt the clan instinct. "We're Mexicans and they're Americans. I like to be with my own people. Yes, I learn more English here, but I wish we had a Mexican high school. Then we could speak Spanish on the playground" (TA 221). Those who found themselves in "Mexican" high schools were not of the same opinion: "Separate, we never learn to talk English well" (TA 223). Housing location was restricted by public opinion, and the basis was not wholly a matter of complexion. A few Mexicans were accepted in Anglo neighborhoods. "These all speak good English" (TA 227). The Anglos said the Mexicans wished their housing segregation, but
a Mexican said, "The Mexicans do not prefer complete separation.... The American people impose the separation. The Mexicans would learn English and the American ways more" (TA 228).

Mrs. Kibbe presents data (Ki 87) for 1942-43 which shows that the school attendance and achievement of Mexicans in Texas west of a line from Ft. Worth to Galveston was everywhere bad. The data are for counties, those containing cities, some of those along the Rio Grande and a few others that are cotton counties though not the most important. Only in El Paso County and in neighboring Hudspeth County were the Mexican children attending school more than 79% of the Mexican scholastics; that is, persons recorded by the census as of school age. In Mitchell County, where cotton is a usual crop but where only 227 Mexican scholastics were enumerated the percentage fell to 34%. The normal range was between 60% and 75%. The percentage of Mexican children actually enrolled who did not make a grade per year ranged between 73% and 87% except in Bexar County (San Antonio) where only 54% were behind schedule; 70% of the Mexican scholastics were enrolled there. The cities may be regarded as reflecting conditions among cotton pickers because most cotton pickers wintered in them. Nueces County which contains both Corpus Christi and many cotton fields is typical. There 65% of the Mexican scholastics were enrolled, and 79% of those enrolled were retarded academically. It is evident that the opportunity for Mexican children to learn acceptable English was quite limited. The greater part of Mrs.
Kibbe's book deals with the prejudice existing against Mexicans in Texas. In schools the results were much the same as those described by Taylor. Elsewhere there was discrimination which it was Mrs. Kibbe's duty to investigate. Of the complaints with which she dealt "a very negligible number were noted along the border, where there is the heaviest concentration of Latin American population, and the greatest number were reported from [the] Plains section of West Texas...; the most important cotton growing area of the state" (Ki 209).

89.46c The Presidents Commission on Migratory Labor that reported in 1951 the results of its investigations of the year before studied intensively the rôle of the wetback in the cotton fields. The wetback speaks only Spanish and the degree of his penetration into the interior can be judged by the wage scales in the various sections of the Texas cotton region. "In 1947, when daily wages for chopping cotton (thinning...) in the Lower Rio Grande Valley were $2.25 (10 hours), wages were continuously higher at points northward from the border: in the Sandy Lands of Texas, $3.00; in the Corpus Christi and Coast Prairie areas, $4.00; in the Rolling Plains, $5.00; in the High Plains, $5.25... [In 1950] the Lower Rio Grande Valley cotton growers got their cotton picked for approximately one half the wages paid by the average cotton grower of Texas" (Mi 78-79). The commission also remarked that "when the work is done neither the farmer nor the community wants the wetback around" (Mi 78). No community wants migratory
workers of any sort around after they have fulfilled their func-
tion, but the means by which they may be ejected are more ef-
fective if their presence is illegal as it has been with the 
wetbacks. The effectiveness is less but still great if the 
community looks upon these people as belonging to a different 
species which does not merit any helpful effort. The result for 
Mexicans in the cotton area is that fewer of them settle down to 
become citizens of the region than is usually true of immigrant 
stocks who have been so employed. They flow back south and into 
the cities where their habits of speaking Spanish are preserved. 
As examples of conditions in cotton growing communities in 1961, 
let us consider three communities in the High Plains area, Colo-
rado City on its southern edge, the city of Lubbock in its cen-
ter, and the town of Post between them.

89.46d Colorado City (population 6700 in 1950, founded 1880) has 
an oil refinery. It is the county seat of Mitchell County 
where only 34% of the Mexican scholastics were enrolled in 
school in 1942-43; 86% of those enrolled had not made a grade 
per year. For the cotton picking season in the early 1960's 
labor directly from Mexico was largely employed. Some, probably 
most, of this force were braceros brought from Mexico by govern-
ment arrangement. There were also wetbacks to judge by report. 
In any case the laborers from Mexico were numerous enough to 
lower wages and encourage local Mexicans to go farther north to 
work. The linguistic result was that almost all the permanent 
Mexican residents were bilingual, but only the few young persons
that had been accepted for work in contact with Anglos in town used English with one another. Other Mexicans, including the young, regularly spoke Spanish together. In 1960-61 there were fewer Mexicans in high school than there had been the preceding year.

89.46e Lubbock, founded in 1890, 293 inhabitants in 1900, was late in acquiring a large permanent Mexican population. Its first cotton gin was installed in 1909. In 1930, when the city's population was 20,520, those of "Mexican race" in it numbered 724; in the county there were 1,017. In 1940 the urban population was 31,853 and there were only 127 persons born in Mexico in town, in the county 186. By 1960 the city had grown to 120,000; the Mexican population was perhaps not greater percentage wise, but it was larger in absolute terms. Mrs. Kibbe reported that in October, 1944, there were an estimated 7,440 migrants, presumably all Mexicans, in Lubbock for the week-end. She lamented that "Lubbock had made no provision at all for taking care of this influx of people which occurs regularly every fall" (Ki 173). As indicated above, these migrants were sufficiently bilingual to do business readily, but they were evidently given no other opportunity to exercise their English in Lubbock. By 1960 there was government operated housing which led to a sort of de facto segregation, presumably because most applicants were Mexican. In a school in the neighborhood 75% of the enrollment was Mexican. Out of 58 newly enrolled children 26 spoke no English, the remainder some English but of
limited character. The neighborhood was bilingual only when necessary.

Post, founded in 1907, population 3100 in 1950, acquired a cotton gin early in its history and a textile mill in 1913. Mexicans were employed in the cotton mill in 1961. Their children spoke Spanish during school recesses against the will of the teacher. Only Anglos used the swimming pool. The Mexicans played together in the park without facilities for swimming. It is evident that their Engl-izing was not progressing rapidly. In 1961 cotton harvesting was in the midst of an important transition. Cotton picking machines had been introduced only a few years before; in 1962 in the southern area three fourths of the crop was harvested by the machines. Mexican cotton pickers, thus thrown out of work, required rehabilitation (F 292). The process implied increased Engl-izing.

San Antonio's large Mexican population has generally remained in the lower economic echelons. The city has been a favorite wintering station for cotton pickers (TA 100, 103, 147 MC-XVII). The lot of the pecan shellers in the 1930's has already been alluded to. The Mexicans have exerted little political power organized by themselves, but enough so that discrimination against them is less overt than in many other areas. Clark's informant in San Antonio, "an educational officer," in 1907 told him that there was usually a Mexican member on the school board. "The citizens of San Antonio want the Mexican children to have the same advantages as their own in the public schools for four
reasons: (1) . . . humanitarian. . . . (2) from political considerations they want to satisfy the Mexican voter. (3) Many business men see a practical advantage in having their children -- more especially boys -- associate with Mexican children in school and learn their character because they will have to deal with them in after life; (4) we all want to keep the Mexican population contented, so more Mexican labor will immigrate to this country" (Cl 508). This practical idealist was probably over ardent, but we have already seen that retardation among Mexican children in San Antonio was less than elsewhere. Public swimming pools have been open to Mexicans. Still the economic status of Mexicans separates them from others. They have lived much to themselves so that Eng1-izing is impeded. The pecan shellers of 1938 were mostly immigrants. Of 479 interviewed 17% had been born in San Antonio. The dates of arrival of the others in percentiles was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>before 1900</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1938</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presumably these percentages (MC 4) were not completely typical of the Mexicans in San Antonio at the time because Mexicans long established might have attained better financial status. These data prove, however, that the Mexican population of San
Antonio received many newly arrived Spanish speakers until quite late so that Engl-izing was inhibited. By 1961 Spanish as a written language had largely fallen into disuse. In the business district on South Flores Street, where the population was practically all Mexican there were no signs in Spanish. Even the announcement of a supper at the Villa Maria was in English. St. Philip of Jesus Church, near by, was labeled "Spanish" in 1915 and its pastor bore a Spanish name. He was still there in 1948 but his assistant was Irish and the qualification "Spanish" was no longer applied officially. In 1960 the two priests bore German names. In 1961 the mimeo-graphed announcements were all in English but the names of altar boys, ushers, etc., were Spanish. The English of the parishioners was not perfect. Concerning a car raffle, a notice said, "If this car is going to stay in the garage, we don't come any farther." The Spanish of two crude signs before neighboring houses was little better, "Serentan dos cuartos -- Una casa de reta." But Spanish was the language of spoken intercourse. Everybody on South Flores street, including the rare Anglos, was using Spanish. In Roosevelt Park on the eastern edge of the district everybody in the swimming pool over twelve years old was Mexican and talking Spanish. Younger children were partly Anglos. Under the trees the company was mixed and Mexicans addressed Anglos in English. An informant from Alabama who had been in San Antonio since 1935 spoke no Spanish though he knew that some Anglos did. He had seen no change in
the linguistic situation in 25 years; the Mexicans were almost all bilingual, but had habitually spoken Spanish. In a Mexican family in which both parents had become teachers, the children were using primarily the language of their baby-sitters. One had learned English at once; the other spoke little but Spanish. The parents spoke English professionally but demonstrably favored Spanish elsewhere.

In the neighborhood of San Antonio linguistic conditions are similar. For Frio County whose nearest corner is about 25 miles from San Antonio, Manuel reported in 1930 statistics very similar to those quoted for Brownsville. Here the median age of the children was 11.2 years; 35% of them had both parents born in the United States, both born in Mexico 32%; 92% of the parents spoke little but Spanish to their children; 4% were bilingual with them (Ma 7). Castroville to the west has already been cited (#89.45). At Pleasanton thirty miles to the south in 1961, there were no signs in Spanish, but four-fifths of the people on the street were Mexican who were all talking Spanish no matter what their age. The economic and social position of Mexicans seemed good. The Anglos were often of German extraction.

In Texas in general and in cities other than San Antonio and El Paso the Englishizing of Mexicans in 1961 depended largely on the proportion of the Mexican population. Corpus Christi, San Angelo, Austin and Dallas serve as examples.

At Corpus Christi the Mexicans made up 60% of the popula-
tion in the 1930's; in 1960 the proportion had sunk to 47%. The relative decrease took place during the period of the Second World War. Probably because a greater proportion of Mexicans are permanent residents than in San Antonio and can thus exert political power more steadily, the position of the Mexicans in Corpus Christi is somewhat better than in the larger city. Politically they held the balance of power in the 1890's and still had it in 1929. A politician told Taylor's investigators in 1929 that the Mexicans voted as a block for candidates promoting their interests (TA 236). School segregation for the early grades began in 1896, but it did not spread beyond the sixth grade. The Mexicans for many years accepted the situation without protest; it made linguistic behavior easier. In 1961 there were many Mexicans in the high schools. In the one where most attended they held offices; but not in high schools where Anglos predominated. The number of Mexican students decreased materially after they had reached age 16 and were no longer obliged to attend school. Corpus Christi contained a number of Mexican families of high standing who championed their fellows. The children of these families were well accepted by Anglo high school students and spoke English habitually much of the time. On the other hand the generality of Mexican students were thrown largely into one another's company and spoke Spanish together on school premises. The number of Mexican students in high school was still reduced in 1961 by the retardation that they had ex-
experienced in their early years for lack of knowledge of English. Taylor's investigators of 1929 were told by Mexican merchants that they belonged to the Chamber of Commerce and could attend its luncheons (TA 265). In 1961 there was a separate Mexican Chamber of Commerce which transacted business in English. All through Corpus Christi's history the relations between Anglos and Mexicans have been almost always of a business character. Mexican clerks in stores became common early because of the number of Spanish-speaking customers (TA 176). The management of most large stores remained in Anglo hands. Few Anglos except foremen in industry learned to speak Spanish. Mexican employees reduced their opportunities for advancement to foremanships by leaving their jobs for cotton picking during the season. The motivation was employment for the whole family. The bilingual clerks had no appreciable financial advantage over others. Their linguistic ability was often overshadowed by Anglo distaste for dealing with them. At public dances the Mexicans were subject to a color line; at beach houses obstacles were put in the way of service to Mexicans (TA 257; 262). The use of Spanish decreased in the middle decades of the twentieth century in Corpus Christi, but it was largely through the relative decrease in the population of Mexican origin. The neighborhood of Corpus Christi by contrast became more completely Mexican and Spanish speaking with the passing decades. Robstown and Alice to the west have always been quite Spanish and Mexicans in Alice enjoy some pres-
tige. Three Rivers to the north west of Corpus Christi in fertile country is almost in the same condition, though the people of German origin are important in the economy of these towns. At Refugio to the north, there had been up till 1961 a steady immigration and large families were staying in the area. A reliable Anglo informant who had been resident in the community 28 years prophesied that in twenty-five years the Latins would control the area. Education was becoming more common among them, but schooling was not bringing about abandonment of Spanish.

San Angelo, founded in 1867, was a center for sheep growing from the late 1870's on. It passed through a "wild west" period, and attained little importance until the Orient railroad made it a shipping center in 1909. Its population reached 25,000 in 1940, 52,000 in 1950 and 72,000 in 1960. On the southern edge of the High Plains cotton district it became a wintering station for cotton pickers and sheep shearers. From fifteen to twenty thousand Mexicans live in the town. Comparatively few of those resident in 1961 were immigrants from Mexico; many had been in the United States several generations. Here as at Corpus Christi they deserted other jobs for cotton picking. Spanish was in 1961 the habitual language of them all, although only a few were unable to speak English. About half of the preaching and pastoral work was done in English. In the neighboring territory conditions were similar. At Miller's View, 45 miles to the east, in 1961, forty percent of the population was Mexican. All were permanent
residents and relatively prosperous; nearly all were bilingual. No Anglos spoke Spanish. At Eden to the southeast of the city at about the same distance the proportion of Mexicans was less.

In Austin in 1961 the linguistic situation in the Mexican settlement is well exemplified by the labels on packages in a seed store. All common seeds were labeled in Spanish, those for less well-known plants in English. Conversations were ordinarily in Spanish but the bilingualism was of a casual character. Anyone older than fifteen years was talking Spanish by preference, but younger school age children preferred English. Ten miles south of Austin where there were Mexican landholders on farms not profitable enough to support the owners without work in town; Spanish was so common that negroes in that neighborhood were proficient in its use. Twenty miles beyond at Lockhart the air base gave an Anglicized atmosphere but the impact of English had not been sufficient to oblige old Mexicans to learn it. At Georgetown some 25 miles to the north of Austin, the comparatively small Mexican settlement is more nearly Anglicized. In season many become migrant workers.

In Dallas the influences that advance the importance of Mexicans are complicated. Wealthy Tejano families maintain Spanish in much the same way that aristocrats have clung to French in New Orleans. The rest of the community is more willing to accept their superior position than is the case where there are more gradations between the wealthy and impoverished Spanish.
speakers; as is true in the cities farther south. Consequently the wealthy preserve their language as a mark of high cast. The position of lowly Mexicans is not unlike that found in northern cities. By 1961 their establishment on McKinney street had attracted touristic interest. The workers in the meat packing plants had often gained a comfortable degree of prosperity. Between their district and McKinney street was a sordid tenement district broken at its worst point by a government housing project. It is probably here that the migrant workers who winter in Dallas congregate. They are more likely on migrating to be employed in the beet fields or on the fruit farms of the north than in the cotton fields. A certain number of Mexicans are accepted for varied work throughout the city. All in all the atmosphere of Dallas is more favorable to English-izing than in south-west Texas; and it is more advanced. As already said, the proportion of Mexican population has throughout Texas had a relationship to English-izing; so has the degree of hostility to Mexicans. Their schooling is another factor; one that is connected with the hostility, with their economic status, and with the length of time the stock in a family had been in the United States. In 1930 Manuel quotes J.K. Harris the principal of a San Antonio school as saying of "children whose parents have come from Mexico in the last twenty-five years and who rent their home and engage for the most part in manual labor . . . show retardation and seldom go beyond the fourth grade" (Ma 17). Lack of English was
demonstrably connected with retardation, though by no means its only cause. "Probably more than ninety per cent of the Mexican children who are just entering school in Texas cannot understand and speak English" (Ma 121). Manuel reported further that the English-speaking laborer had earnings 37% higher than the non-English-speaking" (Ma 16). If the higher wages were to be explained by the ability to speak English, the economic reward would be a great push toward Englishizing. The lack of response indicates that other factors than ignorance of English were still more important in impeding economic advancement. The state of Texas found Spanish monolingualism in its whole area a phenomenon that in 1959 led to the initiation of a summer program for pre-school children to increase their proficiency and reduce retardation (F 298 note). The Head Start programs of the mid-1960's worked toward the same aim.

The relations of Texas Mexicans with the north have been important. The movement from El Paso directly to Kansas and the states beyond has been referred to above. The movement involving that city has not been all in one direction. Mexicans can be found in El Paso born in Illinois, probably the result of the exit from the United States of the 1930's and a later return. The beet fields, orchards and berry patches have drawn heavily on the Mexican population not only in states close to Texas like Colorado, and Kansas near Colorado, but also all along the northern border from Montana to Ohio particularly in Michigan (NM 184,
After the automobile came into use the ordinary practice was for a capitan to gather together a truck load of Mexicans and drive night and day to a destination so as to make as many trips as possible during the season and to avoid high-jacking competitors, U.S. agents on the watch for wetbacks, and Texas officers after those violating the Texas emigrant Labor Law of 1929. Texas seriously objected to other states depleting the cheap labor supply and had passed a bill against recruiting in their state (TA 143, 281). Enforcement was difficult. McWilliams in 1949 quoted estimates that "nearly 60,000 Texas-Mexicans leave the state every year." (NM 182) The Mexicans who became industrial laborers in northern cities and industrial centers more usually arrived via railroads without a Texas interim after leaving Mexico, but Texas and the northern states have none the less exchanged Mexican population of all sorts. Many Kansas Mexicans have a history of a sojourn in Texas and the same is true elsewhere. Mexican Texans sometimes have been employed in industry in other states (examples TA 114, 115). The movement tends to promote Engl-izing in Texas and to delay it somewhat in the north.
Mexicans in Arizona live most densely in the southern third of the state. The two most important areas are those centered at Tucson and at Phoenix in the oases furnished by the Santa Cruz and Aqua Fria valleys. Similarly Yuma and environs deserve attention. Mining also attracted Mexicans; in the southeastern district, Clifton, Douglas, Bisbee, and (les) Tobstone are important, in the center Globe, Miami, and Superior, and in the southwest Ajo provides an isolated case in the midst of the desert. Elsewhere in Arizona the importance of Mexicans is usually of the same character as in Kansas, that is, as railway laborers, but they are more numerous.

The Spaniards never penetrated far into Arizona as settlers, no farther than the country later included in the Gadsen Purchase. Jesuit missionaries circulated in the Santa Cruz valley in the closing decade of the seventeenth century. Definite missions were established in the valley in 1732 and soon silver excitement drew a few other Spaniards. Dissension with the Indians prevented much development, though there were some ranches established in the neighborhood of Tucson and to the south. What settlement there was — something like 1,000 people in 1848 (NM 52) — did not become part of the United States until 1854 after the Gadsen Purchase. "A census report of September 1848 gave Tucson 760 inhabitants and Tubac [south of Tucson] 249" (Ba 475). With departures for the gold fields of California the number of Mexicans in Arizona fell to about 300 in 1856 (NM 82). The total population in 1866 was 5,526 when the proportion of Mexicans was presumably at its highest, for the white settlement of the Gila valley and here and there farther north was then just beginning. The United States census of 1870 gave Arizona a population total of 9,658, of whom 4,339 had been born in Mexico; 1,221 persons had been born in Arizona, many of course of Mexican parents. Mexicans thus made up one half of the population of Arizona, nearly all of stock that had arrived after 1856. In 1880 there
were out of 40,440 inhabitants 9,330 born in Mexico and 8,166 born in Arizona. The proportion of Mexicans for the territory as a whole was less, but immigration had gone on, and in the south the Mexicans were more numerous proportionately. In the territory the proportion of foreign-born Mexicans fell but little in the next decade -- from 23% to 19%, more sharply in the decade 1890-1900 -- down to 11.53%. But in the south it remained high. The census of 1920 showed that a third of the population in Santa Cruz and Greenlee counties was made up of persons born in Mexico. In these two counties in 1930 half of the inhabitants were of "Mexican race." Santa Cruz County is small, territorially much smaller than any other county in the state; it lies on the Mexican border and contains Nogales. Greenlee, also small though three times as large, contains Clifton. This is a copper mining area where Mexican labor was especially important. The other border counties held about a fifth Mexican foreign-born in 1920, Pinal County between Tucson and Phoenix a fourth, and the counties of south central Arizona a sixth. In this area in 1930 at least a fourth of the population of each county was of "Mexican race" except that in the city of Phoenix it was no greater than 15%. In 1940 only Santa Cruz County contained more than 9% foreign-born Mexicans; there 17% of the people had been born in Mexico. In spite of the heavy proportion of Mexicans in the early population of Arizona most of the Mexicans now present are of recently arrived stock -- less than 10,000 foreign-born in 1880, more than 60,000 in 1920; in 1920 there were half as many again whose parents had been born outside the United States. The two generations were 28% of the state's population. In 1940 there were 100,000 persons of Spanish mother tongue in Arizona.

The social situation of Mexicans in Arizona is in most places somewhat better than in other border states. There is more of a sense of forming an economic unit with Sonora to the south; the sentiments are officially recognized by an international commission of cooperation. Still the Mexicans are in very large proportion in the lower economic strata of the people, and
as a whole suffer the social disadvantages that accompany relative poverty. Their prestige was upheld somewhat by the low standing of the "Okeys" who, as they gravitated toward California during the depression of the 1930's and in the years following, were a substantial part of the potential labor force. Brown and Cassmore stated the matter thus in 1939: "For several years after the [First] World War Mexicans, diligently recruited, provided a cheap, tractable and fairly adequate labor supply for the Arizona cotton growers.... The Mexicans are still referred to by the growers as the best workers they ever had. The one difficulty with them was that they soon left Arizona.... In the fall of 1928 unofficial restriction of the immigration of Mexican laborers began.... The development of good East-West roads in the late twenties had allowed Arizona to draw cotton picking labor from the steady stream of California-bound Texas and Oklahoma migrants... even before drought and depression times" (BC 65-66). In the country near Phoenix and in the districts farther south the standing of the Spanish language was thereby raised. Esteem for it is somewhat increased by the large number of Indians still speaking their own several languages. Spanish and English are "white men's languages" as opposed to Papago, Pima, Yuma or Apache.

Observations made in May, 1962, support data in the following sections. Nogales (population 6500 in 1955) on the Arizona-Sonora border south of Tucson is predominantly a Spanish-speaking town. It was not founded until 1880, though it is in the area first entered by the Spanish. It held many Mexicans from its beginning, but its Spanish character has become more marked as the twentieth century has advanced. The WPA Arizona guide remarked that "Spanish, as frequently as English, is heard on the streets" (WP 209). For 1962 the statement should be: Spanish is heard much more frequently than
English. In some stores English-speaking clerks were a minority among an exclusively Mexican force of employees. The linguistic situation is largely to be explained by the fact that the paired town of Nogales, Sonora, is much larger, 25,000 inhabitants, also by the higher birth rate of Mexicans as compared with others on the American side. There were some Anglos whose knowledge of Spanish was limited, but there were very few who knew none. Here the older Mexicans were more likely to be at home in English than the younger ones. Though the town cannot be considered more Spanish than Laredo, Texas, the proportion of Mexicans bilingually proficient was less.

Thirty miles back into Arizona from this point, at Arizonan Sonoita and Continental some signs of Engl-izing were to be found in 1962, but Anglos who had been long in the area had learned some Spanish. The land was owned by them, but the ranches were operated by Mexicans. The invasion of resort people was beginning to exert an influence favoring English.

Douglas and Yuma, the other two Arizona border towns, are somewhat less Spanish-speaking than Nogales. For Douglas, founded in 1900 (population 9,800 in 1955), the reasons are two: Agua Prieta, a town of the same size across the border, is at a few miles distance, so that the exchange of local population is less; Douglas has been an industrial rather than a commercial town, depending the smelting of ore from Mexico. Its prosperity pulsates with the price of copper, and the workers are not all Mexican.

Still in 1962 one estimate fixed the Mexicans as 80% of the population; all agreed that the Mexicans were more numerous than others. Of the two schools one was almost exclusively Mexican; the other was 75% Anglo. Mexican children were bilingual, but some older people knew no English. The capitalistic classes in the neighborhood contained a substantial Mexican element.
which was bilingual. The Anglos, even if they had arrived in middle age had usually acquired some Spanish. Among teen-agers there was friction between Anglo and Mexican stocks, which made for scorn of using the other language, but in general relations were good.

Yuma has a much longer history than Douglas and Nogales, but Spanish ventures of the eighteenth century were temporary, and American concern in the last half of the nineteenth century centered on activities at the crossing of the Colorado River. The greatest development came with the introduction and subsequent expansion of irrigation in the surrounding region. Yuma's population was 15,000 in 1955. Its Spanish element first took root in the nineteenth century, and a number of old families persist. But there was early a cosmopolitan mixture. In 1883 "you are served in the same dining room by Mexicans, Chinamen, Irish, Americans, and a tame Apache Indian" (Bi 474). English obviously had to serve as a lingua franca. But in Yuma, as elsewhere, the Mexican population is primarily of twentieth century origin. At least half of the people are Mexican. Englizing is farther advanced than in the towns which have a port of entry within their limits. The entry is 28 miles to the south, though across the Colorado Mexico is only seven miles to the west. In the Mexican quarter in 1962 children and early teen-agers were playing together in English. They were, however, conversant with Spanish and spoke it at least with their grandparents. At Wellton thirty miles east Englizing was more advanced; Mexicans less numerous.

In Tucson the prestige of both English and Spanish are maintained with less friction than elsewhere. Only from one fourth to one third of the population has been Mexican throughout the twentieth century as the town has progressed from a population of 7,500 to some 120,000, but there is a respected professional and business Mexican group, there are profitable relations with Sonora, and a general tendency, for touristic purposes, to gild the Spanish past and find Spanish names for contemporary phenomena. The city is large enough
so that there are both Anglo and Mexican monoglots, but bilingualism is widespread, more extensively practiced by the Mexicans because of the economic advantages. Young Mexicans frequently have a tendency to prefer English, but are forced to use Spanish with deliberately monolingual parents. In the Catholic church, where no economic advantage is to be gained by the exaltation of Spanish, the hierarchic will to displace Spanish is apparent. Tucson became the see of a vicariate apostolic in 1868 and of a regular diocese in 1897. The history of development is similar to that in New Mexico. The last French bishop reigned from 1887 to 1922, but already in 1900 there were more Germans than French among his priests; there was one Spanish pastor in charge of a parish in northeastern Arizona. Then the only Catholic church in Tucson was the cathedral. In 1915 there were several Spanish names appearing in the ranks of the diocesan clergy, and in Tucson there were three churches. St. Augustine's, the cathedral, and Holy Family were labeled "Spanish," and All Saints' "English." All Saints' pastor bore an Irish name, the only one in the diocese. A German, who became bishop in 1923, was still reigning in 1960, but with an auxiliary appointed in 1953 whose name was Green. Irish names were numerous among the clergy in 1960; Spanish names had rather decreased than increased. In Tucson by 1948 there were twelve churches; Holy Family and Santa Cruz were Spanish, but not the Cathedral. The only priest with a Spanish name was one of those at Santa Cruz. There was a church for Papagos, another for negroes; the rest were unlabeled, though in some the people must have been largely Spanish. In 1960 the Tucson situation was similar except that one of the three priests at the cathedral had a Spanish name and the Discalced Carmelite fathers had two representatives with Spanish names instead of one. With such influences only new blood from Mexico
could adequately maintain Spanish. But the new blood was arriving. Braceros who returned as immigrants chose Tucson as their home.

Phoenix has had a smaller proportion of Mexican residents than Tucson, but because the city has grown rapidly, the Mexican population has since 1920 been several thousand (7,293 of "Mexican race" in 1930). Phoenix was not founded until after the Civil War. It became the capital of the territory in 1889 when its population was about 2,000 — half Mexicans. The early stock has remained in the city, but it is small compared with later immigration. Engl-izing did not progress rapidly until after the Second World War. The emphasis on English in the schools became such that the young up until they were out of high school usually spoke English together. Many young families continued to do so in the home. The sentiment toward English was so favorable in 1962 that a Spanish priest prophesied that Spanish would be displaced in another twenty years. However, in his church preaching at all masses but one was in Spanish. The one was for children; they spoke Spanish, but could not understand abstract ideas in that language. The community attitude toward Spanish and toward Mexicans was less favorable in the city of Phoenix than in Tucson. But in the country surrounding Phoenix the situation was not the same. In the late 1940's and 50's many people from Texas and New Mexico had moved into this gardening district in such proportions as to maintain the Spanish-English balance. Bilingualism was the common condition of Mexicans; they were not disposed to desert Spanish but they had made themselves acceptable to Anglos. In the high school at Tolleson a few miles west of Phoenix, the senior class president and the high school queen in 1961 were Mexicans; about 10% of the seniors and a larger proportion in lower classes were Mexicans. Children below school age usually played in Spanish but were
being taught English also. At El Mirage northwest of Phoenix the situation
was similar. Here the priest did not have sermons in English regularly for chil-
dren, but preached in both English and Spanish -- English whenever the church
contained those who were at home in that language. The braceros here were
frequent candidates for admission as citizens.

Mexicans in mines and smelters in Arizona were studied by the Immigration
Commission investigators for the Senate in 1909. Few Mexicans in these indus-
tries were able to speak English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence in the U. S.</th>
<th>Metallic Mining</th>
<th>Smelters</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. reporting</td>
<td>Speaking English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9 years</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
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About three fifths of these could read Spanish.

About half of the Mexicans had been in the United States five years. Among the
smelter workers here 10 years or more some 22% had learned to speak English, among miners less than 13%.

The eastern copper mining towns of Arizona were developed in the 1870's.

Mexicans opened the first works at Clifton even a little earlier, in 1867.
The Clifton-Morenci district was operating in 1872. Between 1910 and 1920
Greenlee County was created to take care of the special needs of this area.

In 1920 35% of the population of that county had been born in Mexico, and in
1930 the "Mexican race" furnished 47% of the population. All the copper in-
dustry in Arizona employs many Mexicans, in part experienced before arrival
in the mines of Chihuahua; the proportion of Mexicans in the Clifton-Morenci
district has been especially high, presumably because the early Mexican workers gave it a reputation that attracted later comers. The more celebrated Bisbee district developed after 1877 and reached full activity as the Slavs of the New Immigration were pouring into the United States. Mexicans and Slavs have been the most numerous elements in the labor force. In 1930 those of the "Mexican race" were one third of the population. The existence of two strong non-English elements in Bisbee made for the early acceptance of English as a *lingua franca*. However, separation and dispute between the various national groups was normal for many years; still, children growing up in the 1920's were often polyglots. The Mexican influence continued to be great after the Slavic flood subsided, and in 1962 second generation Serbs, who had forgotten Serbo-Croatian, found occasion to exercise their fluent but imperfect Spanish. In Bisbee's Brewery Gulch Spanish was as prevalent as English, though non-Mexicans who had grown up there in the wild days were sometimes ill-equipped in Spanish. Bisbee is less than ten miles from the Mexican border, and Tombstone is some twenty air miles farther away. The town now profits touristically from the wildness of its silver mining days which began at the same time as copper development at Bisbee. Then it was a town of some size. In the 1950's its population varied between 850 and 1500. Half of the inhabitants were Mexicans, usually native to the immediate area and bilingual. In 1962 some Mexican children played together in English, some in Spanish. An Anglo informant of substantial standing said that there were "some nice Mexicans."

The mining towns farther west in Arizona are in quite widely separated areas. The degree to which they have Spanish character varies with their distance from the border. Ajo is the nearest to it; the distance is some thirty air miles. Activity began at Ajo by 1855, but the high grade ore was
soon mined out, and it was not until 1916 that the low grade ores were ex-
ploited. The town's population in the 1950's was about 7,000. The Mexicans
formed a very important element in it. The Writers Project guide
reissued in 1956 remarked that "the Mexican national holidays (May 5, Septem-
ber 16)... are gaily celebrated in Ajo by the large Mexican population" (WP
401). These Mexicans practically all arrived after 1916, for the surrounding
country is desert. They make up about one third of the population, non-Spanish-
speaking Papago Indians another third. The Anglos are not significantly of
stock recently arrived from Europe as at Bisbee. Not all Anglos are thrown in-
to direct contact with Mexicans, but many are, and relations are in general
good. Children of the two stocks play together, and the Mexicans' young be-
come comfortably bilingual, often using English with each other even in the
family. Some Anglo children learn Spanish, but the school room in 1962 was fur-
nishing them no encouragement to do so. Older Anglos, who usually arrived as
adults have gained no great proficiency in Spanish.

More distant from the border and farther east lies the Superior-Miami-Globe
complex. Globe is 87 miles east from Phoenix, with Miami quite near it, and
Superior 20 miles on the way to the capital. Globe is the oldest of the
group. Activities began there with a silver strike in 1876, and copper
exploitation began by 1881. The hey-day was from 1895 to 1917. In 1950
there were 6,419 people there. The distribution of population was similar to
that at Bisbee with similar result. The Mexican quarter remained intact past
the mid-century, but Spanish, except in the quarter, became of lesser importance.
In 1962 Apache was heard on the streets of Globe more frequently than Spanish.
Miami with 4,300 population in 1950 came into existence in 1907. National
groups from Europe did not gain the same footing as at Globe. "After the
post war depression of 1921... it was apparent that the racial composition
of men on the mine pay rolls was changing from a mixture of many nationalities to a majority of Mexicans" (WF 204). Miami and Globe in 1950 accounted for about half of the non-Apache population in Gila County and were the only two towns in it whose population rose above 800. Of the county's "white" population of 21,825 there were 4,550 who bore Spanish surnames. Among these only 846 were foreign-born. This was then a population of twentieth century origin which had not been replenished significantly after 1925. In 1962 only some of the foreign-born were reputed to know no English; the other 4,000 were bilingual with a few exceptions who had abandoned Spanish. Superior (5,000 population in 1955) was a silver mining town from 1875 for over a quarter of a century. After 1910 it became a copper center -- mines and smelter -- and the labor force which was then developed was primarily Mexican. In 1962 three fourths of the population was Mexican, part of them Hispanics from New Mexico. The linguistic situation was that described for Gila County. School children were accepting English as their language for play at least during school hours. At recess, well out of ear shot of the teachers, groups of children were using English to each other. The young adults mixed Spanish and English, both of doubtful quality. A photographer who used pictures of pairs of children as advertisement in four pictures out of six displayed children with Spanish names and put his comments in English. Wickenburg (1750 population in 1955), 53 miles northwest of Phoenix, was a gold mining center beginning in the 1860's; other mining did not follow the exhaustion of gold. The Mexicans who came in as miners left no higher proportion in the town's population than that on the surrounding ranches. Except among the old the use of Spanish was rapidly deteriorating in 1962.

The Gila valley possesses almost all the irrigated country in southern
Arizona outside of the Santa Cruz-Tucson area and the Phoenix oasis. The activity is greatest in a region between Tucson and Phoenix. Eloy, Coolidge, Casa Grande, and Maricopa are towns in this district. Cotton growing is common in the area, and braceros have been brought in numbers for part of the seasonal labor. A high proportion of the permanent residents are Mexican, partly from New Mexico. In 1962 at Eloy (population 5,200) where some two thirds of the inhabitants are Mexican, a disgruntled Anglo held that "they complain if you can't talk Spanish to them; all of them talk it to each other." Maricopa (population 400) is on the border of the Gila Indian reservation; therefore, although the town and surrounding country is three-fourths Mexican, English as a lingua franca is in a better position. However, hostilities come to the surface more easily here, at least in the early 1960's they did; violence was not uncommon at Maricopa. At Casa Grande (population 5,800) between Eloy and Maricopa, half the population is Mexican, a large proportion from Texas and New Mexico. Indians, who are more comfortably bilingual than elsewhere, are also present. English enjoys prestige without as fierce antipathies as those described for Maricopa. Among the descendants of the second generation of Spanish speakers, the children play in English, and English is largely the language of the home. At Coolidge (population 4,200) northeast of Casa Grande and near the river, the Mexicans make up one third of the population. Those born in the United States are numerous, and here too the young have largely become habitual speakers of English. Farther west in the oases the language of the fields has been largely Spanish because of long dominance of braceros among the workers. Everywhere in Arizona railroad maintenance crews are Mexican; the section bosses are also Mexican, so that Spanish is the ordinary language during the working day.
Mexicans in California have attracted more attention from the rest of the nation than Mexicans in any other state, though basically they have not been so important to the welfare of California as a whole as those in other border states. Partly because other material on them is easily accessible, but mainly because their relation to Mexicans in Kansas has been minor, the examination of the California Mexicans in this work is comparatively brief. California south of Santa Barbara, roughly, south of the thirty-fifth parallel, receives most attention. The California Mexican Fact Finding Committee stated in 1930 that 24 cities reported "segregated districts composed of Mexicans or Mexicans and other foreigners"; 20 of these cities were south of the thirty-fifth parallel. Napa (north of San Francisco), Porterville and Visalia (in the San Joaquin valley) and Bakersfield (farther south) were the exceptions. (San José at least should also have confessed to having a colonia.) The others except Santa Barbara and Santa Maria were in a narrow band in the Los Angeles area; its north edge extended from the coast to San Bernardino (MF 176). In 1910 and 1920 and 1927, the counties below the thirty-sixth parallel contained 78% of the Mexicans in the state. In this area, the desert oases, the rural areas not far from the coast, and the band of towns on the route leading out of the desert to Los Angeles are given most consideration in this work.

Spanish settlement of California came much later than early exploration along the coast, which was going on in 1587. The establishment of missions began in 1769. The missions were to the Indians, but Spanish settlers, as planned, collected around them. Ultimately they extended, with intervals between them, to a short distance above San Francisco Bay (Ca 119). The plan was to secularize them as soon as settlement was firm; secularization did not begin until 1830 after Mexico was free of Spain. The grants to individuals
which were then made were for ranches, many very large. The land-owning class became an aristocracy with a much larger component of ranch hands and laborers. Amalgamation with the local Indian population was limited. In 1848, there were about 7,500 Spanish speakers in California (NM 52). As in New Mexico, the Spanish landowners of southern California sometimes succeeded in maintaining their status after Anglo settlement became important, but also as in New Mexico, legalistic maneuvers transferred many holdings to Anglos (Ca 366ff.). In the mining country Anglos were particularly ruthless in their treatment of the earlier Californians, so also along the trade routes. In reaction, banditry became common among the Mexicans. The result was a tradition of hostility between the "races" more severe than any existing elsewhere in the border states. Anglo settlement of southern California became important in the 1880's, and save for a few influential families, Mexican native sons became reduced to much the same low status as that generally accorded everywhere in the United States to peon immigrants. A few new arrivals from south of the border kept joining those who had come earlier. Thus when the great wave of twentieth century immigration from Mexico began, the newcomers and the old stratum were almost indistinguishably fused. The influx after 1900 was largely made up of agricultural workers, but the migrants, including those employed in central California, wintered in the southern cities, particularly in Los Angeles and its neighborhood, so that the linguistic development of great numbers of Mexicans was affected by both urban and rural conditions. Similar situations existed in Texas and elsewhere, but Mexicans in California seem to have been more influenced by city pressures than in other states. For instance, strikes by Mexicans in Texas receive almost no comment, whereas strikes in California beginning about 1930 were not
isolated phenomena. The strikes were among farm workers, but presumably the technique of organization was learned in cities. During the depression of the 1930's, California's impatience with the burden of relief for Mexicans was greater than that farther east, and repatriation from California was more frequent, often from indirect persuasion, but also from subsidization of departures. Economic recovery did not abolish hostilities. The Zoot Suit Riots of 1943 were an illustration. California became and remained, however, an ardent consumer of bracero labor.

The social position of Mexicans in California, as is evident from the historical allusions above, has sometimes been the cause of more tempestuous events than in other states. The California border is much shorter than that of other states facing Mexico, and the half million Mexicans in California have only in a few desert towns been able to maintain numbers near their homeland which enable them to demand consideration to the same extent as Mexicans in Tucson and Laredo, or even in Corpus Christi and El Paso. Their position is more or less subject to the fluctuations of humanitarianism among the generality of Californians. There has been, however, perhaps more respect for the qualities of the Mexican as a worker than in other border states. Comparisons between them and the Japanese and Filipinos were possible early in the century, between them and Okies and Arkies later; the result, particularly in desert farming, was not unfavorable to the Mexican. Still, the fact that he was so often a migrant field worker developed conditions similar to those described for cotton pickers in Texas, willingness on the part of the Mexicans to accept almost no housing while in the fields, economic necessity of taking the worst while wintering, reluctance of communities to take any responsibility for temporary residents, neglect of schooling because of family movement, in general the promotion
of isolation that discouraged Engl-izing.

The Catholic church erected a Diocese of the Two Californias in 1840, then a diocese of Monterey, all California in the United States in 1850. In 1853, the archdiocese of San Francisco was divided from it. By 1894, the diocese of Monterey had become Monterey and Los Angeles, and in 1922, Monterey was separated from Los Angeles. The city of Los Angeles became the see of an archdiocese in 1936 when the diocese of San Diego was erected. Spaniards were the bishops at first, but in San Francisco in 1884, Archbishop Francis Garcia Diego y Moreno left his post to an Irishman and retired for his last years to Valencia, Spain. In the Monterey-Los Angeles diocese, Bishop Francis Mora held out until 1896 before resigning and taking himself to Barcelona, Spain. The successors of both have had English names, almost all obviously Irish. In 1900 in the area below the thirty-fifth parallel, there was only one parish served by a rector with a Spanish name and he had a German assistant. By 1915, however, Our Lady of Angels had been handed over to the Claretian Fathers, all with Spanish names and particularly designated to attend the Mexican people in Los Angeles (1915 Catholic Directory, p. 867). There was also a chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe, but no further recognition of Spanish-speaking needs in the area. In the years that followed, the dioceses of Los Angeles and San Diego made much greater use of Spanish-speaking clergy than the dioceses in New Mexico and Arizona. In 1954 Burma stated that "there are seventeen 'Mexican' Catholic churches in Los Angeles." In the Catholic Directory of 1960 none of them was specified to be a national parish (and national labels had not been abandoned in the archdiocese), but they could all be identified either by their names, Cristo Rey, Our Lady of Guadalupe, etc., or by the names of at least part of the serving clergy. The Catholic church in California thus
became belatedly more of a force for the preservation of Spanish than in the other border states. It was perhaps not so powerful a force as it would have been if the Mexicans had been more often practitioners as well as believers.

The schooling of Mexicans has given rise to problems similar to those found elsewhere, problems in school attendance and in segregation. Since the Second World War court action has done away with overt segregation, but in 1963 preponderance of Mexicans in certain schools was recognized when a law was passed requiring teachers of Mexicans to know Spanish. In that year, according to the San José Mercury-News (14 July), one tenth of the elementary school enrollment was made up of Mexicans; they furnished one half of the drop-outs (Fishman's study recorded this fact in the preliminary edition, III, 107. Similar material F310.)

Social organizations among Mexicans in California have originated more frequently and have perhaps been more evanescent than in other states. Early labor organization impressed the public (Bo 41). The general California ambiance encouraged experimentation and quick change of mind. This same trait has made for sharper contrasts in rates of Engl-izing, which in some places has advanced rapidly with more than usually sharp contrasts between the generations, while in others it lagged.

Los Angeles was founded as a pueblo, not a mission, in 1780. There were 70 families there in 1800, less than 3,000 persons in 1846. Soon thereafter, the Anglos became important in the town. By 1880 the population had increased to 11,183. In 1883 Bishop could still say, "The Mexican ele-

must be something like one third of the entire population. In the Spanish town. 'Sonora', the recollection of Mexico is revived, but a very shabby, provincial Mexico" (Bi 426). He treats San Gabriel as a separate community and remarks that "all the signs are in Spanish" (Bi 442). With the boom of the 1880's
the presence of Mexicans was largely obscured. They were not decreasing in numbers, but were being overwhelmed by Anglo newcomers. The inhabitants numbered about 50,000 in 1890, about 100,000 in 1900. Clark's report of 1907 on schooling in Los Angeles notes bad attendance and dropping out as usual among Mexicans after the second grade. The informant was sympathetic and understood the causes -- the usual ones, allowing for adjustment to urban conditions.

"Mexican children are rather studious by nature, but those in Los Angeles are hampered by poor home conditions.... They give no trouble, and their only difficulty comes from the aggressions of a rougher class of white pupils" (Cl 509).

Clark also indicates that there was some appreciation of opportunity. "One old laborer in Los Angeles, who was signing a pay roll, said his children had taught him to write, adding in Spanish: 'I'll never go back to Old Mexico, because I have five children in the public school'" (Cl510).

McWilliams attributes the sites of Mexican colonias in Los Angeles and its neighborhood largely to railroad activity. "As early as 1900 the Southern Pacific was regularly employing 4,500 Mexicans on its lines in California. By 1906 the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe were importing as many as two or three carloads of cholos a week to Southern California.... Wherever a railroad labor camp was established, a Mexican colonia exists today. For example, the Mexican settlement in Watts -- called Tajarita by the Mexicans -- dates from the importation of a carload of cholos in 1906. While the lines were being built, the cholos lived in box cars and tents. Later the company built row houses.... Thirty or forty such camps are still to be found in Los Angeles county" (NM 169). McWilliams in 1949 gave 385,000 as the Mexican population of Los Angeles County. As regards Mexicans within the city, it could be said in 1930 that "the older section of Los Angeles, around and east of the Plaza, is a distinctly Mexican settlement. Spanish is the language commonly
heard, the signs in the shops are in Spanish, the goods on sale are distinctly for Mexicans, and the moving picture theaters show only Spanish titles" (MF 177). Industrial development here was already imminent and came about later.

Another important colonia is that at Belvedere comparatively close to the Old City on the east. Carey McWilliams wrote in 1948: "With a Mexican population of fifty thousand in the middle twenties [45,000 in 1930 by MF 177] the Belvedere section has a population today, mostly Mexican, of around 180,000. A city in size, it is still governed by remote control as an unincorporated area" (NM 224). He describes particularly the colonia in Chaves ravine, and what he has to say of it, fits very closely in the Dodge City, Kansas, Mexican "village" at the time that he was writing (see 47.76 in Vol. III). For a similar description of Belvedere, see MF 178). A great many people in various colonias were subject to these living conditions, unqualifiedly bad, but calculated to produce group unity and consequently aid in the conservation of Spanish. In the 1960's the Mexican population of the area surpassed 800,000.

Hostility to Mexicans in Los Angeles has been strong in spite of a flourished cult for the old Spanish days, and this attitude, which had its strongest manifestation on the occasion of the Zoot Suit Riots of the 1940's, also tends to keep Mexicans together and to preserve their language. The spirit of change that characterizes Los Angeles, however, militates against conservation; aged Mexicans in other states who report that they have children in Los Angeles almost always add that their grandchildren there know little Spanish or none, while grandchildren elsewhere are sometimes proficient. The incidence of Spanish, though, is greater than the preceding sentence indicates because families that disseminate in this manner are those least conservatively linguistically as well as otherwise.
Observations made in Belvedere in late December 1967 showed a great degree of bilingualism. The Claretian church, which in the Catholic directory is entitled "Our Lady of Solitude (La Soledad)", bore one sign reading "Our Lady of Solitude" and another proclaiming that it is "La Soledad Church." The quarters of "El Club Social Gomez Palacio" carried posters with dance announcements all in Spanish and with bordering advertisements mostly in English. At the CYO center a display of snapshots had all labels in English. Some children and many adolescents were frequently speaking Spanish, particularly teen-age boys, but on a school playground even in those days of Christmas vacation all speech was in English. A nine-year-old girl said that she played in English, but talked Spanish with her mother. One of the Claretians, born in Los Angeles in 1931 of a father native of Texas and of a mother who came from Mexico, said that as a child he had answered his parents in English and had mastered Spanish only after he became a priest. As he talked, he greeted a passer-by in Spanish and said his farewells to a thirty-year-old woman in English. (At a neighboring bakery another woman of the same age was monolingually Spanish.) At the church there were two masses in English and six in Spanish. Children brought to a Spanish mass spoke English afterward. It was difficult for them to tell the content of any sermon that they had heard in Spanish. The old throughout the neighborhood, and there were many, conversed in Spanish only, and often had trouble expressing even simple ideas in English.

In the 1940's and 1950's at least, a jargon or cant with sources in both languages and in the inventive faculties of its speakers existed among youthful Los Angeles gangs (Bu 118). Teen-age Mexicans are likely to have a strong Spanish accent while speaking English. Industry in 1963 was also
bringing in fresh Mexican blood, partly braceros to live in compounds with "domestics." The "domestics" in these industries were partly late immigrants who knew no English. They were employed in common with American-born able to speak English. The effect was more preservative of Spanish than contributory to Engl-izing. At Monrovia on the northeast edge of greater Los Angeles, it was usual in 1962 for the Mexicans who came in to work on estates there to leave negotiations with Anglos or with negroes to a leader linguistically fitted to speak for them. Some of the Mexicans there were quite recent arrivals, young but inexpert in English.

To the west of Los Angeles, there are spots where Mexicans are numerous. In 1917 Espinosa remarked on the English borrowing in the Spanish of Santa Barbara where, he said, there had been "a strong Spanish community since the early part of the eighteenth century" (EP 408). Among other communities is Oxnard, population 38,500 in 1960, by one estimate half Mexican. El Rio, two or three miles away, was older with early Mexican inhabitants. Oxnard was established in 1898 as a sugar beet town. The beets attracted many Mexican and remained important in the town's economy, though truck gardening increased in importance. In 1915, when the population of the town was approaching 4,000, the single parish had separate parochial schools for Anglos (who here include many Germans) and Mexicans (enrollment 154 and 62). In 1948 and 1960, there were still the two schools (in 1948 488 and 175; in 1960: 916 and 175). But in 1960, the larger school had accepted about 10% Mexicans, who were well integrated with the other pupils. In these years, there were two churches whose people were fundamentally Mexican, Christ the King staffed with Missionaries of the Holy Ghost, whose motherhouse is in Mexico City, and its Mission, Our Lady of Guadalupe. There was also a Catholic high school, but a great many Mexicans were going to the public high school.
A seventy-year-old man born in Mexico who had been in Oxnard forty years said that all his children spoke Spanish and used it at home (evidently at least in his presence), but about half of his thirty-two grandchildren knew or used no Spanish. Some of their fathers were Anglos. The behavior observed among high school students tallied with this statement.

San Bernardino, east of Los Angeles, was a rancho till the Mormons founded a town there in 1851. By 1930, it numbered 35,000 people; in 1960, about 91,000. As elsewhere in California, the Mexicans born in San Bernardino were joined by immigrants from Mexico beginning about 1900. The inhabitants of San Bernardino born in Mexico numbered 888 in 1910, 1,989 in 1920, 2,244 in 1930. Many came as children; by 1948, 57% of the foreign-born Mexicans had arrived before age 20; 37% were young children (TR 69). The Southern Pacific ran its line three miles to the south of San Bernardino, but the Santa Fe in 1885 made it a division point. Though prosperous in part because of agricultural production close by, San Bernardino is still a Santa Fe town. As such, its Mexicans almost all came from the part of Mexico supplying the Santa Fe, that is, from the central plateau of Mexico (TR 65). Ruth D. Tuck christened it Descanso, and 1946 published Not with the Fist, which studied the conditions of the Mexicans in the town. The title implies that it is a work of popular propaganda, and so it is, but at the same time it is founded on scientific investigation, and the zeal of the propagandist hardly penetrates into the areas of most interest to us. What excites Miss Tuck's regret is that "when no crisis exists, he [the Mexican] is forgotten." She pleads for attention to him. As she describes it, the attitude of San Bernardino toward its Mexican inhabitants is rather contemptuous indifference than hostility. It is not greatly different from the attitude elsewhere, Kansas included, especially in railroad towns. Merchants were glad enough to secure Mexican trade, and
some took the linguistic measures necessary for fulsome advertising and making sales (TR 104). The general attitude was, as always, that English should rightfully be used. Spanish, like skin color, was a mark of inferiority. The use of Spanish ranked foremost, far above all other reasons given by Anglo-Americans, as a cause of friction between the populations. "You go to Woolworth's after school," said a housewife, "and you might as well be in a foreign country. All those little girls chattering Spanish, when you know they've been educated in our public schools" (TR 97). There are two Mexican quarters in San Bernardino, a smaller one in the south part of town and a much larger one in the west. An officially segregated school existed in the south district till 1944. Only de facto segregation has ever reigned for the elementary schools in the west section; there the Mexicans provided all the pupils. Junior high school brought Mexicans and Anglos together. "Most of our playground fights," said a junior high school principal, "between the two groups start because Mexican boys were speaking Spanish in a mixed group. The others, because they don't understand, are sure they are being insulted" (TR 97). Of course there were also fights when the Anglos did understand and were not expected to do so. The Mexicans explained to Miss Tuck their persistence in the use of Spanish as caused by the need to express things impossible to express in English -- at least not in their English and not with an appropriate emotional background. "'You can say so many more things in Spanish!' 'Personal things [in English]... sound flowery and insincere!...' 'Yes, I'm bilingual,' said a excellent Mexican merchant, who speaks English with only the faintest accent, 'but only in a sense. For business yes, and for many other occasions. But when I want to relax, to be at ease to express myself fully, precisely, and with variety, I must do it in Spanish" (TR 98). Still the Spanish of these people, even of immigrants, was badly anglicized (TR 111, 118). Also,
"the group which is most respected and admired in the colonia is noted for its decided command of American ways" (TR 158), in spite of an undercurrent of resentment against them for desertion, caused, the others felt, by greed for money. In 1948, Miss Tuck did not attribute a great deal of influence to the padre of the Mexican community. As she saw it, he was generally respected as a man, but supported as a leader only when he voiced an opinion generally received. He had, she said, been most effective in helping in action "establishing the right of American citizens of Mexican descent to use Descanso's public plunge" (TR 156). This padre, says Carey McWilliams, was "the Rev. R. N. Nunez" (NM 282). Joseph R. Nuñez was in 1948 pastor of our Lady of Guadalupe in San Bernardino; he had two assistant priests bearing Spanish names. The pastor of the Church of Christ the King also bore a Spanish name. Our Lady of Guadalupe also had a school with 200 pupils and served two missions. The Catholic establishment seems to have been larger and more vigorous than Miss Tuck realized. She suggests that "visiting missionary fathers, Anglo-Americans" had given the padre intelligent assistance. "The public clinic for children conducted by a missionary sisterhood, has been a successful innovation" (TR 156). Father Nuñez, says Miss Tuck, "is Mexican-born, and, though a naturalized American citizen expresses himself with difficulty in English.... 'A good man, such a good man!" (TR 154). In 1960, the two priests serving Christ the King both bore Spanish names; Father Nuñez was still pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe with three assistants, only one of whom bore a Spanish name. The non-Spanish character of the other two names suggest that Engl-izing was taking place. The school then had 411 pupils; no missions.

There was a Spanish language paper in Ruth Tuck's Descanso. Its editor was not sanguine of the future, predicting that most of its news in ten years
would be in English (TR 115). The Mexicans did not read it too often, finding it a derivative of the English language papers, heedless or unconscious of its editorial importance (TR 165). In 1948 in San Bernardino the Anglo streets nearer the larger Mexican quarter contained some Mexican inhabitants, but at that time it was easier for Mexicans to find purchasable property in well-to-do parts of town than in those where the Anglo inhabitants were less well off. In 1962 the Mexicans made up less than a third of the town's population. An Anglo informant stated, "All the Mexicans know English, but Spanish is in their blood."

At Beaumont, California, 25 miles southeast of San Bernardino, the Church of San Gorgonio (called St. Gorgonius in 1915) had pastors with non-Spanish names in 1915, 1948, and 1960. Here the church served all Catholics. Ten of the 54 who gave $5 at Easter, 1962, bore Spanish names. In a block on a well-to-do street near the church, Mexicans lived in two houses. They habitually spoke English and were accepted by their neighbors -- so said the neighbors. The Mexican quarter was farther east.

89.66 Indio is 75 miles from the Mexican border and the same distance from the nearest point on the coast, approximately the same from San Bernardino. It is in the midst of an oasis in the desert. It began as a railroad construction camp in the 1880's. In 1960, its population was about 9,100. It had not yet acquired a Catholic church in 1915. In 1960, there was still but one. Its priests in 1948 and 1960, two in number, were Irish. There was no school in 1948; in 1960 the school taught 202 pupils; the five School Sisters of Notre Dame were not Spanish-speaking. Notes taken in 1962 at the time of dispersal after a first communion give an accurate notion of the use of Spanish among the people on this occasion. Almost but not quite every one
present was Mexican. Spanish was the language in general use, particularly between adults. A group of teen-age girls were mixing English and Spanish. Edward E. (Mexican, about 15) reported that about half of his high school class was Spanish-speaking. He spoke Spanish with those his age unless there were Anglos about, but many Anglos were trying to learn Spanish, and he mixed the two languages. Among older Mexicans he said that there were many who knew no English. --Mrs. D (Mexican, about 30) said that her grandparents had come from Mexico and later returned, but that her mother had remained in the United States (the inference was that a father had not counted for much in her life). She had a slight accent when speaking English and said that she used Spanish a great deal because she was usually at home, that her sister, aged about 22, used English most of the time. But her sister, on coming up, addressed her in Spanish and Mrs. D. answered her in English. The two conversed in English with an older man (Mexican) across the street. Mrs. D reported that there were many Arizonans there; no Californians of nineteenth century stock. --A boy and girl of high school age were speaking English together. --Two girls, aged about eight, were using English in a car where a mother and grandmother were. --Three women, aged about thirty, talking Spanish got into another car. --One of the nuns passed with a mother and two young daughters. The mother was speaking English with the others, but it evidently required an effort. --A group taking pictures were speaking Spanish, except that the nun who was with them spoke English with a German accent. As she left, one of the Mexican boys called after her in English with a typical American accent.

At Palm Desert, ten miles westward, where dates are grown, there were no resident Mexicans, but the Mexicans came as date harvesters during November and December. Many of them were braceros; in 1962 all used Spanish as nearly exclusively as was possible when Anglos were employing them.
The Imperial Valley began to be developed in the first years of the twentieth century, and there were a certain number of Mexicans in it from the start. They became more numerous beginning in 1910, but it was not until 1917 that they were a truly important element in the Valley's labor supply. A decade later, Paul S. Taylor undertook to survey conditions among Mexicans there.

Except for a number of business men in the border town of Calexico and clerks in the stores catering to Mexicans (T71 ff) they were laborers, most importantly in intensive cultivation farming, producing melons, truck crops and cotton. In 1927 when Taylor wrote, cotton after great expansion was comparatively in the doldrums, but its importance has see-sawed since. The housing of Mexican seasonal workers was in many places more primitive than any reported elsewhere. The climate made the necessity of protection from cold minimal; therefore, screening from the sun and more or less from the wind along an irrigation ditch which furnished the water supply was often the only measure taken to provide field residence. In off seasons the workers collected in the Valley towns, most notably Brawley. Housing there was still primitive. But agglomeration led to beginnings of organization (T62), evanescent though in character, and agricultural strikes had already taken place (T53-54). Education played little part in the Mexican population's life. The families needed the income from the children, and the farmers were more anxious to see their work done than school attendance laws enforced (T 75). Violent fluctuations in attendance occurred, handicapping among other things the linguistic adjustment of Mexicans. Segregated schools early came into existence, in Brawley in 1914 (T 84). In spite of these handicaps, Taylor observed that "through the schools Mexican children are learning English, cleanliness and the rudiments of an education. It is said
to be more common for young Mexicans to speak English now than it was a few years ago" (T89). Community attitudes toward Mexicans were no more friendly than elsewhere, perhaps less so (T 83). Mexicans who became Americanized had few friends; they were shunned by both Mexicans and Anglos. But the economic importance of the Mexicans was recognized because their services brought them into direct contact with much of the other population. In 1927, the population of Imperial County was about 54,500 of whom 20,000 were Mexicans. Of 6,217 Mexicans registered with the Associated Labor Bureau of Imperial Valley in that year, 43.7% came from nearby northwestern coast states, 46% from the central plateau states and the exit of those states to the north (Durango, Chihuahua) (T 20). To the United States as a whole, the West Coast states of Mexico furnished only 7.4% of the immigrants. The difference in provenience of the Mexicans made no difference in their problems, which were the same in the Imperial Valley as elsewhere. In 1915, Catholic organization was just beginning in the Imperial Valley. In 1948, there were several churches; none of their pastors had a Spanish name and only Our Lady of Guadalupe at El Centro indicated by its name that it was for Mexicans. In 1960, the situation was the same except that one of the two priests at St. Margaret Mary's in Brawley bore a Spanish name. In 1962 at Our Lady of Guadalupe in El Centro, masses were listed bilingually, the program of "la Semana Santa" was in Spanish, and the notice of catechism classes was in English. This evidence of the Englishing of children corresponded to performance among them. They mixed English and Spanish. People of reproducing age often spoke English badly, but their pre-school children did better, though habitually using Spanish. El Centro was in 1962 not at its most prosperous stage as regards the size of its Mexican population. Closed Spanish business houses indicated as much. The use of braceros explains
the situation. The employment of braceros had encouraged farmers to learn Spanish. Though Mexicans have in recent years furnished practically all the foreign immigrants in the Valley, Orientals (Japanese, Hindus, Filipinos) were there early. The Japanese and Hindus learned both English and Spanish.

In Calexico on the border in 1962, almost everybody habitually spoke Spanish because there were few Anglos there. However, everybody knew or desired to know English. The parochial schools (525 in grade school, 112 in high school in 1960) had a majority of pupils from across the border in Mexicali, because their parents wished them to learn English.

San Diego (1960 population about 550,000) after its early establishment, was certain to keep something of its Spanish character because of its proximity to Mexico. But no more has remained than in the other urban centers of California. The Mexicans are there (10,000 out of 150,000 in 1930), but overwhelmed in the urban population. In the agricultural sections of San Diego County, they play a larger part, hard to estimate in terms of numbers of people, for many, as elsewhere, prefer to live more cheaply south of the border, especially those who have American citizenship, and hence no problem of re-entry. The Anglo invasion may be judged in part by developments in the Catholic church. The pastor of the only parish from 1866 to 1907 was Anthony Ubach, born in Catalonia. In 1900, he had two Irish assistants. In 1936, the city became the see of a diocese. In 1948, it contained 24 parishes, in 1960, 28. Of these, only Our Lady of Guadalupe was frankly Spanish; in 1960, one of the two priests at Christ the King bore a Spanish name, the other, an Italian. The school of Our Lady of Guadalupe had 260 pupils in 1948, 466 in 1960. The Writers Project Guide of 1939 (p.259) reported the Mexicans as "Most of them clinging to their own language." In 1962, an employee of a chain supermarket said that the Mexicans
came to the store in groups with very few able to speak English. The one of their number chosen as interpreter often spoke an English difficult to understand; it would be a great advantage to know Spanish. There are, however, persons with Spanish names who know no Spanish. The explanation of this situation lies in continuing immigration. Farmers will sponsor as immigrants men who have served them well as *braceros*. These men soon leave agricultural work for better paying jobs; and before their English is well-developed, they may leave San Diego for still more pay farther north. On the farms in southern San Diego County, the dependence on Spanish monolinguals is such that employers learn Spanish a few years after their own arrival. At Escondido in the northern part of the county, there were in 1962, a few young Mexicans unable to speak Spanish, but the young were almost all bilingual, though some spoke only rudimentary English. The tendency toward assimilation was manifest in the dress and carriage of young Mexicans there.

**Two types of Mexican experience elsewhere in California merit remark.**

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century the old settlements did not lose their Mexican character rapidly. Bishop said in 1883: "Monterey has a population which still, in considerable part, speaks Spanish only. It retains the impress of Spanish domination, and little else" (Bi 365). In 1962 in spots in southern California where neither industry nor agriculture has been too completely revolutionizing in its effect, the old California could still be found with so little admixture of late comers that they may be singled out. San Juan Capistrano is such a spot. In 1962, Mr. H. said that his father was a German gardener, who spoke English to his wife. She, of old California blood, could understand him, but spoke no English. Young H., born about 1904, grew up bilingual, married Spanish, and his three sons and one daughter learned Spanish, but not all his grandchildren did. The experience seemed
typical of the community. At Elsinore over the mountains to the east, the old Spanish element and the Anglos seemed completely assimilated.

A great deal of seasonal labor is used in the San Joaquin Valley farther north. San José, closer to San Francisco, has attained a notable Mexican colony as a wintering retreat. Margaret Clark (CH 54-59) gives an excellent analysis of the linguistic situation about 1959, including Englishing in the colonia on the east edge of San José in 1955. Her most succinct statement is: "Viewed as a whole, the population of Sal si puedes is evenly divided in terms of home language; half speak only Spanish and half are bilingual. Of those who speak only Spanish at home, some know enough English to be able to communicate fairly well in English; this brings the proportion of bilinguals in the neighborhood up to two-thirds of the total population, as compared with one-third who speak no English at all" (CH 55). The presence of Mexican laborers in the San Joaquin Valley was a characteristic that began early. In 1883 Bishop said: "At Visalia [some 200 miles north of Los Angeles]... first observed "Spanishtown," a community which begins to appear regularly alongside 'Chinatown' as we go southward. It is composed of persons of Mexican blood, poor, shiftless" (Bi 402). The treatment of Mexicans in the Valley averages somewhat better than elsewhere for those who remain as permanent residents. It was not, however, satisfactory; a two year strike of grape gatherers in the earlier 1960's extracted some sort of terms from the growers, but militant dissatisfaction has continued. Braceros were employed in this region also. In general braceros have been described as indifferent to the acquisition of English since their stay in California was short, but those who have had bracero experience and re-enter as immigrants show an immediate desire to acquire English. Even during the short bracero stay, those who tend toward leadership often pick up English rapidly so as to act as intermediaries between
their fellow and their employers. Jesus Topete, a youth brought up in the city of Guadalajara, employed west of Stockton, California, in 1944, was an example of this type, even becoming a leader in a strike against contract infractions (To 118 ff). Bracero experience with discrimination against Mexicans is limited by the official character of their transport and manipulation. Topete refers to places which only socialites could patronize. If he had felt that he was excluded simply because he was a Mexican, he would have said so; he was writing for a Mexican audience and shows no disposition to hide Anglo faults. His sense of discrimination was perhaps dulled because on a short vacation in San Francisco (To 84 ff) he put on an American uniform and was accepted wherever he wanted to go (To 89); he clearly knew that clothes were a means of escaping social classification, but thought that he was being classed by something other than his complexion. He had already acquired enough English to be readily acceptable in the polyglot city. He was thoroughly disgusted with the "pochos" among whom he included all Mexicans born in California. Mexican girls came out to work at the potato picking with the braceros. Probably they thought that they were "kidding" harmlessly, but Topete was repulsed by their raillery. One of them, probably attracted to him, asked "why he was so proud as not to come talk to them." Her approach unleashed his tongue. He told her, "The Gringos think you are Mexican girls, and perhaps you think so too sometimes; you talk in fake-Gringa-English to any Mexican you meet, and, according to me, you don't speak English because, though I don't know much, I see that much, and you don't talk Spanish because what you call Spanish is a mess of words from pickpockets' slang and of terms used on the most remote ranches in the Mexican mountains" (To 51-52). He was much more insensed one day by the woman who cooked for the gang. She had been born in England and on this continent had gone through the depression with many hardships and nearly as many husbands. She and Topete were on friendly terms, and he asked her why she did not try to learn a little Spanish. She told him "that she had no desire to descend so far as to express herself in such a low and vulgar language used only by uneducated people" (To 64).
In Colorado, Mexicans were agricultural settlers earlier than anyone else. This was to the west of the Front Range of the Rockies, near the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. They were also as early as any one important on the east side of these southern mountains, as indicated by the names Pueblo and Trinidad. Much later they became important in the northeast when sugar beets took over the South Platte drainage basin; from there they wintered in Denver and became numerous. Finally there developed along the Arkansas River in the southeast a lesser beet region, closely connected with the Garden City sugar district in Kansas. Each of these regions is hereafter treated as a separate unit. A small beet region near Grand Junction is not treated.

New Mexicans coming up the Rio Grande established San Luis, 13 miles above the present border, and about that distance east of the river, in 1851. In the early 1840's, large land grants had been made by the Mexican government; they occupied most of the southern two counties on each side of the river (BH 431). These grants were later subject to the title manipulation of Anglos using the same tactics as in New Mexico and southern California. When in 1867 Colorado's governor acquired a claim to the Sangre de Cristo grant from the mountains to the Rio Grande, 1100 of the 1200 inhabitants upon it were Hispanos (BH 431). Farther west across the river there were 2000 inhabitants mostly Mexican (BH 432) in 1868. Until the beginning of the 1870's, the Mexicans occupied the San Luis Valley without much competition. Del Norte, Anglo in origin despite its name, was founded in 1872 as a base for miners and prospectors. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad came over the mountains in 1877-8 and Alamosa was founded, Monte Vista a few years later. Monte Vista and Alamosa have strong but not dominant Hispano elements in the population; they are on
the northern frontier of the firmly Hispano area. Del Norte has an attenuated
Hispano character. In 1962 officials in the government employment office
estimated that in Costilla County where San Luis is, 80% of the population
was Hispano, 60% across the river to the west in Conejos County, just north
in Alamosa County 60%; west of Alamosa County, Rio Grande County, has 40%,
more to the east (Monte Vista) than to the west (Del Norte). Saguache
County, north of the last two, was half Hispano, -- most inhabitants here
are in the San Luis Valley, much more land is mountainous.

The deep-rooted Hispano character of Costilla County is further
indicated by the fact that the archdiocese of Santa Fe retained its Catholics
until after 1900. All Colorado had been assigned to the vicariate apostolic
(later diocese) of Denver in 1868, but this area continued to be in charge
of the parish of Costilla just over the border in New Mexico. Unlike most
parishes under the archbishop, it had a priest with a Spanish name in 1900,
J. S. Garcia. In 1915 he was still serving Costilla County, but he had been
transferred to the Denver diocese and resided at San Luis. Conejos County
across the river was during these years in charge of Jesuits stationed
at the town of Conejos. Their personnel in part bore Spanish names. By
1948 the Theatine Fathers were in charge of Conejos, serving it from its
very near neighbor Antonito, and of San Luis. The Theatines in part had
Spanish names. Alamosa County was not created from the surrounding
counties until 1926. The town of Alamosa was originally in Conejos County,
but it early had enough Anglo character to separate it from other settlements.
Until after 1915 it was served from Del Norte where the Jesuits did not
bear Spanish names. The names of the priests in these two towns in 1948 and
1960 were not Spanish either.
In the early years of the twentieth century education in this area was handled somewhat differently from the treatment in New Mexico. Espinosa wrote in 1911: "In Colorado, since long ago, the law of the state requires that in the School districts where the majority of the children are of Spanish parentage, the teacher must know both Spanish and English and may teach them to read in Spanish" (EH 18). Concerning English he adds: "All are learning it and very quickly." Clark in 1907 conveys similar testimony: "An educational officer, who himself spoke Spanish fluently, whose duties made him familiar with conditions in the southern part of Colorado, said that . . . while formerly it was comparatively rare to meet a person of Mexican race who spoke English, it was now rare to meet a young "Mexican" who was not familiar with that language" (CI 522).

The social and linguistic situation of the country to the south of Monte Vista and Alamosa is so much like that in New Mexico that it is here presented by the same method.

The Hispanos of the San Luis Valley (1962) SAN LUIS (population 1950 -- 1,239). Everybody on the streets including many high school students just leaving classes was speaking Spanish. Mrs. G. (aged 50; Hispano postmistress) Everybody here is descended from first pioneers. When her daughter comes from college, the family speaks less Spanish; when her mother comes from Denver they speak only Spanish. This grandmother understands English but does not speak it. Generally, everybody is bilingual, though there are some Hispano children who unfortunately know no Spanish.
MANASSA (population 1950 — 832) is 32 road miles west of San Luis and west of the Rio Grande. It is at least half Anglo. ROMEO (404) 3 miles farther on is only one-fourth Anglo. Mrs. M. (aged 25, Hispano store clerk and postal employee). Practically everybody speaks Spanish. School children tend to play in English even when they return home (she spoke English to a small Hispano child who arrived with a note to make a purchase). She herself learned English before going to school, which was then unusual. She spent much time with an aunt who, unlike her mother, often used English. The implication is that the generation born in the early twenties began using English more frequently.

ALAMOSA (population 1950 — 5354, on Rio Grande, 30 miles from New Mexico) Mr. C. and Mr. M. (both Hispanos, aged 40 and 37, the employment officials cited above) 90% of the Hispanos are bilingual. Many children are imperfect in knowledge of Spanish especially in town. Many Anglos and a few Japanese learn Spanish. 1200 to 1400 braceros are brought in to work with vegetables. Mr. W. (Anglo former resident, aged 40, proficient in Spanish; seen elsewhere). There has been no preaching for some time in Spanish at Alamosa. The church notices were in English, 85% of the names appearing on them were Spanish. Spanish services in near-by towns. At Monte Vista (up river, 3,272 inhabitants in 1950) the situation is similar to that at Alamosa except that here the Hispano Catholics are in town while there they are in the country.

FORT GARLAND (Population 500, 25 miles east of Alamosa, 16 north of San Luis). Mrs. M. (Hispano, aged 50) learned some English before going to school. Her six grandchildren who live with her play in English.
East of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Mexicans were present among the trappers and traders before true settlement began.

On the site of Pueblo in 1842, there were "ten or twelve Americans, most of whom are married to Mexican women" (BH 430, quoting Sage). Indians drove them away later. In 1859 the site was reoccupied and became known as Pueblo. This was the year of the first gold rush. Mexicans played only an obscure part in the quest of the precious metals, but, other mining, particularly for coal, has occupied them, as well as dependent smelting and the iron and steel mills of Pueblo. "The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company established in Pueblo in 1880, was largely responsible for making of that city the 'Pittsburgh of the West' " (BH 467). The coal came mainly from farther south, from Walsenburg and Trinidad. All these towns attracted many of the "New Immigration" from Europe, and Pueblo eventually had a large element of Mexicans from Mexico, but in Walsenburg and Trinidad the core of the workers were Hispanos from New Mexico, and they have been the ones to cling to these towns as coal mining has subsided.

The situation is more or less depicted by the character of the Catholic parishes. In 1900 at Pueblo's St. Patrick's, there was a superintendent and a pastor, both Jesuits with German names; another Jesuit was "pastor for Italians and Mexicans". -- he served the Mexicans in a separate chapel. St. Mary's was for Slovaks and Slovenians, St. Boniface's for Germans. That was all. In 1915, there were separate churches for Italians, Slovaks and Slovenians, but Mexicans had no such recognition, and there were no priests with Spanish names. In 1948 all national designations had been suppressed, and none of the clergy had a Spanish name. In 1960, one of their number did. In 1965 a teacher at the Catholic high school of Pueblo did not hear the Mexican students speaking Spanish and thought they "were very much against it, but it was not the same
in the city high schools," where apparently the gang spirit was strong. Pueblo is at the northern edge of the Spanish country.

Walsenburg is in it; there 43 air miles from the New Mexican border, in 1900 the Rev. Gabriel Ussel was the only priest; besides his home parish, he served 3 missions and 7 stations, all but one in localities bearing Spanish names. In 1915, the situation was similar, but the parish then had a school with 350 pupils and two priests with Italian names. In 1948 the number of missions and stations was shrinking, and in 1960 had been reduced to one; in those years there were four priests, three Irish, one Slav. In 1924 there were in Huerfano County 32 coal mines producing 2,000,000 tons (BH 733); at Walsenburg there were 17,000 people; in 1962 there was one mine and 7,000 inhabitants. The percentage of Spanish speakers dropped from 70% to 35%. The exodus was largely to Pueblo, Denver, and California. Before the First World War the Hispanos were learning English and Spanish together. The next generation included some urbanites who did not learn Spanish. The children of 1962 were sometimes speaking Spanish, but usually preferring English. The Slavs had by no means disappeared.

Trinidad, 12 air miles from New Mexico, in 1900 offered a Catholic situation similar to that in Walsenburg, but expanded. The parish was staffed with five Jesuits, one with a Spanish name and one with an Italian name. The missions and stations numbered 27, twelve in localities with Spanish names. In 1915 the Jesuits had increased to 7, with one, possibly two, bearing Spanish names. There was a separate church for Italians. There were 27 missions and 7 stations. None of the latter were in localities with Spanish names, 16 of the missions were located in places with such names. The school of 1900 had increased from 250 to 400 pupils. It had
645 enrollments in 1948. The parish for Italians was then designated as for "Italians and Spanish-Americans". The school had dropped to 408 in 1960, and comparable shrinkage had taken place elsewhere. None of the Jesuits then had Spanish names. Trinidad, which is in somewhat better ranch country than Walsenburg and also a railroad town, did not suffer in the same way as regards population. In 1920 it had 11,000 inhabitants, in 1950 somewhat over 12,000. However, the great days of mining were past. In 1924 there had been 44 mines in the area producing 3,200,000 tons of cooking coal (BH 734). Three-fourths of the town in 1962 was Hispano. The Italians still were an element, between 5% and 10% of the population. Slavs were at one time numerous. The mature Italians learned Spanish from their co-workers, but true Anglos disdained to do so. Except for a few old people everyone was able to speak English in 1962 and there were a great many children who knew no other language. However, the Hispanos were conserving Spanish better than the European immigrants did their languages. A small cemetery six or seven miles up the valley to the west between Sopris and Cokedale contained only Spanish names. The language of inscriptions was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>% of Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900 - 09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 - 19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920 - 29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No Spanish later; still in use.

The ranch country on the plains to the east began to receive Anglo permanent settlers in the early 1870's. They and their children learned Spanish, but the Hispanos on the ranches were largely Engl-ized in 1962.
Mexicans in Denver grew strong in numbers during the 20th century. As a railroad center and as a wintering area for beet workers it early attracted many immigrants from Mexico. Later they were able to enter the economy more generally, particularly working for the government and the municipality and in hospitals. The proportion of Hispanos to Old Mexicans and their descendants is low enough so that they require no special attention. The Mexicans were not stable enough to obtain a separate church or regular mission before 1915. Some time later St. Cajetan's, a "Spanish American" parish, was established on the north edge of the down-town district. Between 1948 and 1960 its serving priests (all with Spanish names) increased from two to three, but its school declined in enrollment from 300 to 285. Dispersal into other parts of the city, promoted by housing projects, was the explanation. In west Denver a mission of St. Cajetan's was operating in 1948; there were also many Mexicans to the southwest. The priests of St. Cajetan's were in 1948 and 1960 serving Our Lady of Guadalupe in the north part of the city, and in the same area so many Mexicans had become parishioners of the Italian National parish of Our Lady of Mount Carmel that one of the three priests serving that parish had between 1948 and 1960 been replaced by a man with a Spanish name. There was no preaching in Spanish there, but people went to confession in Spanish. In the schools of that neighborhood the Mexican children entering school about 1950 all knew a modicum of English, but many of them practiced it so little as they grew up that they arrived at maturity with strong accents. In the schools there was no effort to require the use of English
outside of classes, and Mexican children both in grade school and high school habitually spoke Spanish with each other developing a jargon differing but slightly from that existing in Los Angeles. People with jobs, particularly the men, exercised their English, but still in 1966, largely with Anglos. In that year too, children of Mexican parentage often played together in Spanish, but shifted to English, when they were joined by non-Mexican youngsters. Anglos acquiring ability to speak Spanish were rare, but in this neighborhood of Italian background many of the young learned to understand Spanish nearly as well as the language of their parents.

89.75 *Sugar-beet Mexicans* in Colorado are treated in some detail under Garden City (#47.22). The matter is taken up under that heading because at that Kansas town as in Northeastern Colorado there is a symbiosis of Mexicans and Volgans. (The Colorado sugar beet Mexicans are also the subject of brief comment in #57.93 and 57.94 which deal particularly with Volgans.) In the present sections, considerations defining the situation of Mexicans in Colorado are presented. As noted above, the beet regions dealt with are two, the South Platte Valley in northeastern Colorado and the Arkansas Valley in the southeast. They differ in several respects besides relative size (the northeast is primary). The Hispanos, as contrasted to the workers from Old Mexico, are more important in the north. Though they are here farther from their base, the lines of communication from south of Pueblo to north of Denver are good and the distance from Texas, whence the Old Mexicans came is greater, a fact more important for the exit after the beet harvest than for the
arrivals; in the autumn the tendency to remain on or near the beet fields is greater in the north, particularly, after the Second World War, among the Hispanics who prevailed sufficiently in some towns so that Anglos were willing to call the group Spanish in the 1960's rather than Mexican.

76 The South Platte Valley and its tributaries, particularly those draining from the west, in 1927 was the source of one-third of the beet sugar produced in the United States. About three-fourths of the acreage devoted to beets in Colorado was in this area (T 99). Nine sugar factories were put into operation in it between 1900 and 1906. Mexicans appeared there in 1900, as soon as sugar beets were sown, but their importance as seasonal help was not so great in the early days as later. The Volgans were then the main contract workers in the field rather than the Mexicans, but the Germans soon became growers. In 1909 they were over half of the hand workers; in 1927 less than a third. The Mexicans were one-tenth of this force in 1909, well over a half in 1927 (T 107). In 1909 the Volgans were already one-sixth of the beet growers; in 1927 they were 35% of the total. The Mexicans so classed had increased from .5% to 2.1% (T 187). The Volgans were rather infrequently the employers of Mexicans up to this time; they worked their own families. The mutual linguistic influence of these two non-English-speaking groups was less than might be expected. The first Spanish-speakers in the South Platte area were almost all Hispanics (T 104). They and those who followed came mainly from the coal mining towns just
east of the Rockies (see #89.73). "In 1918 the first bulk shipments of Mexicans from Old Mexico were made when two train-loads were brought up from El Paso . . . The Great Western Sugar Company the largest by far however, . . . extended its radius of shipments into New Mexico and so is able to draw a large supply of Spanish Americans " (T 105). Taylor computed that in 1927 there were in winter 11,000 Mexicans in the South Platte area (T 109), half of them in Weld County, the large county which contains Greeley. In 1920 persons born in Mexico in this area had numbered 1,658 (T 110) out of a total computed Mexican population of 3,132. We are here dealing for both years with "permanent" residents. The Great Western Sugar Company did its best to retain workers in the beet area through the off-season (T 136, NM 181) because thus recruitment was easier. Its efforts were rewarded, it would seem; at least steadily from 1921 to 1927 wintering families increased from 537 to 2,084 (T 139). To promote continuing residence The Great Western Sugar Company made winter advances to the Mexicans (T 176). Beginning a month before thinning the farmer had to provide wages before service, and he had to be supported by banks. Permanent residence was a force for Engl-izing, for beet workers tied to a community had a better chance for ultimate assimilation in every way. There was some shuttling between the beets and the coal mines, not only those mines discussed in the preceding section, but some closer at hand at Erie and LaFayette, not twenty miles north of Denver. Taylor noted that "opinions vary as to the relative merits of Mexican (from Old Mexico) and Spanish-
American beet laborers" (T 151). Those least favored were the sons of immigrants. Favor was closely related to docility. Farmers liked workers who would do what they were told, and the most docile were those with ingrained peon habits. It is to be noted that there was no problem in the Mexicans' understanding directions. "In the valley of the South Platte the Mexicans are scattered during the beet season, usually a single family on a farm . . . The Colorado farmers rarely speak Spanish. The result is noticeable; the Mexicans, even those but a comparatively short time in the United States, speak English better and more willingly than in the Imperial Valley" (T 227). But bilingual development was not swift. Tasks among the beets could well be shown by example rather than precept. Taylor found that "Mexican societies in the beet area of Colorado are neither strong nor numerous in membership" (T 184), not so powerful as in California's Imperial Valley. The explanation lies partly in the mixture of New Mexicans and Old Mexicans. The two groups "don't get along too well" (T 214).

The American G. I. Forum was, however, one society able to enter the South Platte country in the 1950's, and in 1967 was reported by the Hispanos to be "helping the Spanish people." "Spanish Villages" grew up near the sugar mills, and remained centers in the 1960's though the villages were shared with others somewhat and many "Spanish" resided in various parts of the towns.

The problem of school attendance and of segregational tendencies is similar to the problems discussed for New Mexico and California, but the situation in beet regions has some special features because of the calendar of working. The matter, especially for the earlier
days, is treated in the discussion of the beet industry at Garden City, Kansas. By 1967 permanent resident "Spanish" were behaving in schools like the general population. The migrants are treated below in #89.77. The general community pressures to sustain child labor in the fields were doubtless greater in northeast Colorado than in the Arkansas Valley, and especially Garden City. At Garden City only one-fourth of the trade territory was beet growing. Communities in Colorado, where nearly the whole economy depended on sugar, produced collusive capitalistic forces allied with parents and growers, all demanding that children be in the fields in May and October rather than in the schools. The administrators of child labor laws focused their attention where these pressures were greatest.

The Catholic church of the Denver diocese seems to have taken no specific measures for its Mexican clientele in the South Platte until rather late. The directory of 1915 shows nothing in the way of names of parishes or priests to indicate attention; nor is any parish labeled Spanish. The directory of 1948 terms Holy Family in Fort Collins "Spanish" and by 1960 it had acquired a school (105 pupils). At Greeley in 1948 Our Lady of Peace had two priests with Spanish names; so also in 1960 when one of its Missions was termed "Spanish Colony".

Linguistically the Mexicans of the South Platte showed, as we have seen, early signs of Engl-izing, but the constant recruitment of workers from the south which continued indefinitely brought new
blood into the area; and while bilingualism became general, Spanish was not abandoned.

In the 1960's a distinction must be made between those who became permanent residents rather early and were not all beet workers and the migrant population which came in for the growing season. Three-fourths of the latter came from southern Texas, from Brownsville, Corpus Christi, Texas City. Sometimes they worked early in the cotton fields. Many had a regular circuit; from Texas they came to the same farms in Colorado, then to Idaho for potatoes, then to California, and so back to Texas. A lesser number went east to the Great Lakes country in July. At Gilcrest, 18 miles south of Greeley, for example, one-fourth of the regular enrollment in elementary school in 1966-67 was Mexican; the main influx of migrants was at the first of June, but some came earlier. In the larger towns the Mexican proportion of the permanent to the whole school population was doubtless not so great, but in certain quarters it would be heavier, and rarely negligible, for Mexicans were well distributed geographically. Transient population in the towns during summer was also considerable. But with the improvement in methods the proportion of permanently resident Mexican population had risen, and their readiness to accept regular school attendance had gradually become greater. The Engl-izing of the permanently resident group had reached the point in 1967 where teen-agers usually spoke imperfect Spanish, and their parents alternated between English and Spanish freely, not merely at home but with others of their age in public. The old habitually used Spanish. Examples follow.

1967 Data concerning Mr. T. of Loveland. Construction worker. Born near here about 1933; his wife also born in Colorado. He, educated through the ninth grade, is bilingual; speaks Spanish with his mother, who however
knows some English; usually addresses his children in Spanish like his mother. His wife, however, usually speaks to them in English. A daughter, aged 13, speaks Spanish well, another, aged 3, bilingual. Finds many, though, "who just look at you if you talk Spanish."

1967 Data on Mr. A. of Ft. Collins. Construction worker. Born 1933. His father from New Mexico. Speaks Spanish to the Hispanos his age, but circulates freely among Anglos (testimony of an Anglo) and there uses English.

1967 Data on J.A., male b. 1953 at Ft. Collins where he lives in the Spanish village. His grandparents now near Colorado Springs came from near Trinidad. He thought the family had been there a long time. Mother has three sisters in Ft. Collins and some in California. He has 2 sisters and a brother all in different states. Speaks some Spanish, especially with mother, but does not understand the people from Texas who come in the summer. Most boys are like him linguistically. They use English together normally. "Girls are worse; they never talk Spanish."

The establishment of summer schools for migrant Mexican workers began by the 1950's. The state of Colorado first furnished funds for the purposes in 1949. The Federal government began to participate in 1966. The school at Wiggins, thirty-five miles east of Greeley, began functioning in 1955. Fort Morgan had its first in 1967. The citizens of Weld County, the most productive county, had organized a Migrant Council. The matter of day care was in 1967 in the hands of a project of the University of Colorado under a Federal grant. In order to insure migrant attendance at summer schools, Federal workers, "contact men", were then circulating among the arrivals to inform local authorities of the enrollment they could expect.
Enrollment and attendance were not nearly synonymous. In 1966 at Gilcrest the enrollment was over 400; the average daily attendance was 187. The teaching program was that regularly offered in school in an effort to bring retarded pupils up to standard progress — the usual retardation is two years because of irregular attendance. The emphasis in instruction was on English and mathematics. The English of pupils eleven and twelve years old was a particular worry; it was likely to be fluent enough, but sub-standard and not in the usual sub-standard pattern. The linguistic problem with those in the first grade was not considered so great; there were no established habits in English to erase. A program for parents, which meant two meetings during the eight weeks session, found difficulties in communication. The ideas and the vocabulary were not easily absorbed.

89.78 Mexicans in the Arkansas Valley appeared early in Colorado history, much as in the area just east of the southern mountains, but there was no great population of any type until nearly 1870. Las Animas, half-way from the mountains to Kansas, was founded in 1869 and La Junta the next town west became a Santa Fe division point in 1875 (BH 457). These two centers attracted Hispanos from the beginning, and agriculture as it developed, also drew them. Alfalfa and melons as well as sugar beets became profitable crops in the valley. That part of southeastern Colorado outside of the immediate valley went through booms and depressions because of droughts and more favorable years. The towns were affected thereby, farming in the valley less so. Beet growing began as elsewhere in Colorado in 1900. In that year a sugar factory was established in the center of the melon country at Rocky Ford, 11 miles northwest of La Junta, another in 1907 at Las Animas (BH 730). These were built by the American Beet Sugar Company, which had
plants in other regions. The Great Western Sugar Company did not enter this region; the other companies that came here had no investments in the northeast. There were more factories in the La Junta area, notably at Sugar City to the north and some farther east. The Arkansas Valley did not become as great a sugar producer as northeastern Colorado. Clark in 1907 said, "New Mexican laborers have been employed since 1900, but Old Mexicans have come in more recently.... The laborer from Old Mexico was generally preferred to the Spanish speaking laborer from New Mexico.... Immigrants from Old Mexico are displacing New Mexicans" (Cl 488-89). This was true though the first workers from Mexico in 1900 had been driven out. As Clark wrote the sugar companies were advancing fare from El Paso.

Mexican workers from Mexico came into this area for seasonal work as in the north. Eventually they were of the second generation and the employing farmers drove down to Texas to bring back workers who had done well previously. After the second World War those from Texas and the southwest were supplemented by braceros who in 1962 were looked upon as a normal phenomenon, though not greatly affecting the life of resident Mexicans. The most noteworthy connection between the Arkansas Valley and the South Platte area was that Mexicans came down from the north during the slack beet period in the latter part of the summer to pick melons at Rocky Ford (T 123). The relations with Garden City, Kansas, have been closer as regards the Mexicans, but along the Arkansas River in Colorado the Volgans have not the same importance as in the South Platte area and at Garden City. For the Arkansas Valley the directory of the Catholic church showed no special recognition of a Spanish element in 1900. By 1915 Our Lady of Guadalupe had been founded in La Junta, and Ordway had a mission at Sugar City which would likely be for Mexicans. In 1948 Lamar, 56 road miles east, had a church consecrated to Our Lady of Guadalupe. Las
Animas, though the town was reported to be one-third Mexican in 1962, had no Catholic church in 1900 and nothing recognizing a Spanish-speaking element among its people in 1915, 1948 or 1960. Mexicans were attracted to Las Animas by employment opportunities at the Fort Lyons Naval Hospital.

Mexicans in the Arkansas valley have been noticeably Englished but are, none the less, frequently given to Spanish. At La Junta in 1962 there might be children living with grandparents who began school ignorant of English, but there were also young parents who used English habitually at home and had children ignorant of Spanish. Adult negroes who had lived among the Mexicans here all their lives had sometimes acquired no Spanish. On the other hand the priest who arrived in 1952 ignorant of the language soon became fluent in its use. He did not, however, preach in Spanish but brought in a Spanish colleague for novenas at holiday season. At Las Animas too most Anglos did not acquire Spanish, but Mexican children were in general still conversant with it in 1962. At Lamar in 1962 there was in process an active effort to eliminate the national character of the two Catholic churches. At St. Francis's, 3 altar boys out of 22 bore Spanish names, at Our Lady of Guadalupe, all 9 of the boys had Spanish names. The thirst for Spanish sermons was satisfied by missionary priests on week days only. The children of parents 35 or 40 years old had learned Spanish; children of younger Mexicans heard English from their parents. Old people might be bilingual only to the extent of understanding English, able to carry on conversations with those who understood their Spanish without being able (or willing) to answer in that language. The influence of rather recent immigrants from Mexico accounted for the fact that the Spanish was freer of English borrowings than in the San Luis Valley. At Holly only a few miles from the Kansas border the linguistic situation was much the same as at Lamar though Mexicans were both absolutely and
Mexicans outside of the southwestern states were in 1930 more numerous at census time in Kansas (19,150 fb. + fmp.) than in any other state except Illinois (28,906). Michigan was next (13,336). Then followed Indiana (9,642), Oklahoma (7,534), Wyoming (7,174), Nebraska (6,321). Michigan, because the relations and parallelism between Mexicans there and those in Kansas is minimal, receives scant attention in this study, though its comparative importance grew. In Illinois (and Indiana) the center of interest is Chicago (19,516); its railroad and meat packing industries parallel those in Kansas City — and Omaha. The greatest part of the Mexicans in Wyoming were attracted by the beet fields on the North Platte; in Nebraska the fields on both of the Platte Rivers accounted for half of its Mexicans. We shall assume that Mexicans working beets within these two states presented phenomena similar to those in the beet areas of Colorado and consider them no further. Omaha (940) receives some additional attention. Most of the Mexicans of Indiana were in or near Gary (8,915) and they may be treated with Chicago. The Mexicans in Oklahoma present cases similar to those in Kansas, and therefore will occupy us. Kansas City, Missouri (2,984), possessed a Mexican colony very closely linked with that in Kansas City, Kansas. For consideration of it see Kansas City, Kansas (#47,86). The Mexican groups in St. Joseph and St. Louis are small enough to make it reasonable to pass them by, as also Mexicans elsewhere in Missouri. Missouri, by contrast with Kansas, has had few Mexicans outside the large cities.

Until 1916, Mexicans in Chicago, according to Taylor (T-II, 27), were a factor of no importance. In 1910 residents of Illinois born in Mexico numbered 672, four times as many as ten years before. These early residents were presumably seasonal workers on railroads in the state. In 1913 there were fifty or sixty families in Chicago. The railroads running to the Southwest were
instrumental in bringing in the Mexicans, particularly the Santa Fe and the Rock Island (T-II, 33). Save for an exceptional and comparatively small company on the Chicago north side, Mexicans in steel mills or the like did not become numerous until the closing months of the First World War. In meat packing they were hardly worth counting until 1920 (T-II, 46). In 1948 these were still the three industries employing the most Mexicans. Of twenty to twenty-five thousand Mexicans in Chicago in 1948, four thousand were steel workers; one or two thousand were in the packing houses; most of the rest of their labor force was still with the railroads (Bu 68). Their settlements did not develop boundaries as sharp as those in the cities of the Southwest, and there was early a more marked tendency to live outside the colony. The chief employment agencies placing Mexicans were not in any of the settlements but on Canal Street on the north edge of downtown. The agents frequently spoke Spanish or something similar enough to do business. Here was one of the few places where capital made an effort to deal in Chicago with the Mexicans in Spanish (T-II, 64 ff.). The oldest and for some time the most concentrated Mexican district was denominated by Taylor as the Hull House Colony just west of the southern part of downtown Chicago. Here the Mexicans were mingling with or displacing other immigrant peoples. The church which Taylor considers one of the two most important for Mexicans is St. Francis of Assisi, a few blocks east of Hull House. In 1915 it was a German national parish served by one priest — German. In 1948 it was served by the Claretian Fathers, who specialize in the Spanish-speaking; one of the four priests bore a Spanish name. In 1960 two of the six Claretians had names clearly Spanish and two more, including the Provincial, names probably Spanish. The center of the stockyards is thirty blocks south of Hull House, and in 1928 the Mexicans had districts to the east, west, and southwest. Here too they were mingling with and displacing other peoples. No national or quasi-national parish developed here.
Mexicans in the Calumet area gathered around the steel mills. The three principal settlements were: in South Chicago north of the Calumet River as it turns east to empty into Lake Michigan, at Indiana Harbor beyond the state line very near the shore in East Chicago, Indiana, and in Gary, Indiana. They imposed their stamp most firmly upon the South Chicago district. Taylor tells of "the costly new Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe erected in South Chicago in 1928" (T-II, 213). The Claretian Fathers have served it too. It was still labeled a "Mexican" national parish in 1960. The Indiana Harbor group impressed Taylor even more: "undoubtedly one of the largest concentrations of Mexicans in the region, and its significance is enhanced by the fact that it is still a fairly small community" (T-II, 59). Here too a church was devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe. In 1948 East Chicago had more pupils in its parochial school than South Chicago, 166 to 123. The tables had been turned in 1960 -- 183 to 421. In Gary the Mexicans have had to share a church with the Italians, "St. Anthony's (for the Latins)"; no school. The people with whom the Mexicans were most often thrown in contact in the steel mills of this area were the Poles. The relations were frequently strained.

The Mexicans worked on the railroad at or near Chicago for the Santa Fe, Rock Island, and Burlington before being employed by others. The Santa Fe became the principal canal by which Mexicans reached Chicago. The Rock Island employed more of them, in maintenance work in some years several times as many, but its maintenance force in the area, though larger, shunted fewer men into other jobs on completion of employment. From all the railroads there was a drift out, sometimes a true exodus, to other work, but these southwestern railroads could tap the supplies on the border with such ease that losing Mexicans disturbed the companies little. In the earlier years they also gave them passes back to Mexico on completion of work (T-II, 63). Other trunk rail-
roads did not begin to use Mexicans until 1918 and then only experimentally, but in the following two years they hired many more. With one exception railroads with lines operating only near Chicago did not fall into line by employing large numbers until 1923. The exception was the Outer Belt (Elgin, Joliet, and Eastern) which took on Mexicans more vigorously than all the other lines in 1916 and continued to use them in large numbers (T-II,31). The early Mexicans were mainly solos (T-II, 64), that is, unmarried or with families in Mexico. The turnover was very great. Taylor presents field notes taken in a railroad camp "of a type frequently seen in and near Chicago . . . old box cars . . . [with] additions . . . in some cases . . . to provide extra rooms, covered porches, or open floors" (T-II,260). Mrs. X had come to the U. S. with her husband in 1921, first to Iowa, in that camp four years. Few English-speaking people came around. Movies not comprehensible; she could not read the English sub-titles. Her husband, longer in the U. S., knew some English, but not enough for those titles. Mr. Y had also been there four years. He read La Prensa and passed it on.

Mr Z "was the oldest resident in the camp, having come in 1920." He had built up his place. In the U. S. since 1910 (California). His wife and girls liked movies. Not he. But he spoke a little English, and was ambitious for his children to be expert. He could not read English. Mr. XZ had been here five years and had worked three in the roundhouse. The Greeks on the gang five years before had managed to get the Mexicans blamed for trouble [evidently the Mexicans could not debate in English]. Scenes and interviews such as these could have been taking place in Kansas at the same period. The isolation of Mexicans in railroad work did not make for Engl-izing.

89.34 Mexicans in meat packing in Chicago were non-existent till 1917 (T-II,37); in that year only eight were employed. The numbers increased in the next two years, went into three figures in 1920 and was above 600 in 1923 and the years
following through 1928. Some of them came from Kansas City. Swift's and Armour's, who had plants in Kansas City, had more Mexican employees in absolute numbers than other companies, though the proportion was somewhat lower in the late 1920's than in the Hammond and Omaha companies. At Swift's and Armour's out of 449 Mexicans hired in 1928, 205 had worked next previously in packing houses, 181 on railroads (T-II, 74). Taylor did no interviewing, it appears, with packing house Mexicans. Remarks from others indicate that English-izing was not far advanced among them in 1928. Those who gained some slight proficiency in English tended to become boarding-house keepers or operated small businesses. But those who knew English had preferential standing in securing work in the packing houses (T-II, 267).

Mexicans in the steel industry in South Chicago and beyond became important when brought as strike breakers in 1919 (T-II, 34). In 1920 they were numerous in the plants at South Chicago and Indiana Harbor. The Gary works used 312 in 1923 -- only eleven the year before. Gary never did employ as many as the others. The peak year was 1926 when 6,168 were employed by steel mills (T-II, 36). (Meat packing had 1,113 in 1928; 13,000 on railroads in 1926.) Of 1,974 steel workers in 1928, 800 had worked during their next preceding job on the railroads (T-II, 74). "In 1922, but even more in 1923, several steel plants transported several thousand Mexicans to the region from Kansas City and Texas" (T-II, 35). The Mexicans preferred to work in the steel plants. Since the use of English there was nearly a necessity (T-II, 95, 258, 269), the industry definitely helped to develop bilingualism among the men. Taylor's Mexican informants among steel workers usually were more or less proficient in English and had been in the United States for a decade or more. Such was not the case for all steel workers. He furnishes no statistics breaking down the length of residence in the United States for
workers in steel companies as distinguished from those in packing houses, but the 2,000 employees whose length of residence in the United States he analyzes were two thirds from steel, one third from packing. Over three fourths of them arrived in the United States in 1922 or later (T-II, 51).

Mexicans in Chicago in other occupations were employed by industry and commerce in small numbers in 1928. There were also beet working families that wintered in the city -- some in each of the settlements (T-II, 70).

The practice was common enough so that Chicago was a center for recruitment for the beet fields (T-II, 70). Taylor found the existence of varied employments significant as compared with other areas where Mexicans were numerous. There was greater opportunity for acculturation -- that is, from the point of view of this study, for Engl-izing. One of Taylor's informants ignorant of English had to get other Mexicans to accompany him while looking for work: "You have to coax them very hard to come with you to help you out by interpreting" (T-II, 267). He succeeded in getting a companion. "We went to the many leather and harness shops. In one they needed a man right away. They were almost taking me in when they found out I could not speak English. They told me to come back later when I knew even a few words."

The Mexicans of 1928 were little interested in unions. They struck with others who were going on strike, but, if not part of the striking force, might become strike breakers. There was a linguistic side to the situation. A union official said: "We had a Mexican interpreter go around with me and they would pay me dues but they would not pay him when he went alone" (T-II, 119). Another said: "They don't take much interest in the union even when they talk English." One reason for holding out was the concomitant necessity of taking steps toward naturalization, which Mexicans in Chicago as elsewhere were reluctant to do. Another was the incompatibility between frequent moving from one
place to another and union membership. There were other reasons, but linguistic behavior was connected with the two named. The acquisition of English seemed of little importance if one did not expect to remain permanently in the United States. Few Mexicans in Chicago expected to do so (T-II, 276). The Mexicans, like other nationalities, established retail businesses where they could deal in their own language. In Chicago other merchants seem to have sought to attract them less often by providing bilingual clerks than in many cities; too many languages were necessary here. There were, however, some 200 employed in "American" businesses.

*The large mail order houses and some importers and exporters used them as interpreters or in clerical or stenographic capacities in which knowledge of Spanish and English was useful: Marshall Field, and perhaps other large stores, also employed a few. Clerks of this type were usually of the middle class of Mexico, and usually were called 'Spanish' by Americans. Others were engaged in smaller stores in order to draw Mexican trade: drug stores, clothing stores, 10-cent stores, groceries, and a few in banks; a few Mexicans were engaged in the employment departments of a few of the large plants employing many Mexicans. . . . A considerable proportion, particularly large in 10-cent stores, were girls and young women. Most of the clerks were born in Mexico and educated there, with sometimes additional education in the United States* (T-II, 166). The girls in the 10-cent stores were evidence of the relaxation of the Mexican custom of keeping girls at home. Both the employment and the spirit of rebellion exemplified led to Engl-izing.

The religion of the Mexicans in Chicago, as elsewhere, has been Catholic except in the case of a small minority. The complaints of the Catholic clergy were the usual as regards Mexicans, except that there was a greater consciousness of the adverse effect of ritualistic differences. The existence of such differences indicated a tendency in the clergy not to accomodate to Mexican traditions.
The condition existed doubtless in greater measure where the Mexicans had no church of their own. At St. Francis's, for example, a German church in origin, the early tendency was probably to expect an effort to use English in the absence of proficiency in German. Taylor remarks on the situation: "The Mexicans do not go readily to the numerous Catholic churches of their neighborhoods which are attended predominantly by particular European nationalities" (T-II, 213). Protestants, who always regarded Mexican groups as proper fields for missions, were particularly active in Chicago. As Englishizing factors they were less important, even when religiously successful, than might be thought. "The gulfs of customs and color as well as language separate the congregations of the same denomination" (T-II, 211). Segregation seemed proper.

School attendance by Mexicans provided problems in truancy somewhat more frequently than occurred in other stocks (T-II, 172), and drop-out was early (T-II, 178). But even the children of beet workers while in the city generally attended school. The schools were almost always the public schools, but even in parochial schools the Mexicans were mixed with others. Taylor contrasts the situation in schools with that in the Southwest. He finds the same evils, but much mitigated. "Segregation is not practiced, social ostracism by other children is not pronounced, the [relative] economic position of Mexican families is often better, and if necessary, pressure is brought to compel attendance at school. The result is more effective education and assimilation of Mexican children" (T-II, 181). The assimilation was far enough advanced among children so that, different from their parents, they desired to stay in the United States (T-II, 276).

The Englishizing of Mexicans in Chicago proceeded rather rapidly. There was prejudice against Mexicans, but it was mingled with so many other nationally directed prejudices that its segregational impact was not so great as else-
where; there "was the bickering between children of different immigrant
groups . . . largely members of the same social and economic group" (T-II, 180).
Still the prejudice had to a certain extent the effects usually engendered,
both in driving people toward the use of English to escape from ill treatment
and in creating a desire to withdraw into exclusively Spanish-speaking sur-
roundings. Taylor reported on informants who said foremen discriminated
against them even when they knew English, so why learn English? (T-II, 111, 270).
They revenged themselves for rejection by attacking English: "They despise
and make fun of a Mexican of their class who learns English. If heard spea-
k ing it on the street they mock and make fun of him" (T-II, 175). Still the
economic advantages of learning English were greater in Chicago than elsewhere,
and the motivation was powerful among adults. Also the opportunities were
numerous, for, except on the railroad maintenance gangs, Mexicans were usually
working with others (T-II, 255). "The obstacle of not knowing the language
was repeatedly emphasized to us by Mexicans who could speak English and by
those who could not, by Mexican businessmen and by laborers who at the time
we met them were in despair because [lack of] knowledge of English was barring
them from the employment of which they were in dire need. In the necessity for
knowing English the difference between South Texas and Chicago was striking
and recognized by the Mexicans" (T-II, 214). The newspaper Mexico (December 8,
1926) commented on what happened to the young: "Those who come here as
children or are born here are influenced by education, habits, simultaneous
acquisition of Spanish and English, often preferably English, combined with
a systematic official and private campaign of Americanization" (T-II, 216).
The same paper had said earlier of children (April 11, 1925): "How easily . . .
they express themselves in English, and sing and converse with their little
friends. They are completely Americanized . . . I am not one to criticize
Mexican children because their children speak English well and are educated in
the schools of this country. No, because I myself was one . . . . But I did not lose my customs and above all my language" (T-II, 273). The writer goes on to lament not loss of oral proficiency but of ability to read and write Spanish.

Already in 1928 there was a certain amount of inter-marriage, primarily cases in which single men from Mexico had taken non-Mexican wives (usually from the peoples of the New Immigration -- T-II, 247). The great preponderance of males among Chicago Mexicans favored the practice. The inevitable result, even though the women married were immigrants from Europe or their daughters, was Engl-izing. However, in 1928 Mexicans were only slightly Engl-ized, for the immigration to that city was only twelve years old.

In the 1960's the Calumet area received Mexicans from elsewhere in the United States, often the old. Whether it was the influence of these people or of others, young persons who came here were retaining proficiency in Spanish better than contemporaries left in Kansas.

89.89 Mexicans came to South Omaha primarily to work in the meat packing houses, though the railroads employed some of them. Being late arrivals among the immigrant peoples working at the packing plants, the majority of them took up residence farther west than the others. Probably because the distance from work was inconvenient, the colonia did not become so concentrated as in most cities. Perhaps because of their distribution, perhaps because their numbers were relatively restricted (see #89.01) and in competition with the newly arrived immigrants from Slavic areas, discriminatory practices against Mexicans were mild, and they "Americanized" more easily than in Kansas City and Topeka. Still in 1951 they were quite faithful to their language, though proficient in English if young. The Church of the Holy Ghost then had one mass completely in Spanish and two others in which announcements were made in both Spanish and English. No completely Engl-ized families were reported among them.
Mexicans in Oklahoma are most numerous in the southwest cotton growing area and in the two cities, Tulsa and Oklahoma City. They were also numerous during the period of railroad prosperity in the railroad towns. Since the latter offer situations parallel to those in Kansas, they are studied below in some detail. The settlements in Oklahoma City and Tulsa also provide parallels to the settlements in Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita, and therefore deserve a particularized report. The southwestern area, important because of its cotton crops, receives brief consideration.

Statistics for Oklahoma on Mexicans.

Persons born in Mexico resided in Oklahoma after it became a state as follows in census years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>6,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1,196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the Oklahoma population born in Mexico was then largest, counties where more than 59 foreign-born Mexicans resided in 1920 are listed below. Some of these counties contained temporary work crews and are listed to show the existence of this phenomenon. Notes on locations are sometimes added.

- Bryan: 250 on Red River
- Caddo: 84 contains Anadarko (see below)
- Canadian: 60 contains El Reno (see below)
- Carter: 115 near Red River
- Coal: 75 near McAlester mining
- Comanche: 417 contains Lawton (see below) near Red River
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Location/Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>near Red River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellis</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>against Texas Panhandle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garfield</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>contains Enid (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grady</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>contains Chickasha (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>near Red River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>on Red River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>on Red River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>contains Ponca City (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latimer</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>near McAlester mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>northeast of Oklahoma City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClain</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>south from Oklahoma City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>further south from Oklahoma City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>contains Oklahoma City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okmulgee</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>near McAlester mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osage</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>contains Pawhuska (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnee</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>southwest of Osage (railroad construction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payne</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>southwest of Pawnee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburg</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>contains McAlester and mines (see under Tulsa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottawatomie</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>contains Shawnee (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tielman</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>on Red River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulsa</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>contains Tulsa (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>contains Bartlesville (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woods</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>contains Waynoka (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodward</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>southwest of Woods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For cities of Oklahoma with over 10,000 inhabitants, persons born in Mexico resident in 1920 were (all are treated in following sections, McAlester with Tulsa):
Mexican settlement in Oklahoma began with the opening of the territory (concerning which see #57.70 ff.), for railroad construction was among the earliest activities. In 1889 there were Mexicans in the Unassigned Lands. The major influx began as with other states between Texas and Chicago, about 1900. The decline of the railroads and the depression of the 1930's reduced the number of Mexicans, but the packing houses of Oklahoma City and various industries in the Tulsa district retained many of them. Cotton picking attracted others in the southwest. Since the Second World War there has been a trickle of immigration into Oklahoma City. The smaller places have also contributed to the population of the urban colonies.

The attitude of Anglos toward Mexicans in Oklahoma shows much variety. In the old Indian Territory, the Indians have been the object of prejudice, and the Mexicans suffer from the same discrimination aggravated by their greater adherence to a language other than English while circulating amongst Anglos. In the old Unassigned Lands there is more variety of Anglo disdain; the minimum is found in Oklahoma City. The attitude is always a factor in Engl-izing; isolated Mexican groups are more linguistically conservative than those more nearly accepted.
As examples of the fortunes of Mexicans in northern Oklahoma let us consider from east to west Bartlesville, Pawhuska, Ponca City, Enid and Waynoka. In 1966 most of the Bartlesville contingent of Mexicans (some 18 out of 22 families) lived in Dewey, four miles to the north. (In 1960 Bartlesville, ca. 28,000 population -- Dewey, ca. 3,000.) The first of them arrived about 1900. The Santa Fe came to Bartlesville in 1898. Dewey, through which it was built, was founded in that year (Ru 145). The railroad had been attracted by oil discovered the year before. There were 275 Mexicans in the county in 1930; 74 born in Mexico in 1940, of whom 38 in Bartlesville. The Mexicans were in 1966 employed mostly at the oil refineries and cement plant. The Anglo attitude was unfriendly. The few who lived in Bartlesville, though comparatively well-to-do, sat in rear pews at church. The neighbors in Dewey were overtly hostile in speaking of the Mexicans, who outside of their own group associated only with Indians. Probably as a result, Spanish was well preserved; the sons and daughters of immigrants spoke well, and half of the third generation were proficient.

Most of the Mexicans aged between 16 and 50 had gone elsewhere to seek their fortunes. The feeling of a need for education was present, but it had grown slowly. The Mexicans in Dewey had their own Our Lady of Guadalupe mission. In 1900 Bartlesville and Dewey were Catholic missions served from Pawhuska by a Flemish priest. In 1915 Bartlesville had its parish, and Dewey was one of six stations served "occasionally" by another Fleming; the oil fields were still relatively new. In 1948 Dewey was the only station served from Bartlesville, and its church was yet unnamed in the directory; the priest was Irish. So he was in 1960 and 1966, but the directory registered the name of the mission. This is a history of gradual recognition of the Mexicans as the Catholic
element in Dewey. It includes no linguistic recognition.

**PAWHUSKA** (founded ca. 1870, in 1950 population 5,331) was until approximately 1920 primarily the trading town for the Osage Indian reservation. When the oil fields developed to the Southwest, the Santa Fe railroad built a line from Caney, Kansas, through Pawhuska, and thus in the early 1920's brought many Mexicans to the area. There were 137 Mexicans in the county in 1930; 47 born in Mexico in 1940. The ten families who remained in town in 1966 were the remnants of this first immigration. The situation was similar to that at Dewey and Bartlesville. The people were old or else children (15 pupils in parochial school out of about 140); the best non-Mexican friends were Indians (Negroes were enemies). Some of the old were yet more conservative linguistically than at Dewey and knew only Spanish; the second generation exercised its English as little as possible, that is, those who remained in Pawhuska; those who had achieved education had left. The few with jobs worked at Bartlesville. They sat in the back of the church because "they were humble"; at least they felt that other Catholics, who included Indians, were good to them, not like Protestants. There were several railroad pensioners, some on relief. **Biography of Mr. E** — born in Guanajuato, 1890; to U. S. with father's family, 1912; family worked on railroad; from Bartlesville to Pawhuska, 1921 — wife born Guanajuato — 7 sons, 4 in California, 1 in the Pentagon (army officer), 1 an entrepreneur in Bartlesville; 1, born 1921, working with E for city — wife speaks only Spanish.

**PONCA CITY** (founded on Santa Fe in Strip Run of 1893, became important in oil beginning in 1915; in 1960 population 25,000). In 1966 all but two families had moved to Tulsa or Oklahoma City; Cubans and Puerto Ricans were more numerous. The two wage earners left were a janitor and a laborer for an oil company. **ENID** (on the Rock Island, built through in
1890; town founded on the opening of the Strip in 1893; Santa Fe and Frisco came 1897 and 1903; in 1960, population 42,500) held 83 Mexicans in 1930, 36 born in Mexico in 1940, sixteen Mexican families in 1966, part of whom belonged to personnel at Vance Air Base. The Champlin Oil Company had been the principal employer; the company transferred or discharged the heads of six families in 1960. Some wage earners still with that company. Several retired people, one barber. They lived mostly in the southwest part of town, but were sufficiently scattered as not to see each other frequently except at church. There they sometimes spoke Spanish with each other, but were afraid to do so lengthily "for fear of being ignored by the rest of the congregation."

The young people spoke no Spanish. They were not bitter about their treatment by the community. Biography of Mr. R. Aged ca. 30, born U. S. of parents Baptists from Saltillo. Wife also born U. S. Both speak some Spanish, but prefer English. Their daughters do not speak or understand Spanish.

WAYNOKA (founded 1893 on opening of the Strip on the Santa Fe line from Wichita to Amarillo; became a railroad town with shops and an ice plant. In 1950 population 2,018); Mexicans here sufficiently numerous to organize a fiesta; there were 260 in 1930.

The towns in the Unassigned Lands of Oklahoma (Oklahoma City excepted) received their original colonies of Mexicans from the railroads. The colonies have dwindled with the fortunes of the railroads.

SHAWNEE (in 1960, population 26,500) was founded in 1892. Its first railroad which was a little later to become the east-west line of the Rock Island, arrived in 1895. The Santa Fe built through in 1902. Both lines established shops, which in 1922 employed "some 900 workers" (Ru 205). Then came the shop strike, and deterioration of railroad prosperity. Mexicans began
arriving by 1899; most came after 1911. In 1930 there were 102 Mexicans in
the county; in 1940 there were 33 born in Mexico. In 1966, 14 Mexican families,
12 of whom were made up of old people on Social Security benefits. All Catholics;
they felt unaccepted because of religion rather than race (the biography deals with
the exception). The two families not among the old have young children (18 in
the parish); parents employed in the Fernandez dress factory. Spanish poor, but
spoken by old. Parents of children know some Spanish, but prefer English.
Children know no Spanish. Biography of Mr. F. Born San Antonio 1918. Parents
to U. S. from Monterrey 1911 to escape army. Tailor, then proprietor of dress
factory. Fully accepted in community. Children know no Spanish.

CHICKASHA (founded 1892, in 1950 population 15,482). "The Rock Island made the
city a division point and established shops there" (Ru 307). The railroad brought
in Mexicans "by the hundreds in the late 1890's," perhaps earlier in the decade.
There were 201 Mexicans in the county in 1930, 24 born in Mexico in 1940. In
1966 there were twenty Mexican souls in the town, three families and five
single persons (maids). The three families are headed by members of the
second generation who had schooling, speak fluent English, but almost no
Spanish, their children none. All but one family (it is Baptist) are
poor and looked down upon. The exodus of those most unhappy with this con-
dition has been to Oklahoma City. None work for the railroad now. Biography
of Mrs. M. Born Guadalupe 1903 -- orphaned, to an aunt in El Paso very young.
Married a Mexican from Juarez. Two sons, one in Duncan in south Oklahoma with
children who speak no Spanish (Anglo mother), the other in Ohio with children
who speak Spanish. To Chickasha ca. 1930; widowed 1943; isolated but for an Anglo family

ANADARKO (in 1950, population 6,184); the coming of Mexicans, similar
to that at Chickasha but later. The town was founded in 1901 upon an
opening of lands in the area. The Rock Island built through then, In
1930 there were 690 Mexicans in the county, in 1940, 74 born in Mexico. In
1966 there were 32 Mexicans. Social situation as in Chickasha; here two
families are Baptists and better off. Three retired railroaders born in
Mexico. Few of second generation; they work in Oklahoma City and come see
the children left with the grandparents. The children hardly speak Spanish;
poor Anglo children consent to play with them. But discrimination is severe,
partly heightened by a similar attitude toward Indians. The old speak
Spanish habitually but badly. Biography of Mrs. G. Born El Paso, 1888, to
San Antonio, married in 1904. Widowed; lived 1966 on late husband's railroad
pension. Spoke little English. Trips to Texas twice a year to see children.
No other contacts since her mother's death in 1961.

EL RENO (in 1950 population 10,991). In 1889 the town was the terminus of the
Rock Island, and soon, between 1896 and 1902 (Mc 275), became the crossing point
of the east-west and north-south line. For a long time an important Rock Island
town with shops. There were 123 Mexicans in the county in 1930, 29 born in Mexico
in 1940. In 1966, two Mexican families, one Protestant, one Catholic, the latter
with many children attending parochial school and nearly ignorant of Spanish. Their
parents, whose father and mother were immigrants, able to speak Spanish, did
not do so. Old retired Mexican railroaders have died off since the 1950's.

OKLAHOMA CITY (in 1960 population 305,000) was founded in 1889, and the
next year baptismal records show that there were Mexicans in the town. The
Santa Fe had already built through the townsit. In the next two decades
four other railroads had joined it. One focus of Mexican settlement developed
south of the primary rail junction, in turn south of downtown. Another
focus grew up in Packingtown, farther west and near the Rock Island tracks.
In 1930 there were 988 Mexicans in Oklahoma City, 542 of whom had been born
in Mexico. In 1940 the foreign born had fallen to 312, but those belonging to later generations had increased. In 1966 there were about 600 families (large) of whom 30 were Protestants. Though Mexicans became numerous rather early, they were such a large proportion of the Catholics in Oklahoma City that they received no recognition as a separate "national" clientele until 1914, except that from 1891 to 1893 the priest bore a Spanish name. In 1914 the church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was created for them. There preaching was in Spanish until 1964. At the same time there had come into existence a station in Packingtown which developed into the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe labeled as "for Mexicans" in 1948 but with no such label in 1960. Carmelites served both places in 1966, a Spaniard at Mount Carmel, a Mexican-American at Guadalupe, but the Carmelites had not found native speakers of Spanish for the places in all years. In 1948 there was an Italian, in 1960 an Irishman and a different Italian. No special Mexican festival now exists. The fiestas at Mount Carmel have been abandoned. The Mexicans have remained in the southern part of the city, but have spread far from the old focus, diffused through this part of the city where most people are in modest circumstances. The territorial diffusion is in harmony with the social status of Mexicans in Oklahoma City. They have gained far wider acceptance than in any of the towns so far discussed. In general they have been able to penetrate into any occupations for which their education fitted them. Consequently the city has been the goal of those departing from other towns. Few now work for the railroad, many for the packing houses, many at Tinker Air Force Base, and many elsewhere. Intermarriage has become quite common, though regarded with disfavor. The result frequently has been withdrawal from the group and consequent Engl-izing. General acceptance has not exerted a conservative
linguistic force. An observer of 1966 reported: "I should say that the use of Spanish has depended upon the individual family. There could never be a logical explanation as to why this kid speaks and that one doesn't. Generally, all youngsters up to age twenty hardly speak Spanish in Oklahoma City. Those whose parents were born here may understand some words, that is all. If the parents were of the first generation and if they spoke Spanish at home, the children probably do also. Sometimes one meets the opposite situation: people who should not be able to speak because they were not raised in a favorable atmosphere, do speak, and so well that they embarrass the others who do not." Biography of Mr. M. Born 1884 in Nuevo Leon; to U. S. railroading in 1902. Retired from railroad 1950. Sent for a wife to his native village. Educated four sons and two daughters, well placed. Furious at the discontinuance of Spanish preaching. Good Spanish. Biography of Mr. G. Born 1920 in U. S.; brought to Oklahoma City with two brothers in late 1920's. Mother died 1936. Wife also born U. S. in 1920, five children. Both understood Spanish, but used only English; children learned no Spanish. An Americanized laborer who has had little to do with other Mexicans.

TULSA (in 1960 population 255,000) came into being in 1882 as the trading point at the terminus of a railroad which was eventually part of the Frisco system. The townsite was in the territory of the Creek Tribe just beyond the confines of the Cherokee lands, where white men could not be licensed to do business unless by marriage they became members of the tribe. The whites found it convenient to become Creeks too, and Tulsa (Tulseytown) was for two decades a shipping point for cattlemen who were largely mixed breeds. Oil was discovered in Indian Territory in 1901, and with it railroads became more active. The Katy (Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad) ran a branch along
the Arkansas valley and the Santa Fe built south from Caney, Kansas, through Bartlesville to Tulsa and beyond. This activity seems to have brought the first significant numbers of Mexicans to Tulsa, though some Mexicans are said to have been there a few years earlier, probably drawn by the coal mining that was beginning in the neighborhood. Coal Mining was soon overshadowed by the oil industry, but the mines continued to function in Tulsa until 1938 and employed Mexicans. Coal mining in Indian Territory was much more important farther south, particularly in the McAlester area, also near Henryetta. These fields employed Mexicans when none were to be found in Kansas mines. The 1909 Senate investigators (p. 30) found nine foreign-born Mexican employees in the McAlester area and 114 with a Mexican father. In 1930 in Pittsburg County where McAlester is located there were 821 Mexicans, in 1940 83 born in Mexico. The Mexicans in this southern coal mining area will not concern this study further, but it is highly probable that with the decline of coal-mining quite a number of them were drawn to Tulsa. As the fortunes of the railroads and mines diminished, employment opportunities for Mexicans in Tulsa broadened, at least after the end of the depression of the 1930's, and Mexicans are to be found in various occupations. However, the acceptance by the general population has been far less than in Oklahoma City. Tulsa's race attitudes were generous before the oil days, but Whites and Negroes who came in with oil prosperity developed hostilities, and there were race riots in 1921. The atmosphere thus created has reflected upon the Mexicans. In 1920 there were in Tulsa 168 persons born in Mexico, 346 in the county. In 1930 the Mexicans in Tulsa numbered 294 of whom 143 were foreign-born. In 1940 the number of foreign-born was 125, a much smaller decrease than is found in many places. In 1966 there were some 2,300 Mexicans living in the Tulsa area. Religiously the Catholic Mexicans in Tulsa were
part of other parishes until 1928; then a mission was organized near the coal mines and served by Carmelites from Oklahoma City. The shut-down of the coal mines closed it for a time. In 1948 it had been reopened, and the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe appears in the Catholic directory as "for Mexicans," so also in 1960. In 1962 it was for the first time housed in a building designed for worship; then the abolishment of a national parish as such in favor of territorial parishes scattered its membership. In the revived mission, local clergy -- not native speakers of Spanish -- were in charge. The mission has therefore been both a source of linguistic conservation and of Englishing. Drawing the Mexicans together helped preserve Spanish; the character of church government tended toward assimilation to the dominant culture. Ten per cent of the Tulsa Mexicans are Protestant. The Mexicans, probably because of the attitudes of other Tulsans, are more closely drawn together than in Oklahoma City; inter-marriage is rare. A certain number of Mexicans, however, have escaped from the lowest economic categories, particularly into municipal and governmental employment. In 1966 the ambition to acquire education was more general than the surroundings would suggest, much greater than in Wichita if not so great as in Oklahoma City. But the loyalty to things Mexican remained. The annual fiesta was important, and about fifty families a year went to pay a visit to Mexico. The second generation spoke better Spanish than is usual among the children of persons born in Mexico and living in other parts of Oklahoma. Approximately half of the third generation was able to converse in Spanish. The population statistics quoted above suggest that these later generations make up the bulk of Tulsa Mexicans; the explanation is in the size of the families and in accretions from smaller places.
Biography of Mr. R. Born in Aguas Calientes in 1900; to San Antonio for three years in 1917. From 1921 to 1956 with a large food company in Tulsa, later a restaurant keeper. His English accented. Married a girl from Guadalajara in 1924; four sons, no longer in Tulsa but all proficient in Spanish. All high school graduates, one with a college degree. Grandchildren know no Spanish; their parents do not use it with them. Biography of Mr. L. To Texas, already grown, from Chihuahua in 1911. Railroad pensioner since 1951 eking out living with odd jobs. Poor Spanish; incomprehensible English, but a devotee of television because of what can be seen.

The Mexicans of the western half of extreme southern Oklahoma have increased in numbers because of the growing of cotton along the Red River and near by. The county showing the heaviest population has been Comanche where Lawton is situated, and where Fort Sill provides work outside of the fields. In periods when the fort is not greatly active the area is not favored by the Mexicans for wintering. In Comanche County there were 417 persons born in Mexico in 1920, 404 Mexicans in 1930, and 54 born in Mexico in 1940, of whom only nine were in the city of Lawton. Linguistic conservatism among the Mexicans appearing in this area is reported to be great.

Mexicans in Oklahoma, not including the original immigrants, have yielded to Engl-izing forces rapidly except where numbers have been comparatively large and, as at Tulsa, segregational forces have been rather strong. Hostility varies from community to community (as may be said for Kansas).

Mexicans working on railroads in the United States have been referred to repeatedly in earlier sections. They were introduced into the north mainly
by the railroads, usually through El Paso (Sections 88.20, 88.64, 89.42). They served the railways in the southwestern states, and the role of the Santa Fe at San Bernardino, California has received particular attention (# 89.65). In the north their employment on railways has been particularly noted for Chicago (# 89.83, also 89.81). The distribution in Kansas through the railroads has been treated (# 45.1, 45.2), in Oklahoma (# 89.90).

In the late 1870's and the 1880's the railroads in the southwest were using Mexicans as construction laborers. Shortly after the opening of the twentieth century the railroads running from the north into the southwest, particularly the Santa Fe and the Rock Island, began to make use of Mexicans farther north. The use became steadily more extensive, and in 1914 with the outbreak of war in Europe, need for Mexicans became imperative; it was aggravated by the entry of the United States into combat. McWilliams summarizes employment data as follows: "Since 1880 Mexicans have made up 70% of the section crews and 90% of the extra gangs on the principal western lines which regularly employ 35,000 to 50,000 workmen in these categories. In 1930 the Santa Fe reported that it was then employing 14,000 Mexicans; the Rock Island 3,000; the Great Northern 1,500; and the Southern Pacific 10,000. According to the census of 1930, 70,799 Mexicans were engaged in transportation and communication mostly as common laborers on the western lines and as maintenance workers" (NM 168). For a decade following the First World War more and more Mexicans were employed with some disturbance in demand during the shop...
strike of 1921. Governor Young's fact-finding committee in California named the following as the railroads employing many Mexicans in 1926: Santa Fe, Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Denver and Rio Grande, Western Pacific. The Mexicans furnish two-thirds of the section workers, 90% of men on extra gangs (MF 91). For 1927 McLean quoted Roy Kelly, Southern Pacific official, as estimating Mexican railroad workers and their families at a quarter of a million persons (ML 159). The railroads began seriously to feel the competition of trucks on the highways at nearly the same time as the depression of the 1930's weighed upon the country. The cutback in railroad employment reduced the number of Mexicans in railroad communities greatly. If they did not return to Mexico, they tended to gather in the large centers. The development of the diesel engine, and the extensive abandonment of branch lines in the succeeding decades have concentrated the Mexicans yet more at only the most important points of railroad activity.

90.10 The work on railroads to which Mexicans were put was always unskilled labor. Their rise to anything better has been quite rare, partly doubtless because of discrimination, but also because the progressive contraction of the railroad labor force has narrowed the opportunities for advancement. At the very first the Mexicans were used for extra gangs, not only for completely new construction, but also very soon on bridge gangs, extensive rail replacements and double tracking. Even in the beginning a season
on an extra gang would lead to employment on section gangs, that is, on maintenance crews assigned to specific sections of the track line. In this area Mexicans have been important ever since, insofar as contraction of rail lines has allowed. Mexican labor gangs at round houses and shops (equipment, repair or construction points) were common in Kansas by 1914. There were also in these places a certain number of other humble jobs where Mexicans who had acquired a smattering of English might be employed. Each of these types of employment will be discussed in succeeding sections because the social environment for each was enough different to affect linguistic behavior.

For extra gangs the railroads liked Mexicans, Clark reported in 1907 (Cl 477); they were steady workers. He first quoted to this effect "a trackmaster who had worked various kinds of labor in southern Kansas," who concluded, "We send a man every spring to the Rio Grande to get our men for the summer. We have to keep our engagements with them, or we can't get any men the next year" (Cl 477). Another official said, "Our chief difficulties are due to ignorance of the language, and to the rough ways of our foremen -- who sometimes frighten the Mexicans so they won't work" (Cl 478). The tradition among foremen that "rough ways" were the only means of getting work out of Mexicans was widespread in an industry where mild ways were hardly customary. Supervisors fired easily and hired easily, and employees quit or risked dismissal as easily. Extra gang work seldom led to En-gl-izing, for jobs could
not last long, and a Mexican like any other employee might call for his time or be sent for it at any moment. Men on the extra gangs were usually "solos" who were easily nomadic (inter alia, Fr 38). There were, however, also men with families on some gangs (Cl 480), but there were no contacts with communities near by, no push toward Engl-izing. The early custom of giving passes back to El Paso (Cl 479) did not promote Engl-izing either. Railroad section workers, Mexican or not, might be as nomadic as men on the extra gangs, but the tendency to stay on and finally found a family existed. Clark reported, "A large labor contractor, who is also an employer said: 'I have not found Mexican laborers irregular on section work. They often average about twenty-five days a month. Some stay on the same section seven or eight years. Much depends on the foreman. I can tell the character of a section boss by the number of new men he wants' " (Cl 478). Loyalty to a foreman might cause movement as well as lasting residence. Taylor records such a case. At Melvern, Kansas, on the Santa Fe an inspector found a rail one inch distant from the next rail. He fired the foreman, and the Mexican crew all left the job in protest. Taylor's informant found his way to Topeka and then to Chicago. He had been before in Emporia and Barclay, Kansas. This was in 1916 (T-II, 264). The nomadic cases were the more numerous, but the railroads encouraged permanence and boxcars on a siding or off their trucks a little farther from the rails serving Mexicans as residences became an ordinary sight between 1910 and 1930. There were also
section houses made of upended railroad ties no longer usable with mud filling the interstices between them. Ultimately, they were replaced by better housing, either put up by the rail companies or acquired by the Mexicans from others. These dwellings might be practically in the open country as at Barclay or adjacent to a very small town as at Melvern (368 inhabitants in 1940). In 1909 58% of the Mexican maintenance men who were married had their wives with them (Se 470). If the Mexican families held out in such an environment, they might become accepted in some sort by the community, largely through the education of their children who normally grew up bi-lingual, speaking bad Spanish, and slightly accented English.

90.13 Mexicans at railroad division points, where there were round-houses and sometimes car repair tracks, and in those centers with shops for overhaul of locomotives lived in larger communities than most of the section workers. Most of these towns located in Kansas and a number in Oklahoma are discussed elsewhere (Oklahoma, Sections 89.90-89.99; Kansas, see accounts of Arkansas City, Chanute, Dodge City, Emporia, Florence, Goodland, Herington, Independence, Kansas City, Newton, Parsons, Salina, Topeka, Wellington, Wichita, Winfield). If Mexicans formed a labor gang or a substantial part of a labor gang, they drew into a unit accessible through a cabo somewhat proficient in English. They were normally assigned to tasks requiring their activity as a group and their opportunity to communicate with workmen other than their foreman was so limited that they could not make quick
progress in learning English. If a Mexican reached the stage of having an assignment that allowed him to work by himself, which he considered a great promotion (Fr 39), he has ordinarily acquired some English earlier, and he had some occasion to communicate with non-Mexicans. His English became adequate for all purposes. These were the individuals who established families earliest. The Mexicans usually lived in a colonia and if there were no other industries employing them, as was usually the case, though not in Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita, it was located close to the railroad on the "wrong side of the tracks." This topographical segregation was voluntary, or rather enforced by the limited economic resources of the Mexicans. They were stimulated to acquire enough English for trading purposes, because merchants seldom found it worthwhile to provide Spanish-speaking sales personnel. The communities also enforced the laws of school attendance rather conscientiously so that children became proficient in English. Discriminatory attitudes existed in these towns, much more hostile in some places than in others.

90.14 Mexicans in the railroad towns suffered even more than others at their economic level during the depression of the 1930's because of the larger proportionate contraction of the railroad business. The colonias shrank, sometimes to the point of disappearance, but the families who weathered the period were able to acquire property outside their ghetto when they had the desire and the resources, and in many of the towns the Mexicans are somewhat scattered, not into all parts of the towns, but at least among others of comparable economic prosperity. The children as they grew up rather frequently
obtained adequate educations, and sometimes became completely English. They have tended to seek opportunities elsewhere, a phenomenon common to most stocks. Often the young women were accepted into employments with somewhat advantageous status more easily than the men, and while they worked, the grandparents, on pensions from the railroads, brought up the children, thereby giving the third generation more occasion to learn to understand Spanish. The speaking proficiency of the third generation has not usually become great however.

90.15g Railroad employment of Mexicans no longer plays the important part that it once did. Where the railroad towns have developed no other industry, the average age of the Mexican stock is high. In such places, Spanish is frequent among the Mexicans, but the young are not apt to cultivate it. Where other industries exist, as in major cities, the identity of the Mexican group is better maintained, but the quality and frequency of Spanish is low.

90.20 Mexicans in sugar beet areas have been treated elsewhere in this work, incidentally for Michigan, Wyoming, and Nebraska (No. 89.80), at some length for the South Platte area in Colorado (No. 89.76, 89.77) and the Arkansas Valley (No. 89.78, 89.79) in that state. The history and characteristics of the industry and its development in Kansas are dealt with in the section on Garden City (No. 47.22). McWilliams asserts that the pattern is everywhere the same (NM 183) and stated: "Today 66% of the 100,000 workers are Mexicans. In states such as Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and North Dakota, Mexicans constitute from 75% to 90% of the labor supply" (NM 181). The particular example that he develops from the hearings before the Tolan committee in 1941 concern a few of the 3,000 Mexicans transported from Texas to Findlay in northwestern Ohio.
The linguistic effect of employment of Mexicans in beet growing has been conservative of Spanish. Children working with their parents in the fields were exercised only in Spanish. The interruptions in schooling from work in the fields and from migrant life reduced the exposure of children to English. Better observance of child labor and truancy laws have in late decades decreased this effect, but the laws have been imperfectly enforced even after mid-century.

Mexicans employed in the meat packing industry became important after 1920 in all centers. Mexicans in meat packing in Chicago are treated in Section 89.84, in Omaha in 89.89, in Oklahoma City in 89.96. For Mexicans in Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita, see Sections 47.86, 47.96, 47.97.

The linguistic effect of the employment of Mexicans in meat packing has not been conservative of Spanish. Railroad work and beet field labor did not tend to break down the Mexican custom of keeping women within the family, but the packing houses employed women and either through economic pressure or the emancipation of the second generation of girls a number of them found jobs there. Packing house employees worked under conditions that threw all nationalities together and Mexican employees were thus encouraged to use English.

Mexicans in the salt industry were more important in Kansas than elsewhere. See for Lyons, and Kanopolis Sections 47.83, 47.89, 47.85. The salt industry is analyzed briefly in Section 38.0. The linguistic effect of Mexican employment was on the whole similar to that described for meat packing but the location of the salt works in relation to the rest of the town with consequent isolation or integration of a Mexican quarter with the rest of the community played a part.
Mexicans in other industries have not been numerous. They were rarely employed in the mining and smelting in southeastern Kansas, more frequently in eastern Oklahoma (No. 89.97) and particularly in Colorado (No. 89.73), also in Arizona (No. 89.57, 89.58). The linguistic effect was Engl-izing in Chicago, somewhat less so in Oklahoma and Arizona, rather the contrary in Colorado. Cement plants have hired a few. The labor demands in the years since 1941 have distributed them into a variety of occupations, none very lucrative, but still promoting Engl-izing. Particularly notable in utilizing them are the governmental agencies where discrimination on a racial basis is forbidden.

Mexicans outside Kansas have had a wider variety of agricultural employment than within the state. Cotton picking was discussed for Texas in Section 89.46 and incidentally for the Imperial Valley in California in Section 89.67; employment in gardening and similar agriculture in Texas, the Arkansas Valley, and again in the Imperial Valley in Sections 89.37, 89.78-9, and 89.67. The linguistic results from these occupations is parallel to that from work in beet fields. Cattle and sheep ranching flourished in the southwest where Spanish had taken root before English. The sections of this work on New Mexico, southwestern Texas, and the San Luis Valley of Colorado (89.37, 89.41-42, 89.10-29, 89.71-2) treat conditions in these places. The isolated rural life conserved Spanish.

The Catholicity of most Mexicans has enabled us to identify geographically Mexican activities in various cities (Denver, Chicago for example) and more frequently to follow linguistic developments. Because Mexicans are believers
without being in many cases practicing Catholics and, though much less often than in Mexico itself, tending to anti-clericalism, the churches do not furnish as much guidance to linguistic investigation as with some other stocks. The hesitancy of the episcopal authorities, especially in New Mexico and Arizona, to urge vocations upon the people in Hispano or Mexican parishes for fear of encouraging objectionable practices rooted in popular beliefs, has resulted in the prevalence of pastors that are not Mexican even if they bear Spanish names. The consequent readiness of pastors to promote Engl-izing has been great. This readiness has however, been neutralized by a reluctance among the parishioners to accept clerical guidance.

90.31 **Mexican national parishes** have probably come into existence no more easily than other national parishes, for they have always been created by the desire of a group to worship in its own way with its own language, but Mexican parishes have been more likely to persist as such because of the desire of other Catholics to avoid contact with the people in them as members of another race. Priests and church authorities are of course on principle hostile to such an attitude, but their principles may not be as strong as their desire to promote smooth operation of the parishes. They may for instance accept separate seating for Mexicans in parishes that are perforce mixed. On the other hand, especially in the years since the public has acknowledged racial segregation to be a social vice, the clergy has often made conscientious efforts at integration. These are always Engl-izing in character, for the effort is invariable to render Mexicans indistinguishable from their neighbors. Still, priests working with Mexicans
acquire Spanish, and they advocate similar proficiency among government agents of various kinds dealing primarily with Mexicans (F 365). If the Catholic church is an agent for conservation of Spanish among Mexicans, and there would be general agreement that it is, it is by the will of the people and not by any effort of the clergy or hierarchy (F 294-95). The number of Spanish-speaking priests is much greater than the number with Spanish names. Irishmen and Germans learn Spanish if they are assigned to Mexican parishes, because they must communicate with their people, among whom the most devoted may have small desire to use the English that they know. The church has organized the National Catholic Council for the Spanish-speaking, and in the Southwest there is the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish-speaking. It seeks to lead the Mexican to adopt an "American way of life" without exerting offensive pressure (F 295).

Protestantism among Mexicans has not made great progress, but it is for no lack of missionary effort. There have been conversions in Mexico itself and Protestants from Mexico sometimes come to the United States, but most Protestants have become such in this country. Missionary efforts are seldom directed to bringing Mexicans into Anglo congregations, rather to maintaining organizations in Mexican colonias. Their principal Englishizing forces result from the isolation of Protestants from other Mexicans and from relations with Anglo mentors. Social relations with other Mexicans become very limited. But the Englishizing force is minor. Segregation from Anglo congregations is almost absolute, and missionaries to the Mexicans exert real efforts to become Spanish-speaking. They may even have been reared in Mexico as the sons of missionaries and be more at home in Spanish than in English. There are also Protestant ministers of Mexican stock,
many more in proportion than there are Catholic priests brought up in Mexican parishes. These ministers maintain their command of Spanish.

90.33 The schooling of Mexicans has been more poorly done in the United States than for any other immigrant stock, in the case of the twentieth century immigrant largely because so many of them have been in migrant families, but also because of discrimination on racial grounds. Hispano schooling in New Mexico and Colorado has been better than education of Mexicans elsewhere because of back-country conditions strengthened by long tradition. Even in cities with little racial prejudice against Mexicans and with a permanent element in the population, school attendance among Mexicans has been influenced by the habits of a migrant wintering population. Discriminatory attitudes have injured the education of Mexicans not only by depriving them of the best equipment and instruction through segregation, though segregation has been only de facto since the years following the Second World War, but also by creating a sense of the uselessness of school training, since occupations requiring it would be closed to Mexicans. Such considerations apply more vigorously to imperfections in Negro education, but coupled with the school problems usually attendant upon the presence of a foreign linguistic stock, the results are not greatly better for Mexicans.

90.34 The public elementary school, despite the problems, has been the strongest agency for Englishing Mexicans, as has been true with other stocks. It occurs to no one in authority that in communities where the population is almost all-Mexican or Hispano that the language of instruction might be Spanish (cf. NM 290). It is universally English, there has been no requirement (until 1963 in California -- F 298) that teachers where Spanish speakers are predominant.
should know Spanish. The general education of children who hear only
Spanish at home has doubtless suffered thereby, but their English has
been improved. Even when, as in New Mexico, teachers have sometimes
been so basically Spanish-speaking as to offer a poor model in English,
the school has certainly been the strongest Engl-izing factor. Segregation
of children, not on the basis of race, but for lack of knowledge of English
has some justification, but it has been and may easily become a blind for
poor facilities and instruction, and has therefore been pursued in the
courts of Spanish-speaking areas (Bu 77 F 292). Because a number of colonias
have remained into the 1960's virtual ghettos which may become the whole
of school districts and in which preschool children are monolingually
Spanish, the characteristics of the segregated Mexican school have not
disappeared (F 298) everywhere, but in Kansas the phenomenon, limited to
Kansas City, has ceased, and in general the same thing may be said for all
the country except some parts of the southwest.

High Schools in districts where Mexicans live are not segregated, though,
as at Corpus Christi, they may become in large part Mexican in enrollment.
They make, and need make, no effort to adjust instruction to limited knowledge
of English; the students are by then proficient in English. High school at-
tendance by Mexicans has been limited not only because they are retarded by
poor attendance and other bad conditions in grade school, but also because
they see few vocational advantages for education in a society that condemns
them to jobs requiring little education. Mexican girls profit more by
continuing school than boys, and so the girls are more numerous in high school
The high schools are not, where there are many Mexicans, necessarily an agency for converting bilinguals into English monolinguals. Among teenagers small groupings are more firm than later, and racial prejudices drive the Mexicans together. They become clamorous in defense, and the badge of membership in the clan is the ability to use Spanish, and a Spanish not taught in classes nor perhaps used at home, frequently *calo*. They are, however, being unconsciously driven toward ultimate Engl-izing, for they are already accepting English as the only written language important to them and as a generality evade the opportunities to become truly literate in Spanish. Those who see a possibility of becoming Spanish teachers or of going into foreign trade or international relations are the most important exceptions. Others, if they enter fields where ideas must be fed by the written word, become habitual thinkers in English.

**90.40** *Mexican societies* of more than local character played little early part in the life of Mexicans in the United States (the same may be said for Hispanos). The immigrants were unaccustomed to such organization on their arrival. Like other immigrant stocks they early developed mutual aid societies, but these were evanescent in character and never achieved national organization. Conditions in California agriculture brought them to organize sufficiently to carry on strikes, but the unions thus formed did not become permanent nor powerful over wide areas. Until after the First World War it is safe to say that no Mexican organization either promoted or retarded Engl-izing.

**90.41** *Mexican societies* regional in scope came into prominence during the 1920's. The oldest (Bu 102) is a lodge called the Alianza Hispano-Americana. This society is conservative of the use of Spanish. In the
1960's its meetings, at least in Phoenix (F 294), were conducted in Spanish and various programs promoted Spanish. The Honorary Commissions under the aegis of the Mexican consuls, created to promote Mexican patriotism to the homeland (which is everywhere intense into the second generation) were also conservative of Spanish.

Fishman notes, "We [he and his associates] have been unable to locate practically any organizations in the Southwest dedicated solely to the preservation and development of the Spanish language and Hispanic culture" (F 294). Regional organizations other than the Alianza and the Honorary Commissions in seeking to advance the economic and political prosperity of the raza, and its general prestige have been agents for Engl-izing. They insist upon participation in the affairs of the general community, and for that English is needed.

The League of United American Citizens, LULACS, became an interstate organization in 1929 (Bu 101). It became prosperous in Texas and in part of New Mexico (F-S56) but made less impression farther west -- or north. English is the official language of the organization and it has urged learning and using English. Its ability to exert political and social pressure has given it some power, conservatively exerted, but the LULACS are so to speak the benevolent aristocrats among the Mexicans and so not a profound influence upon their masses. Something similar may be said of Mexican Service Clubs, Incorporated, flourishing principally in New Mexico and Colorado (Bu 103) and of the Community Service Organizations of California (F 293). The clubs were first organized through government
funds granted in 1944 to the Colorado Inter-American Field Service Commission (NM 279). The Colorado Federation of Latin-American Organizations and the Political Action for Spanish Speaking Organizations are at work in political domains (F 293).

90.42 The American GI Forum is the Mexican organization that has been of the greatest importance in Kansas. It was organized shortly after the end of the Second World War. The voting members were veterans, but all relatives could join. It became strong in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. It entered Kansas in the 1950's; by 1955 it possessed at least three chapters in the state. At that time it was then entering communities farther north, specifically, South Chicago and Lorain, Ohio. In the 1960's it was of great social importance among the Mexicans, but its most important declared aim was from the beginning the advancement of the education of Mexicans. The means employed were not merely exhortations to people of the stock; political power was exercised. Anglos might be members and were at Del Rio and El Paso, Texas, but the general membership included few besides Mexicans. Its official language is English, and there is emphasis on the use of English. Though it has carried on propaganda in Spanish, and though Spanish in social activities is certainly not discouraged, the predominant influence is Engl-izing.

90.50 The Spanish press among Mexicans has had less importance than the press among several other peoples, because of the high proportion of illiterates who immigrated, and the low maintenance of literacy in Spanish among Mexicans and Hispanos born in the United States. The publications of the Southwest have, however, been numerous and their effect preservative of Spanish. Some have been all Spanish, some bilingual. The exodus from the United
States to Mexico in the 1930's and the drop in buying power meant a precipitate fall in the circulation of all Spanish periodicals. There has been gradual recovery so that in the 1960's there are almost half as many readers as in 1930. Bilingual circulation has advanced during this period. Its steady increase till it became half as great as the all Spanish is more significant than the behavior of the purely Spanish circulation. The Spanish press over the United States as a whole made a much larger increase in circulation during the period 1940-1960, to be explained by the influx of Puerto Ricans and the beginning of a Cuban demand. El Opinion of Los Angeles is the leading Spanish daily in the Southwest. It is good but "consists of only a few small pages" (F 296). The other cities supporting newspapers in Spanish are on or near the border. A very considerable leap in bilingual circulation between 1930 and 1940 is to be explained by the coming of age of the children educated in the United States. (On the newspaper in San Bernardino, California, see Section 89.65 near end.) In Kansas the influence of the Spanish press has been minimal.

Radio has had among Mexicans in the United States an effect distinctly conservative of Spanish. This phenomenon is in contrast to what has happened with other immigrant stocks. While other languages have found their way into the broadcasts in the United States, such broadcasts have been smothered beneath the avalanche of English. Broadcasts in Spanish have on the other hand been numerous enough both from beyond the border and from stations in areas of Spanish-speaking population in the United States so that a Spanish program could be tuned in at will. In 1960 the
number of stations broadcasting in Spanish in the Southwest was approximately 200 (F 296). The hours per week per station were 18. These statistics are all for stations in the United States. To these must be added stations south of the border. The reason for the multiplicity of these broadcasts is of course that they are profitable to the advertisers on the radio stations. A public can thus be reached that cannot be procured by the printed word either in Spanish or in English. The appeal of the Spanish programs is as much because of the Mexican's taste in music as because of his liking for his language, but no matter why a broadcast is tuned in, the listeners' ears are still exercised in Spanish. The total effect of Spanish radio is rather to promote bilingualism than to keep Mexicans or Hispanos monolingual. There are many programs in English to which they wish to listen even along the border, specifically, baseball games. The effect of Spanish radio programs has been less in Kansas than farther to the Southwest. Spanish programs heard there in 1950 usually came over short waves (Fr 47). In Kansas the cinema has exerted a more conservative linguistic influence than the radio. In three principal cities theaters have regularly presented films in Spanish, but in 1950 "oftentimes the young people are bored by the Spanish used" (Fr 47). The report of 1966 was similar. The "films are popular except to the teenagers who would rather see the latest hits . . .'than see a second class Mexican movie!"

Television lacks many of the possibilities of conserving Spanish possessed by the radio except within range of the stations on the Mexican side of the border. When the programs are of local origin the possibilities are the same as for radio, but since most programs come from the networks
and since only inserted advertising could be in Spanish for them, television stations can find little time and no prime time for Spanish; some time is, however, allotted to that language. Kansas may be said to be completely unaffected.

90.60 Mexican social structure, at least in respects most affecting language usage, bears a close resemblance to that of the Mediterranean area, implying that the Spaniards transferred to the conquered Indians something besides language and a modicum of blood. At any rate the importance of the extended family is great, the authority of the father is paramount, the women are restricted to the home, the girls are closely supervised, and the boys, though under the authority of the father till marriage, are little supervised in their mores. As with other stocks with such concepts, in confrontation with the customs of United States, the most serious points of conflict have lain in the matter of authority of fathers and the treatment of women. Fathers ceased to know best when confronted by a civilization with which the next generation through school and army service had had more extensive dealings. With wives authority lasted longer than with children. Humphrey asserted in 1944, "Most Mexican women in Detroit have remained subordinate, home-centered creatures" (HuD 624). Women could not be confined to the home when there was economic distress which jobs taken by them could relieve, nor when girls found that they could escape from domination by becoming economically independent. Of financial independence of the young that came with the Second World War when families were partially emancipated from fathers, and daughters from families, the influence was Engl-izing. It is more important that when the emancipations did not take place or were not pressed,
the influence was conservative of Spanish. Women rarely worked in factories for many years (Cl 495), and thus the possibility of contacts with outside American was diminished. Fathers could hold the whole family in the beet fields, and thus their linguistic habits would remain like his.

90.61 **Mexican girls** after they have completed their education, even if that includes high school, will frequently become their mothers' companions for a number of years. They may have become essentially Engl-ized during their schooling, but back in the home they speak the language of their mothers' and become habituated to its use. When they marry, if their husband has not been Engl-ized, they continue to be Spanish speaking. A husband may indeed be Engl-ized, rather certainly will be if he has had experience outside the colonia — army service or employment afar. All in all, the possibility for the young couple to remain faithful to the language of their fathers' is greater than for most stocks; childhood influences to the contrary have been less strong.

90.62 **The Mexican boys** who have been closely bound into teenage Mexican groups or gangs may have a defiant insistence upon using Spanish even when they flout paternal authority, but certainly the tradition of respect for age makes them tend to remain bilingual. Employment, however, continues the pressures of schooling, and the young men who have passed the age most given to rebellion are likely to be the strongest advocates of the use of English, at least champions of bilingual proficiency.

90.63g **The sanctity of Mexican marriage** has been a theme often stressed by commentators on Mexican immigrants in the United States (for example, NM 84); but there are also often remarks on the separations necessitated by the
husband's search for employment. Apparently this habit of separation became more marked during the depression of the 1930's and the difficulties of finding work whether near or far from the family led to frequent desertions. "The deserted wife is coming pathetic and a surprisingly common figure among the Mexicans," said Ruth A. Allen in 1931 (A 139). The mother would then be forced into employment as soon as she could get it, and the children would be brought up by grandparents. If this phenomenon became common in the depression it cannot be said to have become less common later. Inter-marriage with other stocks, which had existed in small degree since the early days when the proportion of male immigrants to female was very high, became not uncommon during the period of the Second World War, and too often these marriages failed, leaving a Mexican to bring up small progeny. There are many more Mexican children in the care of grandparents than is true of most stocks. The grandparents are able to act in this capacity because old age pensions of various types allow the old to live in what their past experiences make them consider comfort. Children brought up by grandparents at least become proficient in understanding the language of their guardians, and until they are of school age, or perhaps forever, will be glad to reply in the same language.

90.7 Segregation of and discrimination against Mexicans is a phenomenon to be found wherever Mexicans are numerous. It is less marked in the great northern cities than elsewhere. In these the Mexicans arrived almost simultaneously with the "New Immigration" whose members sometimes had physical characteristics identifying them almost, though not quite, as easily as American Indian blood. Outside of these cities it is always possible, as commentator after commentator remarks, to find people who aver that the
Mexicans are a step above Negroes, but that they aren't white and cannot be accepted as such. This attitude is most pronounced, as in the corresponding case of Negroes, among people in economic competition with Mexicans or in fear of such competition. The result is residential discrimination more marked than economic insufficiency would usually engender. It also brought about school segregation which has been rather completely abolished except as it is a consequence of ghettoizing. More importantly, however, the scorn of the Anglo results in the avoidance of the company of Mexicans and, at worst, in insult and physical conflict. Assumption of the dress and speech of the general population is not sufficient to disguise the Mexican, as such behavior has done for many immigrant stocks. Forced to maintain a separate social existence, the Mexican is likely to continue using a language of which he may be proud. But the Mexican youths have not been satisfied to be different linguistically from Anglos. They invented calo, which developed a certain uniformity in all cities (F 291), but which weakens standard Spanish so that it competes less well with English. Because of his physical characteristics, the Mexican, unable automatically to be absorbed into the mass of American citizens, has a lessened stimulus to become an English monoglot. Outside of the Southwest, he very frequently becomes one after a lapse of generations, but his acceptance of English has been retarded.

90.8 Englizing of Mexicans is going on. With most immigrant stocks the process is in the 1960's completed or so near completion that the loss of the immigrant language is certain; with Mexicans and Hispanos there is no such evident conclusion. Along the border Spanish actively competes with English. In the great cities of the Southwest there are extensive quarters
where one hears primarily Spanish from people of all ages. In the Hispano area of New Mexico there are stretches of territory where English is rare. In more northern cities, bilingualism sometimes gives promise of being more than a transitional phase. McWilliams cites a merchant of Lorain, Ohio, who had "sold thirty-six typewriters to Mexican residents in a year, all but two of them equipped with a Spanish language keyboard" (NM 223). The typewriters were doubtless used mostly for English, but the added accent mark and tilde announced the will of the purchasers to type Spanish also. The 1940 census showed that only 7% of persons born in Mexico or having parents born there called English their mother tongue, the lowest percentage of all the groups considered in the mother tongue survey. Three factors make for this conservatism besides those acting upon other immigrant stocks. One is the closeness of Mexico, allowing for visits and pulsations of immigration, and for importation of movies in Spanish and of radio programs. The second is the high proportion of migrant seasonal workers among Mexicans, making schooling less effective than with any other group and necessarily isolating the family. The last is racial animosity. Gamio reporting for the late 1920's said: "The number of immigrants who learn the English language in the United States appears to be rather small, due to the fact that during their hours of work they do not have opportunity to learn it, and during their free time they constantly talk Spanish" (G 231). But Eng-lishing had already begun. Gamio was neglecting the young. A corrido (ballad) quoted by Taylor (T-II, vi) in 1932, probably written a decade before, contains these lines "Many from down home don't want to talk what their mammas taught them" (Hablar no quieren muchos paisanos lo que su
mama les enseñó) and again "My kids speak only English, our Spanish doesn't suit them now" (Mis chilpallates hablan puro inglés; ya no les cuadra nuestro español). Humphrey says of the Mexicans in Detroit in 1944: "The children speak English among themselves, and Spanish to their parents... When the children leave home after marriage...they virtually stop speaking Spanish" (Hu D 626). We have seen similar testimony from other areas. In smaller towns Engl-izing was by no means complete in the late 1960's, but it seemed inevitable provided the Mexicans remain in such places to be Engl-ized.

90.9 Prognosis as to whether the Mexican and Hispano stock in the United States will successfully resist Engl-izing is hazardous, but except along the border Engl-izing will probably occur. The young, as in Albuquerque, will probably be unable to resist the only language that they know as an instrument of intellectual culture. The general disrepute in which discrimination and racial animosities are held in the 1960's -- at least legally and governmentally -- encourages transfer to English more than the maintenance of Spanish is encouraged by the high repute of polyglotism and by sympathy for the plight of the Puerto Ricans in New York City. Indeed, recognition of the Mexicans' problems, leading to governmental action and concerns, typical of the closing years of the 1960's, entails, at the same time as efforts by minor officials to work in Spanish, a general need on the part of the Mexicans to make their complaints and desires understood by those competent in English only. The increasing deviation of the Spanish of the western United States from Castillian and from standard Mexican usage because of vocabulary borrowings from English and from caló jargon may eventually convince many Mexican Americans that their Spanish is not true Spanish and therefore of little value as a voluntary mark of superiority.
The continuing efforts to see that Mexican children receive proper schooling militate more clearly and probably more powerfully in the same direction.
The only Celtic language spoken by any group in Kansas was Welsh. No Frenchman can be identified as a Breton, much less as a speaker of Armorican. The very considerable numbers of Irish already habitually used English upon arrival. None of the Scots are recorded as having been Highlanders speaking Gaelic. There were almost no Manxmen. On the other hand all the Welsh who gathered in settlements spoke Welsh and made great efforts to preserve the language. They were like the Russian Germans, the West and South Slavs and the French Canadians in having come from lands where they had had to defend a language whose use was attacked by those politically powerful; they differed from the Slavs and Russian Germans in having to defend themselves in the United States against the same language which they had been combating before emigration. They differed from the Canadians in lacking as a support a language fully developed for scientific and economic work. Inasmuch as the Canadians made little use of this area of development in French, a more important difference was that Wales had been much more thoroughly infiltrated with English than Quebec.

Bibliography for Welsh

In the United States as a whole the phenomenon of large numbers of immisced Welsh immigrants is true perhaps even more than for Kansas. Consequently, the numbers of Welsh in an area do not always reveal the cultural importance of that area. Still the census figures for those born in Wales have their importance. They closely paralleled the trends of other stocks belonging to the "old immigration", a rise till 1890 then descent.

Persons Born in Wales Resident in the United States, 1850-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>29,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>45,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>74,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>83,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>100,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>93,586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>82,488</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foreign-born Welsh were most numerous in the state of Pennsylvania during the years of greatest numbers present in the United States.

Earlier in the century when agriculture was more important than mining to the Welsh in America, the states most important for the Kansas Welsh, New York and Ohio, showed greater relative importance in this regard. Pertinent census data for those states and others having close relations with Kansas Welsh follow. It should not be assumed that all foreign-born were speakers of Welsh, especially in industrial districts. Probably half were not (see #92.0).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fb.</td>
<td>fb.</td>
<td>fmp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penna.</td>
<td>38,301</td>
<td>35,449</td>
<td>53,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>12,905</td>
<td>11,481</td>
<td>23,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>8,108</td>
<td>7,304</td>
<td>11,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>4,138</td>
<td>4,364</td>
<td>7,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>4,297</td>
<td>3,356</td>
<td>7,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>3,601</td>
<td>3,091</td>
<td>6,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>1,862</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>2,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>1,182</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>2,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>2,488</td>
<td>2,009</td>
<td>3,953</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comparatively late tendency of immigrants to go to the cities is illustrated by New York and Chicago. (A high fmp. relative to fb. represents older settlement.)
New York City in 1900 and 1910 held 23% of the state's foreign-born Welsh. The ratio, fmp./foreign born, in the city was in those years 119% and 128%; in the state it was 163% and 164%. Chicago in 1900 and 1910 held 42% and 44% of the foreign-born Welsh in Illinois. The ratio, fmp./foreign born, was 145% and 158% in the city; 163% and 184% in the state. Of the population of Scranton (102,026) in 1900 over 4.5% had been born in Wales. By then the "new immigration" had largely displaced the Welsh in the mines. The importance of Welsh somewhat earlier in the coal mines is revealed by this percentage. Some idea of the distribution of the most nationally-minded of the Welsh in America may be gained from the location by states of the congregations of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in 1906, though it must be borne in mind that the church was stronger in some communities than in others and that the denomination lost congregations west of the Mississippi before 1875 by refusing financial aid to the struggling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fb.</td>
<td>fmp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>1,686</td>
<td>1,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>2,630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Congregations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minn.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Dakota</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penna.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The average size of a Wisconsin congregation was 75; of one in Ohio and Pennsylvania, about 90. The number of churches was not greatly different in 1920 at the time of union with the Presbyterians (Y 410).

Statistics on immigration from Wales to the United States go back to 1820. The reliability of these statistics is open to question. "Between 1847 and 1860 over 17,000 Welsh entered through the port of New York according to the New York Commissioners of Emigration. Federal government returns during the same period show less than 7,000" (C 6). But the Federal figures will give an idea of trends. In the decade 1820-1829 fewer than 20 Welsh passengers per year arrived in all years except 1823 when 69 arrived. The next decade showed fewer, though there were 131 in 1831. The period 1840-1855 showed these outstanding years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1,176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thereafter data are lacking until 1869, when, not arrivals, but immigrants began to be recorded. The figures then are: 1869 - 660

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>1,597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1,654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>1,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>1,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>1,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1,359 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
After 1899 the immigrants were entered by "race" instead of country of birth. Comparison with the census figures above shows that immigration was greater before 1900. The Immigration Commission, however, must have measured Welsh "race" differently from "place of birth," for the immigration for 1900-1909 totaled 17,149 of Welsh "race," and the 5-year period 1910-1914 12,109, while immigrants born in Wales arriving 1880-1889 totaled 13,163 and the next decade 10,478. The record of emigrants departing did not begin until 1908; for the 5-year period 1910-1914 it shows only 805 -- 87 for 1908, 51 for 1909. The discrepancy between census and immigration figures is not then to be explained by departures.

91.5 Overpopulation in Wales in the nineteenth century became a serious problem. One estimate for the country's population in 1700 is about 400,000 (F 107). In 1801 there were less than 600,000. Every shire continued to increase in population through 1841. Later census figures showed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>1,005,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1,111,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1,217,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1,359,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1,519,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,455,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,640,632</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dip in population shown for 1901 affected rural areas earlier, and the depopulation continued. Two rural shires supplying population to Kansas show these figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cardiganshire</th>
<th>Montgomeryshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>73,441</td>
<td>67,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>62,630</td>
<td>58,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>53,564</td>
<td>44,228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even with improved methods of farming, rural Wales has not been considered underpopulated. The pressure a century earlier was great. In industrial areas the years of overpopulation are a function of the developments of the economic cycle.

Political motives, unless bound up with economic or religious considerations, had little to do with Welsh emigration to the United States. There was no cry for autonomy before or during the nineteenth century. A national spirit did early become manifest and grow increasingly stronger during that period, but it fostered no rebellion against existing government, though it did give rise to indignation against assumption of Welsh inferiority and resentment at appointments of functionaries who had no understanding of nor interest in Wales. These facts are well illustrated by the inquiry of 1846 into the state of education in the Principality. "The Commissioners [appointed for the inquiry] were English gentlemen, lawyers by profession, intelligent, capable, and conscientious . . . . They were debarred from direct contact with the Welsh poor . . . by the fact that they knew no Welsh. . . they had to rely on English-speaking members of their own class with whom they naturally associated and those English-speaking witnesses who gave evidence before them . . . . Their description of working-class education was bound to be depressing" (CW 192). Bad in England, such schooling was worse in Wales except in Sunday Schools. On the evidence of the witnesses, mostly pious men, the Commissioners also concluded that Welsh morals were bad without comparing them to what was to be found in England or any other country. They reported "Widespread disregard of
temperance, of chastity, of veracity, and of fair dealing. Sexual incontinence was the besetting sin . . . the peculiar vice of the Principality" (CW 493).

All the Welsh, no matter of what estate, were furious and spoke loudly. The Commissioners' remedy for inferior education, and other evils too, was to abolish the Welsh language (CW 190). They thereby strengthened a bond, which before had hardly existed, between Welsh nationalism and the love of the Welsh language. To be sure the indignation at the statements persisted only among the elite. Practical and religious considerations continued to determine the attitude toward language for the people as a whole. The poor laws, a source of great bitterness (WS 99), somewhat affected emigration. When their scope was increased, the increase in rates fell on those of low income and promoted escape. The laws provided funds for emigration, and some Welsh accepted (S 47). Party politics played a certain role in Welsh emigration, particularly in 1868 when there were very considerable departures, some of people bound for Kansas. The landlords then as ever were Tories. The farmers in a period of agrarian unrest refused to vote as directed. The Liberals won 21 seats, the Conservatives 9. The landlords evicted many tenants, raised the rents of others, and boycotted shopkeepers (CW 215). This conduct, besides promoting emigration, (WS 110) pitted English-speaking gentry against the speakers of Welsh and tightened the loyalty of the latter to their language.

Religion in Wales was a highly important factor in the nineteenth century, closely connected with the love of the Welsh language. The Bible was translated into Welsh in 1567 (WS 19). Until early in the 18th century, however, the religiosity of the Welsh was rather passive. Dissenting groups, like the Quakers who settled the "Great Valley" in Pennsylvania in
1682, either withdrew from the country or melted away rather soon.
The shift of Britain to a national church under Henry VIII had only
meant that domination from the outside had no distant Rome behind the
powers in London. The Anglican Church was accepted as the Church until
the non-conformists of the 18th century began their work (I 161 ff.).
Their efforts met with more success than elsewhere because the bishops
worked little in their dioceses; they were Englishmen who were always
hoping for some better appointment in their native land. Even after
non-conformism had become very strong, the Anglicans neglected Wales
or, after better bishops were appointed, directed their efforts poorly
because of imperfect background; they did little in the Welsh language.
In the Welsh areas where the industrial revolution multiplied the
population many times over, the parishes were not increased in number
(WM 249), and no additional personnel was sent in. The law, when the
countrysides were no longer Anglican, continued to exact tithes for
the established church. The indignation at this practice was great
in the 1880's (WS 102), and made larger the last great wave of emigration.
Thus, almost to a man, the Welsh emigrants were non-conformists, though
Anglicanism remained common among some of the less mobile, protected
as it was by the gentry. The non-conformist movement was part of the
great wave of pietism that arose throughout Europe in the period, but
its significance was greater in Wales than elsewhere. It brought a
social transformation. It "stimulated the Welsh people to maintain
their formerly vanishing language" (S 32). The movement was wave-
like in character. First there was the Great Revival "renewed by
lesser revivals in the 19th and first decade of the 20th century"
(R 109, cf. WC 116). "Nonconformity gave the native language a new
status by making it the language of religion" (R 129). By it formal and familiar linguistic practice were tied together. In England the movement brought about the successes of Wesleyan Methodism. In Wales, too, the principal movement was called Methodist, but the theological beliefs in Wales were usually Calvinistic in character. At a meeting in 1743 most Welsh non-conformists rejected Wesley (F 96). When after prolonged efforts on the part of the ministers to remain within the established church, a definite separation from it took place in 1811 the denomination was called Calvinistic Methodist (I 198, WM 246). By this name its members who emigrated to America called themselves, and in the east persisted under that name. In the west, however, they were in some places rather soon absorbed into the Presbyterian Church, as congregations, however, rather than individuals. Not all the non-conformists became Calvinistic Methodists.* Some were committed to

*The families of the community of Llanfihangel, investigated by Rees, were distributed in 1940 among the denominations as follows (R 112):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>42-1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvinistic Methodists</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Methodists</td>
<td>16-1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mores relaxed from early austerity the Episcopal Church tended to profit by the relaxation. Also, doctrines had less significance than formerly (R 114). (Such, of course, has been general spirit of the century.) The C.M. Church, says Rees, was, as in America, maintaining its declared hostility to alcohol, but indulgence was creeping in among its members (R 127).
Wesleyanism. Not very numerous in Wales, they were still less so in America and transferred readily into Methodist Episcopal churches in America. The Baptists were perhaps less numerous in Wales than the Wesleyans, but in America they retained their Welsh organization perhaps better than the Wesleyans. The next most numerous group of nonconformists after the Calvinistic Methodists (in some areas more numerous) in Wales called themselves Independents, in the United States Congregationalists. These denominations suppressed hostility to each other here to such an extent that emigrants, until their numbers became numerous enough for separate congregations, worshipped together in Welsh Union Churches. As social institutions in Wales all denominations behaved so similarly that commentators generally treat them together, though Coupland points out that the Calvinists were rightists, and the Baptists and Independents tended to be Liberals politically. "Till the closing years of the Victorian Age, the mainspring of Welsh thought and conduct was still to be found in chapel and Sunday School, in domestic Bible reading, in hymn singing indoors and out, in an occasional revivalist outbreak" (CW 216). The standards of conduct of the devout were Puritanical, and their enthusiasm for the Scriptures and for the expounding of them was very great. They produced fervent preachers who spoke in Welsh and exerted great influence. A number of these men emigrated and became passionate exponents of emigration by others (S 83), able to reach every one because they spoke in the vernacular.

Learning to read and write so as to know the Bible was from early in the 18th century part of the non-conformist program. First hand
knowledge of the Gospels was essential to all the non-conformists. Early circulating schools (I 164) by 1789 (Y 45) gave way to the Sunday School which was a most important institution as developed by the reformers (I 199). It really provided schooling, and excited the more enthusiasm because the state and the Anglican Church had nothing to do with it (CW 121, R 130). Many ceased to be illiterate under this great stimulus and learned to think abstractly in Welsh. In Wales of the 1940's, Alwyn Rees points out, in the Sunday Schools, "The children are taught to read Welsh, which was completely neglected in the day schools until recent years" (R 125). The Sunday Schools of the 1940's were still the scenes of regional examinations set up periodically by the various denominations (R 117). The institution was carried to the United States and was one of the most potent forces in conserving the knowledge of Welsh. The Commissioners of 1846, who, as was natural in view of their background, looked somewhat askance at non-conformism, recognized the great value of the Sunday Schools, though lamenting that they gave no secular knowledge to the children and no instruction in English (CW 191-2).

91.9 The Eisteddfod is a national Welsh institution which has been at once a conservative linguistic force and in the United States a means of measuring the persistence of Welsh linguistic abilities. It is a musical, elocutionary, oratorical, creative-writing contest in which prizes are awarded and local pride in the abilities of participants is demonstrated. In Wales the name was originally reserved for national and regional affairs affecting many communities. In America and later Wales an
isolated community might use it for a similar celebration, but more usually at least three or four contesting communities participate. In Wales successful contestants go on to more and more extensive gatherings. The Welsh have not been much given to other types of societies, fraternal organizations or lodges. This institution, however, though promoting competition between areas, unlike the German Turnverein, or the Czech Sokol, puts the emphasis squarely on verbal accomplishments, while the Central European organizations used physical skill as the nucleus for rival performances. The first eisteddfod took place 1450, though there had been something similar earlier (CW 125). Later they fell out of use, but were revived in 1789 (WS 63, CW 205).

Alwyn D. Rees wrote of the eisteddfodau in the 1940's in the neighborhood of the small community that he was studying. "Prizes were won by competitors from Llanfihangel both at county eisteddfodau and at national youth Eisteddfod, and considerable pride was manifested recently when a native of the parish became an arweinydd [Master of Ceremonies] at the National Eisteddfod" (R 138).

Choral singing has been important in the eisteddfodau, but it has also been a separate activity usually connected with the churches, and the Singing Festival (Cymanfa Ganu) employs whole congregations of all sizes "for months before the event. Buses are engaged to take them to the festival; . . . the meetings . . . occupy the whole of one week-day" (R 117). So it is in mid-twentieth century Wales. The tradition was carried to America, and lost nothing in fervor by the transfer.
The status of the Welsh language in Wales was raised many notches when it became the language of religion, but through much of the nineteenth century it was bound up primarily with religion and less with nationalism among the common people; at least they did not recognize that separation from their language meant separation from their nation as turned out to be the case in the United States (WC 68). And linguistically among the cultured the early nationalism that developed through the first part of the nineteenth century, fully recognized by 1880 (CW 221), was primarily interested in a literary revival (CW 195). In spite of greater respect for Welsh, increasing all through the period of emigration, in spite of the introduction at last of government-sponsored instruction (CW 202, 212), the number of Welsh speakers in Wales has steadily declined. The letters written home from America during the emigration were, however, in Welsh. In publishing a translation of some, Alan Conway sums up developments by saying in 1961 that Welsh "is still the language of a minority ... [It] is dying slowly ... those who are pessimistic ... are of the opinion that fifty years hence very little if any Welsh will be spoken" (C Preface). Observations made in 1963 indicate that such a prophesy is possible rather than highly probable. At Llangollen in Denbighshire near the English border in north Wales, townspeople used English among themselves for business but Welsh with rural customers. Children were learning Welsh but in town were habitually using English for all purposes with each other. This state of affairs may be regarded as normal for Welsh-speaking areas, but in industrial districts and in general along the coast where tourist trade is brisk, English has
taken over completely. Almost everywhere the monolinguals are those who use English exclusively. The statistics on language use for the latter part of the period interesting us show the trend (CW 212):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population of Speaking Age</th>
<th>Speaking Welsh</th>
<th>Speaking English only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1,685,614</td>
<td>898,914</td>
<td>786,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,864,696</td>
<td>929,824</td>
<td>934,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,247,927</td>
<td>977,366</td>
<td>1,270,561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By 1911 in Wales English monolinguals were in a majority. At that date in Columbus, Ohio, 46% of the foreign-born Welsh could not speak Welsh (MC 113). The reflected influence of the trend on Welsh in America was not conservative.

Economic factors, not all the result of growth of population, furnished the main push for Welsh emigration. In rural areas, crop failures frequently recurring (1789-1802, 1817, 1823, 1879, 1898, 1902) suggest, as other testimony also indicates, that much marginal land was under cultivation and agricultural methods were not such as to make up for the depletion of the resources of the soil. Landholdings were kept intact, and competition for any land for sale was so keen that the prices brought by farms exceeded any possibility of justification by income (C 8). Landlords frequently were heartless to the point of hurting their own interests (MC 45), consolidated their holdings in favor of still more stock raising, took over common lands by legal though unjust procedures (WS 77), raised rents, and reduced the last part of the period interesting us show the trend (CW 212):
the number of their tenants. Thus many farmers became day laborers anxious to migrate and find prosperity elsewhere. Not only bad crop years, but the general agricultural depression in Europe from about 1875 for over a decade stimulated departures. Within Wales many men were attracted from the agricultural regions to the industrial areas (C 8) that became increasingly more important with the progress of the industrial revolution. Some emigrants to America were farmers who had become miners (C 119) and who shifted back to farming or used both skills on reaching the United States. The prospect of outright starvation on the land must have been truly imminent to drive men into the laboring conditions that existed in Wales in the early 19th century. There was, however, much immigration to the industrial centers, mainly in the south, from Ireland where conditions were worse than in Wales and even from England where conditions were probably as bad. Some of the English immigration was in the skilled worker class and management was almost always in the hands of Englishmen. South Wales was infiltrated with English (CW 173), but as the Irish were scorned and the English inaccessible, the danger to the use of Welsh was slow in manifesting itself; at first the situation was rather a spur to bi-lingualism than a force for displacement of Welsh. The south early developed iron mills and later turned to steel. Coal was in the beginning only a means of working the iron, but soon its extraction became an industry in itself. Both the iron industry and coal mining were subject to booms and recessions. For instance
after the Napoleonic Wars iron and steel production slumped. In the 1870's "there was intense depression in the coalfield" (WS 97). At such periods there was a push for emigration, and America received a quota of more or less skilled workmen both from the steel mills and the mines. Frequently the workers from the mills followed a respected foreman (WC 49). Under similar conditions the quarries of the northeast also at times, particularly in the 1820's and 1830's, discharged their surplus employees upon the ocean (S 83). The developments in shipping made passenger transportation overseas easier for emigrants from every country, but cheap passage from Wales was particularly easy to secure in many of the crucial years because bottoms were bringing iron ore to South Wales and needed a return shipment, and from North Wales sloops carrying a concentrated load of slate in the bottom of the hold had ample room for a light human cargo above (S 83, 156). The tinplate and copper industries also had a role in the economy of Wales. Because overseas trade was important in them, they were subject to great fluctuations, and when the United States put a protective tariff on tinplate, a considerable number left Wales to ply the industry in America. Before the Industrial Revolution handloom weavers flourished in Wales. The collapse of their industry gave impetus to a migration (D 397) that continued. Clearly what militated most against emigration to America was the ever-growing demand for new workers in industry in Wales and the midlands of England. Consequently even proportionately the exodus from Wales was not so great by far as the departures from several Continental countries.
The sections of Wales providing emigrants to Kansas extended over all the country. Few came from Pembroke and Anglesey, the extreme southwest and northwest, but the rest of the west in both North and South Wales was better represented than the remaining counties. Carmarthen, Cardigan, Merioneth, and the western part of Montgomery are these counties of the west. Caernarvonshire in the northwest contributed early. The western counties also were the counties that figured most prominently in emigration to the eastern United States as a whole. In 1851 in the neighborhood of Llanbrynmair, "one of the most moral and religious places in Wales" (J 200), in southwestern Montgomeryshire more than 2,000 people had relatives in America (D 397). It was in this neighborhood that weavers had been hardest hit. There too the propaganda from enthusiastic emigrants was a great influence. The Rev. Morgan J. Rhys promoted the Cambria settlement at Beulah, Pa. in 1795 (WS 103, C 7). Ezekiel Hughes (1767-1849) and Edward Bebb (ca. 1840), the first Welsh settlers of Ohio, came from there in 1796. They had been the leaders of fifty people from Llanbrynmair or near it who walked to Bristol, sailed to Philadelphia, and then walked to the Cambria settlement in western Pennsylvania. Both, but especially Bebb, continued to promote emigration.

Propaganda for emigration was spread by such men both by visits back to Wales and by letters either to editors or to private individuals. In the industrial centers Workmen's Emigration Societies were organized to sift the allegations from America and aid those departing. Rural emigrants were moved by more direct means. The letters were very
frequently the expression of opinions inspired by the desire to help others, but rather often there was also a land selling motive; sometimes the propagandist was advancing some settlement project of his own; sometimes beginning about 1860, inspired by railroads. The railroads as in other countries promoted directly also; the Burlington at least issued pamphlets in Welsh. But returned emigrants, mostly ministers (C 11, 53) were the most effective recruiters. The ministers worked particularly for "exclusive compact Welsh settlements" (C 10) where the Welsh language and culture could be preserved.* Edward Bebb's son,

*The Rev. Michael D. Jones thought of Wisconsin as the location for such a center (C 11), but he eventually established the well-known Welsh settlement in Patagonia.

William, a governor of Ohio, and his cousin, the Rev. Samuel Roberts known as S.R. (1800-1885), were eloquent and influential propagandists. They, particularly S.R., were responsible in 1856 for an ambitious scheme of settlement in eastern Tennessee, northwest of Knoxville in an area even today lightly settled and in those days troubled with disputed land titles (C 8, S 36). The colony was a failure, but since many joined it, it was responsible for scattering the men of Llanbrynmair and other Welsh throughout the United States. S.R. was a minister and a national leader in Wales (WS 102), and he continued to be so after he returned to Wales in 1867 (F 352, WC 43, S 34, WS 103). Another eloquent propagandist was the Rev. Benjamin W. Chidlaw (1811-1892), born in
Merionethshire at Bala (which gave its name to the Kansas settlement).
He was brought to the Radnor settlement in Ohio at the age of ten, and after becoming a minister spent two months in Wales in 1835 and eight months in 1839; everywhere he lauded America. He worked not only in Merionethshire but elsewhere, particularly in Montgomery (S 35, WC 46, 47, J 210 note). He was again in Wales when he died.

Another minister wrote a pamphlet that was particularly persuasive. In 1831 the Rev. Edward Jones came to a small settlement of Welsh in Ohio (Gallia-Jackson), stayed briefly, returned to Wales to write "in glowing language of the land and resources of Gallia and Jackson Counties. As a consequence about the year 1835, and then for ten years, principally from Cardiganshire" (J 217, see also Y 128), many people sailed for this Ohio settlement, which became the largest.

Though some one community furnished a large part of those in some particular American settlement in the early days, the propagandist ministers circulated freely in Wales. Kansas settlements had little of this transfer from a local population center in Wales to settlements here. There was very little of that spirit of campanilismo, found among the Italians. The non-conformists were more an agent of general Welsh unity than of regionalism, for they linked the industrial sections in South Wales and the northeast to the agricultural portions of the country (WM 246).

The Welsh in America as individuals made part of the very beginning of British colonial settlement. Those who came with William Penn to Pennsylvania and settled in the "Great Valley" in 1682 were the first
to arrive as a compact group; Philadelphia remained the usual immediate
goal for Welshmen arriving through the eighteenth century; it served
as the base for further settlements in Pennsylvania, notably for one
in 1795 in Cambria County (63-18) two-thirds of the way from east to
west across the state. Though the initiator was the Baptist minister,
Morgan John Rhys (C 521, Y 36) from farther north, the early arrivals
and backbone of the immigration to this area were people from Llanbrynmair.
(WC 20). Cambria County retained its Welsh name, but the peculiarly
Welsh community of Beulah disappeared before thirty years had passed
and the Welsh in the area regarded Ebensburg, two miles from Beulah,
as their capital (CH 31). Ebensburg contained Welsh settlers, Congregationalists
rather than Baptists almost as early as Beulah (Y 38). There were other
small settlements in western Pennsylvania and some congregating at Pittsburgh
as it grew in importance. In the northeast corner of the state Welshmen
came to a coal mine at Carbondale in 1830 (Y 89); 75 miles to the southwest,
Pottsville received Welsh at nearly the same time (Y 90); in 1840 Pottsville
was the most important Welsh center (CH 31). By the middle of the
nineteenth century, however, Welsh miners, ironworkers and quarrymen had
made Scranton and Wilkesbarre, between these two points, the most important
Welsh centers of the state (see particularly Y 95). The influx in Scranton
began in 1845. "Shifts and changes in the mining conditions" made
stable settlement difficult (Y 113). The ironworkers, particularly,
were welcomed because of their skills, but they became so conscious
of their own value that finally capitalists tended to hire others, and
they in part took refuge from Pennsylvania farther west. Still in 1900,
of Pennsylvania's thirty-five thousand foreign-born Welsh, over 16,000
were in the counties containing Scranton and Wilkesbarre; 5,000 more were in Pittsburgh's county, Allegheny. Other industrial counties contained most of the others; Cambria County, where Ebensburg is, had 946.

In New York state the Welsh settlement, first at Steuben (Y 40) and very shortly afterward at Utica, also had its origin in 1795 (C 52). The Welsh soon had landholdings from Utica to Steuben, some twenty-five miles to the north (CH 28) and before long on up the valley of the Black River (Y 40). This Oneida County settlement, "it can scarcely be denied, was the best and most widely known in this country" (Y 37). This was frontier territory at the time and like western Pennsylvania, acceptable to the Welsh because it looked like home. The first settlers were from Caernarvonshire in Northwest Wales; by 1801, there was also an element from South Wales (C 52), but the North Welsh remained predominant (C 65). In 1812 an estimate assigned 700 Welsh to the area, in 1830, 7000 (Y 40). No major industries grew up here, but Utica was in the Mohawk Valley, the main route west from New York City, and New York City became accepted as the American receiving port, for the Welsh as for others. The construction of the Erie Canal, besides making more important the route west, in the period around 1818, gave employment to Welshmen who were otherwise not well off in the district. In 1830 many Welsh there were "rich" (C 78). By 1844 Richard Edwards could write back to Cardiff, "You know that almost all the Welsh small-holders [in America] have settled in Oneida County, somewhere between Utica and Steubenville" (C 68). He exaggerated, but the settlement was large and well-known. The settlement at Utica became a way station (C 54) with a solid backing
of settlements in its neighborhood. It did not export its own children so much to the west as it harbored temporarily those turning westward in search of lands. In New York City enough people from Wales were congregated to have churches of their own -- preaching from 1795 --, but for that metropolis the settlement was not large. A Welsh settlement area of some importance -- 1100 Calvinistic Methodists in the 1890's -- developed (Y 82, 88) in the quarrying area in New York and Vermont east of the lower part of Lake George (Granville-Poultney). A smaller settlement, 700 to 800 persons, originated in the early 1840's in Cattaraugus County in the west of N.Y. State. (Y 69).

92.32 In Ohio in 1900 over half of those born in Wales lived in a group of counties including Cuyahoga (with Cleveland) and stretching east and southeast to the Pennsylvania border. In other words, they lived in the most highly industrialized section of the state. These Welshmen, though they might be ignorant of English on arrival, at least some of the women, tended to assimilate to Americans as fast as possible, so as not to be confounded with the members of the "new immigration". Perhaps on this account D. J. Williams and W. H. Jones, as historians of the Welsh in Ohio, disregard the area entirely, though there were old settlements within it, as at Palmyra (62-237), (C 84, CH 25, Y 159). A Welsh Fair was held there as early as 1830
Ohio received currents of Welsh settlement both through New York (C 50) and Pennsylvania (J 196, WC 20) and the earliest Ohio settlements were founded practically as early as the post-Revolutionary settlements in those states. The men of Llanbrynmair went to a spot a little north of Cincinnati in 1796, and by 1802 the Paddy's Run settlement (now Shandon-62, 280) was being populated (J 198, WC 21, CH 22, Y 36, 126). Between 1830 and 1850 the Welsh there numbered 500 to 600 (WC 35). In 1818 people from Cardiganshire on the way to Paddy's Run were held up by high water at the French settlement of Gallipolis (WC 24, J 216, Y 127). They remained in the region and beginning in 1834 (WC 26, CH 26) so many joined them that Gallia and Jackson Counties (62-296, 295) in southernmost Ohio became the most considerable of the Ohio settlements, five to six thousands at one time. The numbers were great partly because of the development of coal mines and iron mills (J 218). Both this area and Paddy's Run contributed a few individuals to the population of the Welsh settlements in Kansas. In central Ohio the Welsh Hills settlement near Granville in Licking County (62-265) (400 to 500 strong) was begun in 1801 (J 204, WC 13, CH 24, Y 36, 126) and Radnor in Delaware County (62-254 S) adjoining Licking to the northwest was inhabited by 1802 (J 211, CH 23, Y 126). Radnor differed in places of origin from most settlements. David Pugh who bought 4,000 acres was from Radnorshire in the east part of South Wales, and Henry Perry whom he sent ahead to occupy the land was from Anglesey, the island off northwest Wales (WC 28). The efforts of the Rev. B.W. Chidlaw mentioned above ultimately made the settlement like the others primarily
western in origin. There were 600 to 800 Welsh there when it was strongest. Licking County furnished a considerable number of Kansas settlers. The Gomer (1833) (J 222, WC 26) and Venedocia (1848) (WC 27, CH 26 -C 53 says a few families were there ca 1838). Settlements that grew up not far apart in Allen and Van Wert Counties (62-241, 240) provided Welshmen to Kansas. In each of them there were 1,000 to 1,500 Welsh (WC 37). Welsh Kansans spent some time after immigration, more usually than on farms, in the towns and cities near the rural settlements which frequently grew strong enough in Welsh population to have Welsh churches (CH 24, 25). Cincinnati near Paddy's Run (by 1817, Y 129), Newark near the Welsh Hills, Lima near Gomer were places of this type. Cincinnati received many maids from Jackson-Gallia (WC 51). Columbus, near the Welsh Hills (30-35 miles east northeast) and Radnor (same distance north), holds another example of secondary Welsh settlement.

In 1900 the counties containing the settlements discussed above contained persons born in Wales as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Allen (Gomer settlement)</th>
<th>Butler (Paddy's Run&quot;)</th>
<th>Delaware (Radnor settlement)</th>
<th>Franklin (Columbus &quot; )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>224</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Licking</td>
<td>Van Wert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>227</td>
<td>227*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other counties not in the northeast containing more than 75 foreign-born Welsh in 1900 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belmont</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guernsey</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meigs</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickaway</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hamilton is the county containing Cincinnati. Putnam lies just north of Allen; Gomer is near this border (Cf CH 26). The others are in southeastern Ohio and contain mining areas.

92.33 Biographies of Kansans do not frequently mention residence in Columbus, but D. J. Williams' remarks on linguistic conditions there are the best testimony available for any Welsh community outside of Kansas, and are set forth at some length in Section 92.90; to understand this evidence, some knowledge of Welsh history in Columbus is valuable (WC chap. III). By 1820 there were Welsh in the town; by 1824 there was a Welsh Baptist Church. The people, 3/4 from Montgomeryshire, were usually skilled craftsmen. David Price, born 1823, Columbus, 1840, became an executive in the Hayden Store, and protected young Welshmen much like Lewis Lewis at Emporia, Kansas. From the 1870's till the hard times of the nineties there was a steel mill there. The pattern for the Welsh steel workers was similar to that at Rosedale (see Kansas City). The workers from South Wales followed their foreman (Lewis) there; 2/3 of the employees were Welsh. Welsh miners, too, often followed their foreman as he moved about (Y 114). Immigration into Columbus from more distant
Welsh centers in the state, particularly from the Gallia-Jackson group, began to be important about 1860 and continued so for half a century (466 Calvinistic Methodists came from Gallia-Jackson, 1885-1909, 135 from the Lima area). Immigration from Wales was concluded by 1885 (WC 53).

92.34 The parts of Illinois and Wisconsin furnishing Welsh population to Kansas were those near the mutual border of the two states. In Illinois the Welsh as groups were little interested in areas much to the south of Chicago. The only Illinois counties outside of that city which contained in 1900 more than 150 persons born in Wales (Lyon County, Kansas then had 451) were Kane and Will (247), LaSalle (198), and Grundy (171). There was once a Welsh church at Braceville in Grundy Co. (Y 201). The centers of Kane and Will Counties are about forty air miles from Chicago and Grundy and LaSalle Counties are just beyond. In 1838 a Welshman in LaSalle county wrote that he had not spoken Welsh for 20 years (C 96). These last two counties had early coal mines and the other early coal mining centers show a small Welsh element in their population. One of the mining towns, Coal Valley, near Rock Island, in the 1860's harbored several Welsh families before they moved to Coal Creek on the edge of the Emporia settlement. The area was not exclusively Welsh. A letter to Wales in 1881 from Cable, a few miles from Coal Valley, says that besides Welsh miners, there were "English, German Irish, Swedes, Scotch, French" (C 198). There was, however, a Calvinistic Methodist Church at Coal Valley in 1882 (Y 201). Early Welsh settlers were in the rural regions of Illinois by 1838.
The southeastern counties of Wisconsin were the source of most of the Welsh settlers coming to Kansas from that state. The settlement in Waukesha County (61-254) (343 foreign-born Welsh in 1900) was begun in 1840, that at Racine in the next county south (364) in 1841 (C 95, Y 167). Racine early had a large Welsh colony (Y 168). In Genesee Township, Waukesha County, there was a Welsh church by 1843 (K 317). The settlement was celebrated for its music.

In Columbia County (61-243) (442 in 1900) is the town of Cambria; it was settled in 1845. The area for 10 or 12 miles in all directions extending into neighboring counties became all Welsh (Y 169). These people were from North Wales and preserved their Welsh identity for a long time. Here we are about 70 miles north northwest of Milwaukee. That city in 1900 held 336 foreign-born Welsh, an inconsiderable number in view of the size of the metropolis. The only other counties possessing in 1900 more than 150 inhabitants born in Wales were Wood County in the center of the state (261), and Iowa County (61-251) (315) in the southwest where the Welsh congregated at Dodgeville by 1844. This southwestern area was an early center of lead mining and processing (Y 168) and in this industry the Welsh participated (K 317). They were mostly from South Wales. Many had been at Blossburg near the center of most northern Pennsylvania. These and counties containing smaller settlements indicate two currents of settlement from a focus at Racine, one proceeding north northwest into Indian country in Waushara County (61-224) by 1849 (Y 170) finally reaching Sawyer County (42) in the north and the other developing west and then
trending northwest passing near LaCrosse (61-220) (116) by 1849 (Y 201) on the Mississippi and ending 100 miles upstream in St. Croix County (50). The base and the lower part of the latter branch were the areas important for Kansas.

In Iowa in 1842 or 1843 (Y 232) small Welsh settlements grew up on the creeks above Davenport (61-108). Iowa acquired a greater Welsh population than Kansas, but Kansas drew few from there, and the Iowans will occupy us no further.* The Minnesota Welsh had still less relationship to Kansas, but Welshmen appeared in that territory as

* Of the twelve Iowa counties containing more than 75 foreign-born Welsh in 1900, that containing the greatest number, 303, is Monroe County (61-62). Three others are adjacent, Wapello (61-63) with 146, Lucas (61-61) with 120, and Appanoose (61-72) with 79. These counties are in the south somewhat east of center. Coal mining activity began by 1884 just to the north in Mahaska County at Excelsior. About 1890 the activity centered about Carbonado six miles away (Y 243) and presumably shifted still farther south, for the Carbonado Welsh church was dissolved in 1901. There was mining with Welsh at Mystic in Appanoose County (61-72) some 12 miles from the Missouri border. In these counties, as part of a defined settlement, however, the Welsh seem to have less importance than those in Iowa County (168 in 1900) and Johnson County (90) (61-44 and 45) focused near Williamsburg. The settlement became important about 1868 (Y 240). The Iowa settlement nearest Kansas was near Red Oak in Montgomery County. It originated in 1871 (Y 241).
soon as it was opened in 1849. They began a settlement of some importance in 1854 in LeSueur County in the Blue Earth country near the big bend of the Minnesota River in the southern part of the state. In 1858 at Lime Springs on the Iowa line near its east end another settlement originated in 1858 and developed in both Iowa and Minnesota.

In Missouri the Welsh established settlements in the center of the area lying to the north of the Missouri River. The principal one was in Macon County with a focus at New Cambria. In 1900 the county possessed 503 residents born in Wales; that is, the settlement was somewhat larger than the Emporia settlement. It was no older, in fact a decade younger, founded in 1866 (C 122), very little earlier than the other Kansas settlements. The coal mines at Bevier a few miles to the east, opened about 1859, gave impetus to settlement (Y 246). In this area "There were 700 to 800 Welsh settlers as early as 1866" (Y 247). Missouri suffered in appeal to immigrants during the Civil War, at least as much as Kansas, and this part of the state had not had much settlement earlier. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad did not begin to advertise their land grant of 1852 until 1859 (S 164). The Welsh settlements originated in the area of the land grant. J.M. and W.B. Jones of New York State promoted sales, "The early Welsh settlements in Missouri are practically in a straight line west from Hannibal on either side of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad . . . Palmyra in Marion County, New Cambria and Bevier in Macon County; Huntsville and Renick in Randolph County; Laclede and Brookfield in Linn County; Dawn in Livingston County" (♀ 247). Randolph
County (119 in 1900), next south from Macon County, at Huntsville and Moberly absorbed an overflow from its neighbor. Livingston County (112 in 1900), the second one west had its own Welsh settlement, that of Dawn, north toward Mooresville (C 118); also south of Dawn (Y 242). These people organized a Union Church in 1868. Some Welsh established themselves in adjoining Caldwell County (S 164). Except in the cities there were no other noteworthy agglomerations in Missouri.

The New Cambria settlers organized churches at once and formed a Calvinistic Methodist presbytery in 1868 which in 1870 dissolved to join the Presbyterians because, presumably, as at Emporia, they could thus receive financial aid. Immigrants came on from these Missouri settlements to Kansas because the western land was cheaper.

In Nebraska the Union Pacific and the Burlington Railroads promoted Welsh settlements as the Kansas Pacific and the Santa Fe did in Kansas. There grew up a small settlement in Gage County (on Kansas border north of Marshall County -- 68 foreign-born Welsh in 1900). Its church, organized in 1880, was originally called the Blue Springs Church; Bethel Presbyterian Church in Wymore is its derivative (Y 243, 251). The project of the Union Pacific in the Platte Valley fared somewhat better. In 1872 in Platte County (104 in 1900), Shell Creek valley was "reserved" by the agent, D. Jones of Carmarthenshire, for the Welsh (C 148). A church at Postville on the creek somewhat northwest of the center of this county was organized in 1881 (Y 243). A few years later when the settlers were fully aware that railroad land cost more than homesteads, enthusiasm was not so great. These two settlements were served by circuit preachers along with Bala in Kansas.* For Kansas, as important was a Welsh settlement
Railroad land also played a part in a settlement near Carroll in Wayne County in northeastern Nebraska (106 foreign-born Welsh in 1900). It was first settled by people from the Platte County settlement in 1886.

Not far beyond its northern border, a small one, some twenty miles north of the Padonia colony in Brown County. It was at Stella, near the center of the north border of Richardson County, Nebraska (45 in 1900). There was social as well as population interchange between the two places.

Welsh churches in the United States carried on the non-conformist movement of Wales. But here the term non-conformist was no longer appropriate, and they were simply Protestants; doctrinally all the denominations could unite with American congeners. Such union did come about early for the Wesleyan Methodists. The Welsh Baptists who had a church organized at Beulah in 1796 and another at Utica in 1801 (Y 63) resisted more firmly, but pressure for union was great (WC 55). The Calvinistic Methodists whose first formally organized church, that near Steuben, dates only from 1826 (Y 47) were most numerous. As a separate denomination they persisted until 1920 when after many years of debate they amalgamated with the Presbyterian Church of America (Y 409). "In May, 1892, after a long and serious discussion of what to do in view of the rapid spread of the English language in Welsh communities, it was resolved that 'this General Assembly feels the best thing to do is to unite with the Presbyterian Church' " (Y 400). Final action came almost 30 years later, but the Welsh churches maintained even afterward their
congregational identity. West of the Mississippi, as at Emporia and for several churches in Missouri, the C.M. organization lost early, as said before, to the Presbyterians who offered financial aid. The situation was remedied by the appointment of a general superintendent of missions in 1875 (Y 361). In 1901 in the trans-Mississippi plains there was "no place without a church where there was a sufficient number of Welsh people to form a church society" (Y 366). The Independents lost their name early and were Congregationalists, but remained Welsh yet more doggedly than the Calvinists. The speed with which the Welsh organized churches -- the Welsh continued for some time in their non-conformist tradition of calling them chapels -- depended somewhat upon the background of their promoters. The Steuben settlement had a church organization from 1798 on (Y 42). In this area Congregationalists and Calvinists competed. In Utica in 1804 no churches of any kind had been built (C 64). The Welsh built one shortly, however; nine years had passed since their first arrival in the area. In 1832 they had three churches in the town (C 64). In the northern part of the area at Steuben in 1821 there was a Welsh Baptist Church (C 63). There were doubtless others. At any rate the informant of 1832 from Utica, evidently speaking for the whole area declared, "There are more than forty Welsh preachers here" (C 64). The Beulah-Ebensburg settlement in Pennsylvania had a union congregation in the beginning, but its founder, the Rev. Morgan John Rhys was a Baptist and it soon turned Baptist (J 206). In the early days of a settlement short-lived union services were common, so at Columbus (WC 57) and Emporia. As a direct daughter colony of
Beulah, the Welsh Hills settlement in Licking County, Ohio, was also primarily Baptist (J 206), and the element from there at Emporia accounts for the short-lived Welsh Baptist Church at Emporia. The only church of the Padonia settlement in Kansas was Baptist. In Ohio, Paddy's Run insofar as it persisted in religion in Welsh was Congregationalist. The large Gallia-Jackson settlement became predominantly *Calvinistic* Methodist (thirteen churches of that denomination, six or seven Congregational, four Baptist, one Wesleyan) (WC 36). Radnor's first church was Congregational, but others appeared. "Gomer and its environs constitute the stronghold of Welsh Congregationalism in Ohio" (WC 36). The Venedocia *settlement* in Van Wert County was Calvinistic Methodist (4 churches), though Congregational immigrants from Wales held out a short time (WC 37). Of 1,118 "Welsh people" in Columbus in 1913, 512 were Calvinistic Methodists, from 75 to 120 were Congregationalists (WC 97). In all the Ohio settlements religious observance began as soon as a few families were assembled. Church organization followed soon afterward, though in Gallia-Jackson not till 1835 when the great immigration was well underway; at Gomer the Congregationalists waited twelve years to build (in 1845), but in general churches were built soon. In Wisconsin near Racine where settlement began in 1841, "in 1842, the first Welsh church organized in Wisconsin was located" (Y 192). It was Calvinist at first, later Congregational. The pattern shown in rural Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Wisconsin of division of the Welsh into denominations within most settlements, though with frequent preponderance of one, obtained in other states including Kansas. There the Calvinistic Methodists prevailed at Bala, Arvonia, and Osage City. Fortunes at Emporia were more evenly divided. The Calvinists, become Presbyterians, were stronger in town, the Congregationalists in the country.
The Welsh Sunday School for many years served the same purpose in the United States as it did in Wales. In Ohio "all the people of the Jackson and Gallia community attended Sunday School . . . . The preparation of the Sunday School lesson was the task for the week at home. And the Sunday School program was such as to encourage and stimulate home study" (WC 32). Children in Ohio learned to read in Welsh so as to know the Bible, and discussion went on fervently from there. In Kansas, particularly at Emporia there was the same technique and the same goal.

The eisteddfodau flourished in Kansas in all the Welsh settlements during the period of active immigration from Wales particularly in the 1870's. They were regional in the Emporia-Arvonia-Osage City area, but Bala too dignified its local competition by calling it an eisteddfod. D. J. Williams was less generous in his definition. The eisteddfod, he says, "is State or Nation-wide in its scope. To the Eisteddfod competing choirs come from all parts of the country. Welshmen of letters from a large radius send their literary productions to the Eisteddfod. Columbus [Ohio] once had an Eisteddfod Association; this was in the 70's . . . great Eisteddfods were held but owing to the panic of 1875-1876 the Association was dissolved, though successful Eisteddfods have been held since that time. Recently 1913 a new Eisteddfod Association . . . has been formed" (WC 59–60). The parallelism to Kansas is precise, and other Welsh settlements behaved in the same way. The eisteddfod in Wisconsin was at Cambria (K 316). Literary societies were numerous, but the most important and the most enduring social organizations were the singing societies which continue into the 1960's and sing somewhat in
Welsh even when the words mean no more to the singers than vowels to convey a musical note. Usually with music as the cementing element Cymrodorion Societies, Ivorite Societies, particularly St. David Societies, flourished and sometimes still flourish in various localities (WC 116). Strong societies of national scope, however, did not grow up among the American Welsh. They were, if interested in mutual benefit associations, generally content to enter American lodges or become chapters of them. Political nationalism was not strong enough among them to give rise to the same type of organizations as among more militant groups like Poles and French Canadians.

92.7 The Welsh press in America at one time played a considerable role. The most important journal was Y Drych (The Mirror) which began publication in 1851 and was still continuing in 1913 (WC 193). This weekly served as a forum for all types of Welsh opinion, effectively in the appropriate period as a means of circulating information on opportunities in growing settlements. In the early twentieth century it also reflected the despair of the old at the introduction of English into Welsh church services. Many "articles appear insisting upon more Welsh in the Welsh churches" (WC 127). The Calvinistic Methodist organ Y Cyfaill (The Friend), a monthly, was established in 1838 (Y 80, 331). Its connection with the Calvinists was always close, but it was quasi-independent until 1870 (Y 334). It was the only other Welsh periodical being published in 1913. It persisted till 1933 (Y 331). It, too, served as a forum for immigrants. "The linguistic question was a source of irritation, particularly during the last forty years . . . The older people . . . some of the editors . . . had no inclination toward admitting English into its columns. The Jackson and Gallia Presbytery, Ohio, as early as 1904 . . . appeal[ed] . . .
for more English; it was not until 1913 that the general assembly of the Church conceded two pages of the magazine to notes in English on the Christian Endeavor topics . . . In 1922 six or seven pages were allotted as an 'English Department', and in 1927 this was increased to thirteen pages or about one third of the entire magazine" (Y 338). It continued to be bilingual to the end. Y Cenhadwr, the organ of the Congregationalists had lasted from 1840 till about 1900. Baner America, established in 1868, was absorbed in 1877 by Y Drych, which also took over Y Wasg, founded in 1871, in 1890, and Y Columbia, 1888-1894, a bilingual journal. No other journals had a long life. Their dates correspond closely to the development of Welsh immigration and of the use of the Welsh language.

92.8 **Intermarriage** between those purely Welsh and those of other nationalities in America began early, but was long under social stigma. In 1913 D. J. Williams declared: "Only a few decades ago to marry outside of the Welsh nationality was looked upon with disfavor and even as a disgrace in some instances" (WC 133). By the end of the nineteenth century such marriages were however common. In the city of Columbus 80% of the marriages in which at least one party was Welsh were mixed marriages. Such marriages had produced 806 children as against 423 with parents both Welsh (WC 76). In the Calvinistic Methodist Church itself, half of the marriages were mixed in the period just before 1910. Since no brides or grooms from outside learned Welsh (WC 82) the linguistic result is obvious.
The progressive abandonment of Welsh language in the churches had not been entirely completed in the 1930's. "In 1930 a resolution was passed in the Oneida Presbytery [New York, Calvinistic Methodist] which reads: . . . On an annual pilgrimage to Penycareau their first church near Steuben . . . an English sermon be preached in the afternoon and a Welsh one in the evening" (Y 53). The pilgrimage went on for years. The persistence of Welsh was still a matter of preoccupation to D. J. Williams, pastor of the Calvinistic Methodist Church in Columbus, Ohio, in the first decade of the 20th century. He reported in 1913 of the Welshmen in Columbus: 415 were native-born of foreign parents of whom 31% spoke Welsh; 178 were of mixed parentage, of whom 13% spoke Welsh, presumably having Welsh grandparents on both sides of the family; 411 were "native-born of native parents," that is, third generation Americans; 11% of these could speak Welsh. In his church "out of 212 persons under 21 years of age" one-eighth were "able intelligently to handle the Welsh language" (WC 113, 123). "The pastors of the Columbus church up to 1899 were not able to preach in English, and were opposed to anything that savored of English in the church. During the '90's the demand for English was felt to increase."

The Christian Endeavor Society, partly in English "met with no encouragement for some time, but it thrived nevertheless. Beginning with the 20th century . . . one sermon a month was preached in English on Sunday evening. English classes in Sunday School began to multiply. For a time the linguistic struggle raged in Sunday School. Teachers insisted on teaching Welsh to their pupils during the Sunday School hour, and Welsh children left Sunday School because their teachers insisted on their learning Welsh when they knew nothing of Welsh on the street,
in the public school nor even in the home. Today [1911] about 28, or perhaps more, classes out of 36 are conducted in English. By the latter part of 1907, English sermons were introduced into the Sunday evening service regularly every Sunday. The Christian Endeavor Society is now carried on entirely in English . . . . The mid-week prayer service is about half English and half Welsh. The trustees carry on their discussions in English . . . The session has mixed records, both Welsh and English. The only distinctly Welsh services in the church are the old people's prayer service at 9 a.m. and the public service at 10 a.m. on Sundays. It is this recognition of the need of English that has given the Calvinistic Methodist Church its substantial growth in the last decade, and especially in the last five years" (WC 129-130). Williams (WC 111) gives data on Welsh-speaking children in the congregation as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>No. Speaking Welsh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92.91 In 1907 Wm. H. Jones reported on language usage in the rural settlements of Ohio as follows:

At Paddy's Run an informant wrote him, "I think there is but one person that can write Welsh, about a dozen that can talk it, and about as many who can read it." In the Welsh Hills he says, "[Welsh] is seldom heard today." At Radnor, "The Welsh language has about disappeared,
except for a Sunday School class of old people." In the Gallia-Jackson area, "The church is in flourishing condition today and the Welsh language is almost exclusively used."

At Gomer, "When the old Welsh pioneers are gone to their rest, the services of the church will all be in English."

Venedocia "has become prominent because of the refinement and musical attainments of its population and has preserved from the first the Welsh language and its traditions."

(J 202, 210, 216, 219, 225, 227).

92.92 Williams too speaks of the various Ohio settlements. He is in harmony with Jones and shows what 5 or 6 years time brought about. "At present [at Paddy's Run] there are only four old settlers (2 of these are over 90 years old) who can speak the Welsh language. In the Welsh Hills in Licking County, there are less than a dozen people who can speak Welsh. In the towns of Grainville and Newark [adjoining], several Welsh-speaking may be found. In the Jackson and Gallia settlement, the strongest and best organized Welsh settlement in America in her balmy days, and the best fortified by natural environment against extraneous influences, the Welsh language is rapidly vanishing and is being supplanted by English even in the church services. About one-third of the preaching done in the settlement is in English, perhaps more. About two-thirds of the Sunday School classes are conducted in the English language.*
Elsewhere Williams quotes an octogenarian "who spent most of his life in Jackson County," "When English came into the settlement, religion went out of it." The old man had spoken in Welsh, but he used the English word settlement (WC 132).

... At Gomer half of the preaching services are in English and more than half of the Sunday School classes . . . . The Welsh church of Venedocía in the past 10 or 12 years has gradually decreased, while the Presbyterian Church, which consists very largely of younger Welsh-Americans has grown . . . . The Radnor settlement . . . is now entirely English in society and church" (WC 109-110). Williams puts the seal of finality on this by declaring: "The Welsh church is the last place to give up the Welsh language." "The Welsh language is rapidly passing out of use both in the home and the church. The rising generation cannot speak it" (WC 134). "Americanization will prevail over the efforts of any foreign group" (WC 135).

92.93 The abandonment of the speaking of Welsh, similar to that portrayed for Ohio by Williams and Jones went on elsewhere. In 1872 the Rev. D. S. Davis wrote from New York that Welsh journals had no more than 10,000 circulation in toto "We have perhaps four hundred Welsh chapels in different states and the English pressing on them all and taking over many of them. . . . The four Welsh denominations have 22,000 members . . . but a great proportion of this number is unable to understand Welsh. The Welsh language has no prospect of success in this country" (C 323). In Wisconsin, Louise Phelps Kellogg in 1919 said,"The Welsh element . . . were very tenacious
of Old World customs and even of the language of their forefathers" (K 316), but observe that she says "were" and not "are".

Speaking more generally of the linguistic situation Williams wrote, "Early families knew but one language and one book" (WC 30). "Welsh communities have made a brave fight to preserve the language of their fatherland . . . the average period of persistence of the Welsh language in Welsh communities is about three generations or about 80 years; sometimes more and frequently less," And, like all American-born ministers of foreign language denominations faced with losing the young if they persist in the use of foreign language, he advocates English in the Church (WC 132, 134). "If the Welsh church seeks only to minister to those Welshmen who speak the Welsh language, it falls far short of providing for its own nationality in this country" (WC 121). Even the old were sufficiently bilingual to follow English sermons even when protesting they could not; at least "they are able to report intelligently on what they have heard" (WC 124). He concludes that the ministers should be trained in America; those trained in Wales attach too much weight to worshipping in Welsh (WC 125-6). This conclusion meant the abandonment of Welsh, for the young Welsh-American ministers were incapable of preaching in Welsh (WC 127), since no seminary gave training in Welsh.
93.10  **Statistics** for the United States as a whole and for various states show that, though the Greek immigration into Kansas was small, it was typical. The Federal Census shows:
### Persons Born in Greece and Their Children Resident in the United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Foreign-born</th>
<th>Foreign of Mixed Parentage</th>
<th>Foreign White Stock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>776</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,887</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>8,515</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>101,282</td>
<td>9,985</td>
<td>111,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>175,972</td>
<td>52,083</td>
<td>228,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>174,526</td>
<td>129,225</td>
<td>303,751</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1920, 96.3% of the speakers of Greek were from Greece; in 1930, 89.7%, a proportion high enough to justify omission of figures on Greeks from Turkey, from where Greeks began migrating to the United States somewhat later than from Greece.

### Persons Born in Greece and Resident in the Five States Containing the Greatest Number and Two States Adjoining Kansas and Kansas in 1900, 1910, and 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>11,413</td>
<td>20,441</td>
<td>1,570</td>
<td>10,031</td>
<td>16,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Y.</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>10,097</td>
<td>26,117</td>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penna.</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>4,221</td>
<td>13,893</td>
<td>Neb.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>2,555</td>
<td>13,540</td>
<td>Kans.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1,410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

93.11g The great preponderance of males over females was a peculiarity of Greek immigration, more marked continuously for it than for any other people (see further p 112-3, Ma 162).
Born in Greece, Resident in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1920 Males</th>
<th>1920 Females</th>
<th>1930 Males</th>
<th>1930 Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>143,606</td>
<td>32,370</td>
<td>129,101</td>
<td>45,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City, Kans.</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since marriage to non-Greeks was very limited throughout this period, clearly we are dealing with few reproducing families. The proportion of fmp to foreign-born indicates the same thing. Among Greeks this proportion was: 1910 - 10%; 1920 - 30%; 1930 - 74%. Two other representatives of the new immigration show much higher proportions: Poles, 1910 - 85%; 1920 - 114%; 1930 - 163%; Italians, 1910 - 53%; 1920 - 109%; 1930 - 154%. The lower percentage of children in the stock would tend to make Greeks more linguistically conservative until the immigrating generation had died.

*For Greeks the records of the Immigration Commissioner show similar facts, and in addition bring out the movement of immigration. These

Xenides in 1922 estimated that 20% of the Greeks had families with them in America. Mrs. Alessios (14) quotes an estimate that in 1926 "Probably 40% of the 400,000 Greeks now in America have their families with them." Since, in 1926, the Greeks of the first two generations numbered not more than 300,000, this estimate must have been meant to include couples, at least one of whom was born in the United States.
report only 210 Greeks arriving in the decade 1871-1880 and 2,308 in the following decade. All commentators (for instance B 17, A 7, X 38; see also EI 244 [for EI see German Bibliography]) regard 1891 as the moment when enthusiasm for America became strong in Greece; 1,105 reached here in that year, and, while the average through the years of hard times was no greater, over 2,300 arrived in 1898. The following table speaks for the years following till the immigration laws of the 1920's cut off the supply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>2,395</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31,566</td>
<td>3,045</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>3,773</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38,644</td>
<td>3,501</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>5,919</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45,881</td>
<td>5,674</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>8,115</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15,187</td>
<td>3,447</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>14,376</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26,792</td>
<td>5,699</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>12,625</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25,919</td>
<td>4,795</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>12,144</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2,602</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>23,127</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>46,283</td>
<td>1,636</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>13,998</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>28,808</td>
<td>1,836</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21,551</td>
<td>10,277</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>20,262</td>
<td>1,524</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>3,821</td>
<td>2,142</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>39,135</td>
<td>2,555</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4,177</td>
<td>2,703</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>37,021</td>
<td>2,916</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>5,252</td>
<td>2,996</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the years 1905-1908 the number of Greeks going to the three states receiving the most was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1907</th>
<th>1908</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.Y.</td>
<td>3,154</td>
<td>6,150</td>
<td>14,372</td>
<td>10,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>2,108</td>
<td>3,879</td>
<td>7,293</td>
<td>4,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>2,817</td>
<td>5,070</td>
<td>2,514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contrast between the number of women and the number of men arriving is confirmed. It is only after the immigration laws of the 1920's begin to operate, when spouses are coming to join husbands already here, that the number of women approaches that of men. Under such circumstances we might assume that the immigrants returning to Greece would be very numerous. Even in the 1960's the number of Greek males in the United States is much in excess of the number of females. The published record in this case goes back only until 1908. In the first five years following, the returning were about one-fourth as numerous as the arriving. In the next five years (through 1917) three-eights as numerous, during the period 1918-1924 slightly greater in number than the arrivals.

Xenides in 1922 says repeatedly and quotes other Greeks to the same, effect that the men returning to Greece would sooner or later return to the United States. The Federal census of 1930 shows data on the date of immigration of foreign-born; the figures pertinent here are:
Year of Immigration to the U.S. of Persons Born in Greece and Resident in the U.S. in 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All U.S.</th>
<th>Kansas</th>
<th>Kansas, 1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1900</td>
<td>8,075</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>56,658</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1919</td>
<td>65,311</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1930</td>
<td>38,135</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For similar data, as recorded by the state census of 1925, the proportions in Kansas between the periods were similar. Of those who immigrated between the periods 1901 and 1910, 50% were still living in the United States in 1930; the proportion of those living in Kansas was 70% of the number of those who had said they were bound for Kansas in those years. For the next decade the proportions were: U.S., 30%; Kansas, 50%. The Greek population in Kansas had thus in 1930 resided longer in America than the average. Their conservation of Greek would then probably be less.

Overpopulation in Greece, according to commentators writing during the decades when emigration was the greatest, was not a cause of departure. "The people are not sufficiently crowded to justify us in regarding mere overpopulation as a cause of emigration" (F 60). This comment of Fairchild's is typical (Ma 164, G 133). And yet the number of inhabitants had increased from 752,007 in 1838 to 2,187,208 in 1889 and to 2,631,952 in 1907. Some
600,000 of these persons had been acquired through annexation of the Ionian islands in 1864 and Thessaly in 1881. With the territorial increases later, which approximately doubled its area, the population of Greece reached something over five million in 1921. The population growth has gone on since and if arable land was sufficient during the first century of Modern Greece, it no longer is so. Even early, despite lands added, it is evident that population growth was such as to exert pressure, even granting that at the end of Turkish tyranny the land was vastly underpopulated. Whether the greater numbers were occasioned by natural increase or influx from "enslaved" regions is of little moment; the country was still obliged to support a much larger population, and agricultural methods did not greatly change (F 61, X 34) nor was industrial growth remarkable (F 67, X 33). Certainly, however, the utilization of resources improved so greatly through the nineteenth century that stark poverty was by no means as common as in southern Italy and agriculturalists managed to make some sort of a living (F 61, M 211, Ma 162). There were no really large cities. Athens and the Piraeus together, ten times as large in the 1960's, contained 235,000 people in 1907, and their growth till then since liberation had been fabulous. Patras, next in size, numbered 37,000. There were four other towns larger than 15,000.

93.41g Economic conditions furnished the main push for emigration. Political, religious, and purely social reasons were very minor or non-existent. The American consul at Athens in 1908, George Horton,
reported: "There are 180 fasting days in the Greek religious year, which are rigorously observed by the laboring class, without, however, causing any marked degree of abnegation in the matter of diet." A people, existing at this level, is sensitive to even limited shocks to the economic structure. The general agricultural depression which most of Europe was undergoing in the 1880's seems not to have affected Greece directly, but neither industry nor agriculture made progress; the great blow was the collapse of the currant trade at the end of the nineteenth century and in the succeeding years (F 77, X 38). Not all Greece raised currants, but all Greece suffered when its only important cash crop became of little value.

93.5 The pull of American wages was the potent force that brought about emigration from Greece (M 229, F 74, G 134) not the quest for a better life in America, for living conditions in America were not sufficiently attractive to draw the mass of women after the men. To be sure, the returned emigrants, if they had not been incapacitated in America by overwork and disease--as frequently happened (Ma 163, G 134) -- were ordinarily so restless as to leave once more for the land of wealth and torture, specifically at the rate of a thousand a year in the period 1905-08 (F 256), but all in all the Greek emigrant envisaged, and actually accomplished, using in Greece all American dollars (M 230, Ma 163) over those needed for a poor maintenance and for business investment. Ultimately most of them could not separate themselves from the business investments. The pull of America seems to have been more than usually augmented by steamship agents (F 80) and their like; in Greece
such propagandists appear to have been more shameless than elsewhere in their exaggerations and to have found a more gullible public.*

Letters from emigrants usually were silent on hardships and contained

*The Immigration Commissioner complained in his reports of such practices for all "new" immigrants, but in 1910 the document he produced was a mortgage made in New Corinth, Greece, for an immigrant bound for Kansas City (p. 117).

remittances that aroused appetites (F 79).

93.6 The Modern Greek language is different in its literary form from its spoken form. The literary form preserves insofar as possible the ancient heritage, not to the point of making a Greek of these times write or deliver addresses in the idiom of Demosthenes or even in that of the medieval emperors of Constantinople but so conservative as to be farther from ordinary speech than the formal language of most peoples is from that which they use every day, unless, as occurred for example in Germany or Italy, their daily speech is frankly a dialect of patois. Territorial differences in Greek usage exist, chiefly remarkable to the Greeks, themselves, it seems by the character of vocabulary, which is sometimes marked by borrowings from peoples with whom the various areas have been in contact since the thirteenth century, insulars with Italians, lower peninsulars with Albanians, others with Turks. These dialectal differences have aroused little argument, however, while ardent debate has been frequent over the quality of the written language (X 52). This state
of affairs meant that the language which the emigrants carried with them was no more supported by a cultural form than if they were using a dialect acknowledged as such. However, they were or became avid readers so that literary Greek was no distant thing.

93.7 The centers of emigration in Greece were by 1910 scattered over all Greece (G 133), but the early ones and often those that sent citizens to Kansas were in the Peloponnesus (M 228, Ma 162 names Arcadia) where the fall in the demand for currants struck the heaviest economic blow. Thence the fever spread into central Greece, and later into the outlying areas (B 19). While Greeks from one native district have local patriotism (Fe 141) and have clung together more or less after leaving it, the greater importance of being Greek on the one hand or member of a family group on the other has made provincial differences of significance mostly as a rallying point for social groups of a more or less fluid nature.

93.80 The character of the family and the position of women in Greece are closely bound up together. The closeness of brothers to one another and their sense of responsibility for their sisters (F 38, Fe 186), while at the same time regarding women as little more than a chattel (Fe 140), has had notable effects upon the life of emigrants, frequently of a linguistic nature. Though much attenuated by the 1960's, the attitudes were still in existence then. Women among the Greek peasantry were expected to do all sorts of work within the family, but they were not hired out to work elsewhere, and their social circulation was very limited. The men might spend long hours in coffee-houses (F 29). If
perchance the women had leisure, they were drawn from the home for little except religious obligations (F 40, X 140). Every girl at marriage had a dowry (F 39, X 48), and the tradition was, and more or less still is, that the brothers should provide it before they themselves married. Such a status left women without the power to decide whether they should emigrate. A smaller quantity of dowry money seemed suitable for a girl marrying in Greece than for one to be established with a Greek husband in America, therefore the stimulus for bringing marriageable girls to America was slight. Because the women could work the farms in Greece (M 266) but could not be hired out even in America, the economic stimulus for bringing wives and daughters was equally slight, especially since the surplus of men over women in the population of Greece was such that husbands for marriageable girls could be found on the peninsula even after the drain of male emigration (M 274). On the other hand boys were frequently sent for by brothers who had emigrated (G 134) or by fathers. The boy could help build up the family fortune, particularly as the custom was to exploit boys for their labor as systematically as females. Greek youths in American shoe-shine parlors gave up their earnings with very few cases of rebellion.

The Greek emigrants in America were factious. This characteristic was doubtless in part the result of the lack of women among them; the men could vent their tensions only upon one another, and did not have the advice of the sex who has had to learn that more may be gained by insinuating means than by combat. But it was also in part a transplantation from Greece (F 26, X 49, Fe 150). At the time that the
Emigration became great, there were places in the southern Peloponnesus where vendetta, that is, deadly feuding between families, still flourished, and in all Greece political differences were made the occasion of more numerous and more violent altercations than among most peoples. This tendency was not, however, anarchistic in nature. Even under the Turks the habit of local political organization had persisted from ancient times, and the Greeks went on organizing and erupting within the units thus established.

The Greek Orthodox Church has harbored almost all Greeks, and they have remained true to it (X 69); indeed regard it as the preserver of their nationality. In spite of an organization with a Metropolitan ruling from Athens and an appropriate number of bishops, the church is primarily congregational. The parishioners are responsible for local management, and the country priests, ordinarily married, derive their income principally from the fees paid for baptisms, weddings, funerals and so on. Often they tilled farms like others in the parish. These men were not, then, remarkable for their culture or their administrative ability, and consequently, while there is no question about doctrine, congregations are divided into factions as radically as other social units. Piety is great, however, and among the humble, frequently superstitious in character. As with other groups the church is a socially conservative force, but because of the nature of local authority it is not at the parish level directed by stable policies.
Greeks in the United States formed settlements of several types:

(1) in the cities; and (2) in the manufacturing towns particularly of New England; fn

Xenides in 1922 made up a list of settlements based on answers received from a questionnaire submitted in connection with Greek Relief Work (X 74, 75). Omaha and North Platte, Nebraska, are included with estimates of 400-600 Greeks; Kansas City, Kansas, 250-400. (Xenides may have considered all Kansas City as being in Kansas).

(3) in the first decades of the twentieth century they frequently worked in gangs on the railroads during the summer months. (4) One well-known and picturesque colony of sponge fishermen developed at Tarpon Springs, Florida; the sponges were discovered in 1905. In 1909 the Greeks were strong enough there to build a church. In 1912 they made up half of the town's population of 4,000 (B 176). The settlement has remained conservative linguistically, but on shore English has gained much ground. Greek agricultural settlements were negligible. In the cities the Greeks were in commercial and service occupations (X 81 ff); during the winter months the larger urban settlements were increased still more by the railroad laborers without work in that season. The merchants usually began as ambulant peddlers of fruit, flowers, etc. and graduated to a candy store or the like as soon as possible, seeking customers in the general public, except that they developed groceries and other small businesses to meet the needs of their own settlements. The most frequent service occupation was shoe-shining, carried on in "parlors." Work in hotels and restaurants began early, and proprietorship, particularly of restaurants, followed. Until after the First World War the Greeks had not branched out much further. Most of
these occupations meant contact with the American public, and therefore, development of at least elementary bilingualism, but the contacts were for decades strictly on matters of business. The mill hands lived in ghetto-like colonies, and were absorbed in their own internal affairs. Bilingualism developed slowly. Lowell, Mass. was the best known example. (B 138 ff., F 133 ff.). Kansas population was not recruited among them, and we shall be concerned with them further only incidentally. The track laborers as such are also of slight interest. They were a passing phenomenon in Kansas, occurring seasonally and almost all driven out eventually by Mexicans even if they transferred from extra to regular section gangs. Except for a few in each gang they acquired very little English.

94.10 The Greeks of Kansas City, Missouri were more numerous than those in Kansas City, Kansas, and for many years the two settlements had little connection with each other. The Kansas City Star, 19 Feb. 1967 says, "Many of them lived in an area called Athens, generally along Fifth from Wyandotte west to Bluff [that is, close to the river, hemmed in by railroad tracks to the west, by business to the south, by other stocks to the east].

A newspaper account in 1910 expressed a degree of civic apprehension: 'Now we're wondering what will happen if this flood of Greeks doesn't cease. All within five of six years [there were a few earlier, 3 in 1890, 16 in 1900] something like 5,000 of these Greeks have come to Kansas City.' "

The journalist of 1910 found more Greeks than the censustakers of that year, who reported 758 foreign born. Part of the generosity of the reporter's estimate was doubtless occasioned by the presence of a considerable
floating element. Kansas City was serving as a recruitment center among the Greeks for railroad unskilled labor. Canoutas estimates for rather early days are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kansas City, Kans.</th>
<th>Kansas City, Mo.</th>
<th>St. Louis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canoutas, too, seems to have been optimistic. The census-takers of 1920 found in Kansas City, Mo., 570 persons born in Greece. The Star's estimate in 1967 was "about 2,500 citizens of Greek origin or descent in greater Kansas City." It too seems optimistic. The census figures for persons born in Greece in Kansas City, Mo., are:

- 1930-425 fb of whom 356 were males, 69 females
- 1940-362 fb of whom 297 were males, 65 females
- 1950-320 fb

The proportions between the sexes were similar to those elsewhere and not such as to suggest prolific breeding of pure stock. The Star says: "The early day [year not specified, but 1912 appears to be meant] Greek community was mostly male. Only 35 Greek women were here with their husbands. Fifteen Greeks had married American women." In those days there were fourteen coffee houses.

A "community" (see # 96.4) was formed, and an Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church was erected at 1421 Broadway in 1912, still in the same location in 1967. The restaurant business scattered Greeks somewhat and
many found homes in the southern part of the city. It was easier to leave the church where it was than to find a location satisfactory to all. The Star's article of 1967 says: "Orthodox liturgy and service is in Greek but the sermon from the pulpit is in English...Parochial schools are maintained by the church here where children of the member families may learn Greek." The article does not add that at the very time of its composition the language question as regards schooling was being hotly debated in Missouri. In that year a young Greek woman born in the homeland about 1933 usually conversed with others of the settlement in Greek if they were not much older than herself, but many coeval habitually spoke English. In 1968 a young Greek man thought that Greek children in Kansas City knew more Greek than Mexican children, largely because of the Greek schools on both the Kansas and the Missouri side. The schools were also attended by non-Greek spouses of Greeks. For the children as well as for the older people the informant thought that the study of Greek was the study of a foreign language, but the results attained were superior to those in most language classes largely because of high motivation. On the use of language in the pulpit he did not quite agree with the article in the Star. Both languages were used by the priest, at least in Kansas City, Kansas, but more and more anything meant for the young was couched in English.

94.1lg The Greeks in Chicago received special attention from observers soon after their settlement had become vigorous. Canoutas' Greek-American Guide
for 1912 pp. 391-392 (cited by B 123) reported that in 1882 "a small number of Greeks" with some Slavs formed a Helleno-Slavic Society. "By 1891, when their number had reached 100, they [the Greeks] organized a society, the object of which was the establishment of a Greek church...The first church building of their own was erected in 1898... It was changed from a house of God to a nucleus of strife, wrangles, and legal contests, lasting for almost a decade, because of the jealousy of different parties as to who should be the officers...Often the police were called in...Order was restored at last by the establishment of two more churches." The Federal census of 1900 showed 1,493 foreign-born Greeks in Chicago. The school census of 1908 recorded 4,218. Grace Abbott quoted this statistic and added that "The Greeks claim four or five times as many" (Ab 379). Evidently quoting his figures from the Canoutas handbook, this time for 1909 (Canoutas' estimates were always generous) Fairchild says, "In 1904 there were 7,500 Greeks in the city, and in 1909 about 15,000 [by 1918 Canoutas said 25,000 (C 209) Xenides in 1922-13,000] of whom 12,000 may be considered permanent residents, and the balance transients" (F 123), that is, track laborers, "probably the ones who are found most frequently in the municipal courts" (A 382). Of the three centers mentioned, one was in the south end, one in the north, and the third, the oldest and largest, was in an area where Italians had been displaced, just west of the south part of downtown Chicago north and west of Hull House, that is, near Halsted Street and Blue Island Avenue. It was studied by Grace Abbott in 1909.
Steiner (S 282 ff.) described it in 1906. His description, less detailed and more impressionistic, is in harmony with Miss Abbott's. Steiner has the best commentary on the disparaging remarks some others make on the sexual mores of these almost womanless exiles. "Without their wives...it is just possible that 10,000 Americans under the same conditions would not act differently" (S 286).

"Here is a Greek Orthodox Church, a school in which children are taught a little English, some Greek and much about Greece...here, too, is the combination Greek bank, steamship ticket office, notary public and employment agency, and the coffee houses...On Halstaad Street almost every store for two blocks is Greek...The colony as a whole is still ignorant of our language and customs...The very large number of men makes the life of the Greek colony entirely different from that of [older settlements]...large numbers of men live together, keeping house on some cooperative arrangement...Three-fourths, at least, of the laborers and peddlers belong to these non-family groups, while probably nearly the same proportion of ice cream parlor and restaurant keepers belong to the family groups...The Jones school...had 81 Greeks enrolled in 1908-9 out of a total of 252...The teachers found the Greeks the brightest and the quickest to learn...Considering their Eastern training and traditions of almost Oriental seclusion the Greek women adapt themselves very quickly...They do not work outside their own homes...out of 246...aged over 15, only 5 were found to be at work...The Greek man...considers it a disgrace for his wife or sister to work...Often the owner of
a restaurant or fruit store, or a shoe-shine parlor furnished his employee board and room...Many of the boys are worked under a system of peonage,...spend nearly all their waking hours at work...have no time for regular attendance at evening classes or clubs, no normal home life or relationships [see also F 177 ff., B 38]. But for the discipline of the bosses who want them to be ready for work next day, an even larger number would find excitement and relaxation in dangerous amusements...They work for long hours cheerfully, confident [that they may soon] set up as independent business men" (Ab 380-393).

94.20 Greek life in other cities great and small, outside of the mill towns, resembled that at Chicago, and that in the mill towns differed primarily in the lack of escape into commercial activities. Fairchild said of the New York City Greeks,"The characteristic occupations of the Greeks here resemble those of Chicago...The tendency is for Greeks to gather in several small settlements" (F 147). The census figures cited above show that in the second decade of the 20th century the New York Greeks grew in numbers more rapidly than those at Chicago. Lincoln, Nebraska, with 35 Greeks at the time he wrote (ca. 1909) drew Fairchild's attention. "All but four or five are males and only about a dozen are adults, the remainder being boys employed in the shoe-shining parlors and in the candy stores" (F 159). His picture of the life in this small settlement is very similar to Miss Abbot's description of the Greek activities in Chicago.

94.21 Oklahoma City received a quota of Greeks rather late that maintained strength. In 1910 there were five persons there born in Greece. In 1920, 152, in 1930, 157, in 1940, 141. For Greeks the proportion of women was high, 42 against 115 in 1930. A biography written by a young man in 1967 born in Greece concerning Father Merkouris of Oklahoma City presents Greek
activity in western cities in a different light, and furnishes a counter
weight to impressions that might be gained from statements quoted in the
following.

94.22 "Michael Merkouris, was born in Corinth, in 1876. He attended the
Theological Seminary of Rizarios in Athens, and was ordained in 1906.
Prior to ordainment, he married a girl from his home town, by which he
had two sons. He lost one in 1919, and in 1920 he came to the United
States. Shortly afterwards he was assigned to Oklahoma City, where there
was not a church... He managed to motivate the Greek Orthodox of the
area and built the church of St. George, on 1108 NW 8th Street. He has
many sad stories to tell of the difficulties of those first years, and
the persecution by the Protestant groups.

"His older son, John, also decided to follow his father and went to
the Theological School of the University of Athens to become a priest.
When he came back, a priest and married, he took over the church of St.
George's in 1952. At that time father Michael retired. In 1965, his wife
died. Father Merkouris, being the first priest of the Orthodox faith in
the area, performed literally thousands of ceremonies: Baptisms, weddings,
etc. He is known to the surrounding States because of his travel, in
connection with his religious work. He still participates in special masses,
assisting priests in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Wichita, Dallas, and a dozen
other cities. He and his wife were naturalized in 1929. His Greek is
perfect, and so is his son's. His grandchildren's is far superior to the
Spanish spoken by any third generation Mexicans in this part of the country."
The place of the church in Greek settlements differed from analogous conditions among other foreign stocks in that each American parish was established as a derivative of a parent local organization that was only quasi-religious. The Greeks, however, took their religion very seriously. The observances were carried out strictly enough so that shoe-shine parlors, that would ordinarily be open fifteen to eighteen hours a day, closed for Greek religious festivals, though not on Sunday (presumably because patrons among the Western Christians were numerous on the dress-up day). Canoutas' story of internal strife within the church at Chicago resembled what frequently happened elsewhere (F 208, B 57, A 16, X 118). The church furnished the best arena for factions to contend in. Roman Catholics had hierarchical authority to guide them through such crises, and Protestant denominations could sometimes resolve differences by separation into yet more sects, but the Greeks were doctrinally bound together and the hierarchy had little influence. The priest was often a functionary with whom they dealt commercially, for the custom of maintenance of the clergy through fees was continued in the United States. The Greek's "priest is not servilely revered or feared, and the relation between them is too often that of buyer and seller. The priest has the means of grace, the Greek is in need of them for salvation, and he pays for what he gets -- sometimes reluctantly" (S 287). In the early years, as with some other groups of immigrants, the quality of the priests arriving early was sometimes not high (X 123). They were not infrequently rejects or adventurers. Of course, they were also frequently men worthy of their position. The poor ones, in 1913 according to Burgess, an ordained Episcopalian, a "member of the American Branch Committee of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox
Churches Union," were usually "Macedonians . . . who have slipped their bishops' jurisdiction and are ministering without authority wherever they can make the most money, sometimes underbidding and ousting the priests sent by a bishop . . . . The Greek priest is hired, and 'fired,' by a parish committee composed usually of poorly educated peasants. And thus come the wranglings and disputes and divisions" (B 58). Burgess, prejudiced in favor of organization similar to that of his own church was scandalized by "congregationalism run wild," but his evidence is valuable because he wrote from direct observation. He is not too charitable toward the "sent" priests. "Some are of good educations, some are not. They are sometimes accused of being 'lovers of filthy lucre.' Without doubt many are, . . . but certainly some are faithful, saintly shepherds, respected and loved by their flocks" (B 83). Many of the smaller churches were frequently without pastors. "The grievous problem of many a place would be solved if only the several poor communities of a section would combine under one priest . . . . But Greek communities will seldom combine amicably" (B 56). As time went on, dioceses (Kansas belongs with Chicago) and an arch-diocese at New York were established. Selection and distribution of clergy became ordered, and the parishioners' share in the choice of a priest decreased, but church government remained essentially democratic (Q 864). Since no Greek was going to abandon the Orthodox Church, the tempests never boiled outside of the teapots, and the verbal development, unless some affair got into court where English was necessary, helped keep the Greek language alive. Linguistically "argufying" brings people together perhaps more than loving harmony -- unless the point under dispute is choice of language.
Xenides in 1922 foresaw that "the coming generation will have the English as their mother tongue" (X 144) and services would be in English. "This however, cannot happen during the present generation, which uses Greek and is not accustomed to English association of ideas. The Greek language and other usages brought from Greece are too sacred to them."

The Greek "community" was the society that was formed to sponsor the organization of churches. They numbered 55 in 1913 (B 56), 134 in the United States and Canada about 1920 (X 74). Each included all the Greeks within a settlement, sometimes directly, sometimes as members of lesser societies. The subordinate units gave a basis of power to their representatives in the "community," and efforts by them to prevail over other elements were common, but no one thought of carrying on Greek affairs except through the community. The long tradition of municipal democracy within which factions warred, was continued in the United States. The Greeks achieved a national organization, the Pan-Hellenic Union (F 121), for the United States as a whole in 1907; at first it was a coalition of other organized groups, but in 1910 reached the norm of organization of national associations. Its purposes were the usual ones. Some were "to teach the English and Greek languages, to preserve the Greek Orthodox Church and to develop and propagate educational and moral doctrines." So said their constitution (B 65). The Pan-Hellenic Union eventually lost importance during political alterations after the First World War (X 105). It seems to have
served in part as a public screen for AHEPA, a lodge of secret character organized to combat American tendencies to segregate Greeks and discriminate against them. As public attitudes changed, AHEPA emerged from the shadows.

The more limited societies might have as a basis for membership occupation or leisure time activity (gymnastics for instance), but more usually they were "formed for the banding together in a town of all the Greeks from one particular locality in Greece or Turkey" (B 59, X 102). "Campanilismo" was not so important as among the Italians but it still had its definite role (A 15, Q 864, X 92). The organized groups might act as "service clubs," do valuable work along benevolent lines. As for the rest I can't for the life of me say what their purpose is. I'll tell you! Each society has a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer -- and that's something" (F 156). So Fairchild's inquiry as to the purpose of the societies was answered by "one of the foremost Greeks in the country." Greeks are not alone in America in making societies the outlet for petty ambitions, but perhaps the thirst for such satisfactions was less disguised among them than among others (A 15). In any case campaigning allowed much exercise of Hellenic eloquence. Talk flowed most freely or rather most frequently in the coffee houses. Greeks consumed but little alcohol and the role of saloons was smaller than in most immigrant groups, but they brought their coffee houses from Greece and patronized them much (B 151, Q 863). Since so many of them were without families, public places of casual
assembly were naturally important, but men in or from Greece appear to have conversed with their women less than men in the rest of Europe.

94.60 Schools such as that referred to by Miss Abbott above were conducted by the "communities" (X 108). Though there was instruction in religion in the early days the priest was held to have no direct interest in them (B 77, Q 884). As described by Burgess the schools when he wrote in 1913 were already firmly bilingual: "There is always an American teacher or two" (B 77). The first of them had been established about 1908 and the hostilities of the period of the First World War were so near at hand that difficult days lay before them. Burgess could name only four that had more than fifty pupils. The "Greek schools" continued, reinforced by Sunday schools, of importance particularly in small communities. In the 1960's they were meeting some apathetic attitudes, but were still doing much to perpetuate the Greek language among children. But Greek children most frequently attended the public schools. Consequently "many Greek children answer their parents in English who speak to them in Greek" (X 113.)

94.61g The Greek press in the United States prospered early because the Greeks brought with them an avid interest in the reading of newspapers (Q 863, X 109). Atlantis was established in 1894 as a weekly in New York. It became a daily in 1903, and in 1912 had a circulation of 20 to 25 thousand including subscribers "in every part of the country" (B 67). Atlantis still flourishes in the 1960's. Second place is occupied by a journal well established by 1925, the National Herald. Akropolis in Chicago is also of long duration. There were in 1912
in all sixteen Greek newspapers. Geographically the sixteen were distributed, 4 in New York City, 4 in New England, 4 west of the Rockies, one in Pittsburgh, and three in Chicago (B 67f, cf. F 209). Obviously for local news Greeks on the trans-Mississippi plains as well as the other small groups in many cities had to depend upon newspapers printed in English and thus bilingualism was promoted.

Greek women in the United States, as has been shown, were much less numerous than the men all through the period of immigration. And the Greeks here had the same compunctions about allowing women to work outside the homes as they had in Greece (Q 863). Consequently, America seldom saw them. They certainly did not sit idle. Most of them were the wives of commercial entrepreneurs, and these men had the habit of housing their employees, who very frequently were relatives, under their own roofs. There were no prejudice against women's working hard at home, and the care of these patriarchal establishments fully occupied them. They naturally tended thus to be very conservative in all social respects, and particularly in language usage. This conservatism relative to that of the men seemed the greater because in any given family or community they reached America much later than their men (B 73, X 95). Among the girls born here, however, their smallness in number led to advancement in independence. Their opportunities for choosing a mate who would suit the tastes that they were developing were numerous, particularly because miscegenation was so uncommon among Greek men. Still, they clung to the imported language even more than the women of other immigrant stocks.
Segregational forces exerted against the Greeks were approximately as great as against Italians. The phenomenon disturbed them little in the early years. They could not rent rooms in lodging houses with others (B 148), but they seldom had such a desire. Ultimately they felt the sting; hence, the organization of AHEPA. During the First World War, the public attitude toward all foreigners made matters worse. Canoutas wrote in 1918, "Greeks have been regarded by Americans as a race which, though inferior to themselves, were quite smart in business and made good money. Their faults have been magnified, and if any non-English-speaking foreigner of dark complexion was accused of a grave offense, Americans were too ready to surmise that he was of Greek origin . . . . Greeks . . . have been refused citizenship in some instances, judges having pronounced that they belonged to the yellow race!" (C 295). He also relates how the Greek owner of a "first class cafe in Boston" succeeded in getting "several thousand dollars from Greeks" for Liberty loans and not "one from a large number of his American neighbors." "This fact . . . was due either to lack of readiness on the part of those native Americans to subscribe to the Liberty Loan, or else to unwillingness to subscribe for a canvasser because he was a foreigner" (C 313). The underlying bitterness evident in this statement had its justification, and so did similar emotions in succeeding decades. Linguistically this phenomenon had a more conservative influence among the Greeks than among other immigrant stocks suffering similar treatment. There has been the same tendency to drive the Greeks together, but among them not the same effort, at least to so marked a degree, to prove that one is "just
like everybody else" by linguistic usage. On the other hand not only the Greek desire for commercial patronage but also their tendency toward jealousies among themselves have led them to make extensive, if not deep-rooted, contacts with the general population and have thus led to early bilingualism.

Very small groups of Greeks, if they persisted in one locality long enough to become well established, were likely to be accepted in their communities. Two cases of linguistic usage in families resident in Kansas are typical — not a-typical of developments in larger groups.

Miss S., b. 1929, had a sister, b. ca. 1932, and a brother, b. ca. 1936. While the girls were small the mother addressed them in Greek but had ceased altogether by the time they were grown. Their father, b. ca. 1900, an immigrant, used only English to them, but the spouses spoke Greek to each other, inserting English words, particularly in the area of business. A sister of the mother was often with the family, and the two older women used Greek to each other. Miss S, about 1952, was held by her mother to know Greek sufficiently well so that three months abroad would make her fluent. Her sister was less proficient, and her brother knew only a little. The mother was of cultured background. The father had anglicized his name.

Mr. F., b. 1930 or 1931, lived in a town where the Greeks were sufficiently numerous to form a society (13 families). There was little marriage with other than Greeks. His mother had come from Greece in 1900, his father in 1914. The group kept up the use of Greek, and
Mr. F. in 1952 considered himself and those his age proficient in the language. A Greek priest who reported on the quality of his Greek was not of the same opinion, and rated him much as Miss S's mother had rated her daughter. But he had visited Greece.

Greek speakers in the United States in the 1960's, if for no other reason than that the Greek stock was one of the last to gain any importance numerically here, were a larger fraction of the number of immigrants and descendants than speakers of other foreign languages. Such is the fact, true for Kansas as elsewhere. Relative smallness in size of settlements has been counter-balanced by influences for segregation, whether voluntary or involuntary, and perhaps most importantly, by the internal discouragement of participation by women in general social life.
The Lebanese are the only stock speaking a non-Indo-European language significantly represented in Kansas. As speakers of Arabic they represent the Semitic group. The linguistic behavior of the Lebanese, whose language has no relationship to English, will be seen to be similar to that of stocks speaking Indo-European languages. After consideration of the Lebanese a single paragraph is devoted to each of four non-Indo-European groups not significantly represented in Kansas, but present in the United States. Their behavior follows linguistically a very similar pattern.

Lebanese Bibliography


AL - Anonymous and untitled. Literary Digest, 3 May 1919, p. 43.


Lebanese, all of whom are Arabic speaking, were until the First World War, known in the United States as Syrians even among themselves when speaking English. Politically, though nearly autonomous, Lebanon was part of Syria. Very few other Syrians came to the United States; thus there was no confusion as to their identity. In the following sections, too, they will sometimes be referred to as Syrians, particularly in quoting material upon them. (In Volume I, notably on page 322, they are referred to as Syrians.) Even giving Lebanese the meaning that the word has acquired since Lebanon became a completely independent political entity, it has a more selective meaning when applied to Lebanese in the United States than it has when referring to those in Lebanon, for the Lebanese in the United States are nearly all Christians, Catholics of one type or another. In Kansas the exceptions are almost non-existent. In Lebanon, however, the proportion of Christians on the one hand to Mohammedans and Druzes on the other was such that "in the Chamber of 1937 there were 22 Christians as against 20 Muslims and Druzes" (Z 72).

Christian and Moslem Lebanese are mingled in Beirut and certain other coastal towns, but rural Christians almost all live in that part of Lebanon stretching from the sea up to the tops of the closest mountain range, but not on the coastal plain at its two ends. The smallness of this area -- 50 miles south along
the coast from Beirut and less to the north, by about 15 miles inland
from the shore — makes dialectal variation of Arabic within it slight.

95.20 Significant American statistics concerning Lebanese are not only
those labeled "Syrian;" statistics for immigrants from Turkey in
Asia are also sufficiently reliable to measure in some sort the
number of Lebanese arrivals, for Turks were few and even Greeks from
Asia were not numerous until the Balkan War. The statistics for these
speaking Arabic in the United States are also pertinent; in 1920 88%
of all Arabic speakers were from Syria, 82% in 1930.

95.21 On Lebanese, Syrians, and speakers of Arabic pertinent census
data for various states and the United States are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United States</th>
<th>born in Syria</th>
<th>foreign-born Syrian &amp; Arabic mother tongue</th>
<th>f.w.s. Syrian &amp; Arabic mother tongue</th>
<th>F.W.S.Syrian &amp; Arabic mother tongue originating in Turkey in Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td>32,868</td>
<td>46,495</td>
<td>39,633*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td></td>
<td>51,901</td>
<td>57,557</td>
<td>104,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
<td>57,227</td>
<td>67,830</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 5,038 from Turkey in Europe, presumably mostly Lebanese from
Constantinople.

1895 Syrian stock at home in Kansas — 22, of which 19 were foreign-
born.
### Syrian and Arabic mother tongue, foreign-born

*(as recorded by census of 1930)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kansas</th>
<th>Oklahoma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>863</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Syrian and Arabic, mother tongue, foreign white stock

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>46,495</td>
<td>*7,253</td>
<td>*7,312</td>
<td>*4,646</td>
<td>*2,442</td>
<td>*1,568</td>
<td>*1,642</td>
<td>*1,055</td>
<td>*529</td>
<td>*249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>104,139</td>
<td>13,270</td>
<td>14,752</td>
<td>11,162</td>
<td>7,159</td>
<td>3,064</td>
<td>7,195</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95.22g  

Lebanese immigration to the United States first became noteworthy in the 1880's (HH 696, H9 481), but *immigration statistics* begin only in 1899.
### Report of the Immigration Commissioner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bound for Kansas</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bound for Kansas</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bound for Kansas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>3,708</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,920</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>4,064</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>4,982</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>5,551</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>3,653</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>4,822</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>5,824</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>5,880</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>3,520</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>3,668</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>6,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>5,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>504</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>5,105</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>1,334</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1,595</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>676</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Some knowledge of the history of Lebanon during the nineteenth and early twentieth century is needful to understand even statistics regarding the country through this period. It had been part of the Turkish empire, a portion of the vilayet of Damascus, not a political entity but, at least in the portion whence emigration came, little disturbed by the Turks and relatively quiet with Druze overlords and a largely Christian population, mostly Maronites, indeed so nearly tranquil that it attracted immigration by Sunni and Shi'i Moslems, and Orthodox Christians. During the military occupation by the Egyptians under Ibrahim Pasha (1831-1840) communication with the west became easier. The Jesuits returned, and by 1848 American Protestant missionaries were at work (HH 701). The Maronite population increased and tended to displace the Druze commoners who lived to the south of them. There arose chaos among the feudal lords, and
beginning about 1838 religious hostilities became marked (HB 10). In 1859 and 1860 the Druzes massacred many Maronites, abetted by the Turks who saw greater power for themselves in these divisions. Thereupon the powers of Europe intervened and set up a quasi-independent government over a territory called Lebanon (HH 695) and extending approximately over the area described above as the source of emigration, but not including the city of Beirut. This Lebanese district had a Christian governor, chosen among non-natives, and a Maronite bureaucracy which behaved in civil affairs much as preceding governments had, that is corruptly and venially (AI 1007). But safety of life and limb was rather well established, and the population went on increasing to the point that emigration soon had to provide relief. This state of affairs continued until 1914. Then the Turks, because the population was pro-Ally during the First World War, blockaded the country. No exit was possible; hardship and undernourishment took many lives, so that it is generally held that no population increase occurred until about 1922 (G 53). At the close of the First World War when the French secured Syria and Lebanon as a mandate, a separate state of Lebanon was set up with considerably increased territory, including the high broad valley of Beka'a between the first range from the sea, Mount Lebanon, and the second, the Anti-Lebanon, and more to the north (HB 14). The additions left the Christians a majority but only a meager majority. This mandate after the Second World War became the sovereign state of Lebanon. During the period of the French mandates,
in spite of the difference in government, the world tended to regard Syria and Lebanon as a unit, and literature on the subject to treat them as such. Earlier writings are still vaguer in dealing with Lebanon, so that certain statistical and economic observations must be based on extrapolation.

The population of the Lebanon existing in the first decade of the 20th century was according to the 11th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica and Grande Encyclopedie 400,000 of whom 320,000 were Christians (3/4 of these Maronites, another 15% Greek Orthodox, and the rest Greek Uniates). There were 50,000 Druzes and 30,000 Moslems. All agree that this population was too great for the resources of the area. The Statesmens Yearbook of 1913 in assigning to Lebanon a population of 200,000 was probably repeating a figure traditional from 1860. Certainly population did not fall off, though Himadeh in 1936 (quoted by G 63) estimated that 120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon between 1860 and 1906, almost twice as many between 1900 and 1914; sometimes villages lost whole clans. Concerning the Lebanon created after the First World War Zradeh in 1945 reported as follows: "The most recent census in Lebanon was held in 1932. In 1943 a mira (rationing) census came to be recognized, but a great deal of suspicion surrounds it. Very little data are available .... The following figures are mostly estimates.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population (in thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1,047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>1,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>1,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,420&quot; (Z 240)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the estimates later than 1932 other commentators agree. The rate of increase in population is indicative of what was happening earlier. A mountainous country, where extensive industry developed late and agricultural methods have made slow progress, with a population of about 350 persons to the square mile, provides great push for emigration.

95.5 The political push for emigration can be deduced from the historical sketch presented above. The massacres of 1859 and 1860 provided an initial impetus (Z 242). The protected position of Lebanon in the Turkish empire made exit possible thereafter and permitted the growth in number of American mission schools (Z 37, also 256, Ho 788). These schools made few converts to Protestantism, but they opened the eyes of pupils to a larger world and instructed many in English so that even emigrants of the 1890's were not uncommonly able to get along in English on arrival (AI 1009). The blockade of 1914-1918 allowed the internal push no vent, and emigration was ready to burst into activity when peace returned. The American immigration laws removed the United States as a destination for many years, but the push still existed and people went elsewhere though not in such numbers, for urban development absorbed part of the surplus rural population.
Religion among the Lebanese, after the crisis of 1860, provided little push for emigration, but it has been fundamental in determining behavior of Lebanese both at home and abroad. In Lebanese government, Hess and Bodman say, "We may somewhat loosely characterize confessionalism as a comfortable, acceptable, and understandable way of doing things" (HB 22). Gulick says: "Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another" (G 26). Hitti is as outright: Religion "divided them [the Lebanese] into two main hostile camps -- Christian and Muslim -- and in the case of the Christians into mutually jealous communities, but within each denomination it brought the members together" (H 34, see also Ho 961). The divisions among the Moslems interest us little since few came to the United States and so to speak, none to Kansas. The same is true for the Druzes (on their origin see H 41) who despite Moslem connection, are always treated as a separate group. The Maronites and Melkites are "Eastern Rites in communion with Rome" (Cath. Directory 1960, p. 777). In the United States their parishes are part of the regular dioceses, subject to the diocesan government. In Lebanon, however, they are units distinct from each other and from the few Roman Catholics to be found in that country. From the point of view of the Eastern Orthodox church these two eastern groups were schismatics. They were therefore easily accessible to Western influences. The Maronites, though contacts made with the Crusaders, were more or less in the orbit of
Rome from the twelfth century on, and the bond became very strong in the 18th century. The Melkites were not attracted so early. Though both spurn the claim that they were once heretical, the differences between the two of them and between them and the Eastern Orthodox Church were originally doctrinal, and the spirit of separation continued strong. The Maronites, as the numerically strongest Christian body in Lebanon, furnished through its clergy the administrative personnel of the Lebanon of 1861-1914. Under the regime that has followed the Second World War the president of the Republic (who has real power) is a Maronite and his prime minister a Sunni Moslem. The Melkites are badly in need of an unambiguous name; this particular term has been used with a broader meaning. Some authors prefer the term Greek Catholic, taking the term "Catholic" to mean "dependent upon Rome" and "Greek" to mean "using the Greek rite."

The group of the greatest interest to Kansas is that called Greek Orthodox in Lebanon, and Syrian Orthodox in the United States. Though Maronites and Melkites do not have churches in Kansas, the Orthodox did at Wichita. Like Eastern Orthodox elsewhere, the Lebanese Orthodox have congregations showing great independence (G 74). The figures given above for the relative distribution in Syria of the various sects are much different from the distribution according to Zradeh in 1957 (Z 25) which are (figures in thousands):
The Maronite growth (nearly double the number in 1905) can be attributed very largely to natural increase, the Greek Orthodox four-fold increase has a larger source derived from the population in added territory. Near the sea coast the Orthodox villages are in general the descendants of colonists who came from the Damascus area or elsewhere in the seventeenth century (G 146). The villages of every stock maintain confessional identity. There may be peripheral inhabitants belonging to sects other than the principal one, but they are strangers outside of the limits of intermarriage. Many different sects live together in the cities, but sectarian distinction is nearly as rigid there.

The economic push for emigration in Lebanon was the really compelling factor. The basic urge came from population growth in a laggard economy. Two important accidental factors were the collapse of the silk market in 1893 (Ho 481, see also G 148) shortly after the opening of the Suez Canal and the disaster to grape production from phylloxera. An exciting factor was the building of a good harbor at Beirut about 1900 (Z 45) which made exit much easier. In the earlier part of the 19th century the Turkish government established a system of land ownership certificates. To dodge taxes the peasants not infrequently had their land registered
by some rich inhabitant of their district under his name. Eventually, the property became the registrant's (£ 237) and the the peasant's family was left landless, therefore ripe for emigration. (See the 1903 *Independent* for a case evidently of this character which led to emigration, AI 1008.) As in other countries of the New Emigration the word pictures of returned emigrants played an important role in promoting more departures (Ho 482). Emigrant remittances helped build up the economy in Lebanon (G 62), but also provided money for further emigration.

95.9 The **family structure in Lebanon** tended to produce mass exit once emigration had begun. Brothers had the same sense of responsibility for each other as in Greece and there was the same possibility of absorbing siblings in family commercial enterprises. Therefore one member of a family brought to America all the rest of his family; thus houses were often abandoned and left to ruin in Lebanon (G 37, 112, L 23). Furthermore, what affected one family in a village likely affected a great many more, for "the village as a whole . . . is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed" (G 155). As a contrast to Greece there was almost as much motivation for bringing women to America as men. The women in Lebanon as workers were not restricted to activity within the family or upon its lands (G 61); they participated in commercial activities. Only the Moslems left their women **permanently** behind when they emigrated (H 58).
96.0 The reverence of the Lebanese for the Arabic language has been and is great (G 165, H 34, 101). They do not consider it forced upon them by foreigners. Such action occurred far too long ago to be remembered. Classic Arabic is written in such a manner as to make possible the reading of it by peoples speaking various dialects without adjustments in spelling. The Lebanese were, it seems, unaware of the dialectal character of their own speech. They were not like South Italians, for instance, who are brought up with the notion that their own dialect is something pleasant but inferior. Consequently, there is little push for a Lebanese to abandon Arabic. He will acquire other linguistic tools, as he has English in the American schools in Lebanon, but such an acquisition is merely that of a tool.

96.1 The Lebanese spread all over the United States as soon as their immigration became important toward the end of the nineteenth century, but the census data quoted above show that nearly half of them congregated in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The rest of the industrial northeast accounts for significant numbers. Though the totals are not imposing, a larger proportion of Lebanese emigrated to the South than was true for any other stock. They were primarily interested in commerce, but industry did frequently attract them when it was necessary to acquire capital in the first days after arrival in America -- newly established industry more importantly, as the leap in the number of the Lebanese in Michigan between 1910 and 1920 shows. The attraction in Oklahoma was the oil fields. Elsewhere textile manufacturing and coal mining drew a certain number of them. The small settlement in Pittsburg, Kansas, probably grew from men who were briefly miners.
96.2 The number of Lebanese concentrated in urban settlements was small. As might be expected, the most important city colony was in New York; it served not only as a way station to immigrants proceeding farther, but also as a scene of vaster enterprise for those who had fared well elsewhere. Hitti calls it the "mother colony" and finds colonies important only in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Lawrence, Fall River, Pittsburgh and St. Louis (H 66). Among these cities Boston, after New York, contained the largest number of Syrians (3,150); Detroit with 3,858 does not figure in the list. In fact half of the fourteen cities having the most Syrians do not. Hitti perhaps exaggerates somewhat the slightness of the tendency to congregate in ghetto-like districts, though other commentators make similar statements. If he is right, then Wichita is an exception, for the Syrians have been concentrated in the Fifth Ward.

96.3 Lebanese in Oklahoma are of some special interest to this study, because it furnished Syrians to Kansas or received them from Kansas. Syrians were most concentrated in 1930 in Oklahoma City, where there were 102 persons born in Syria. Another area where they were numerous was in the oil field country near Tulsa. The city of Tulsa contained only 40 foreign-born Syrians, but Tulsa County and its two neighbors to the south and east contained 250. The Oklahomans were of the same confessional stock as the Lebanese in Wichita. In 1936 there were three Orthodox churches in Oklahoma. Hitti reported two in 1924, both at Oklahoma City,
one Antiochan and one not (H 130, 133). (The church at Wichita in 1914 was not Antiochan.) Hitti quoting from *Neighbors. Studies In Immigration from the Standpoint of the Episcopal Church* (1919, p. 64): "In eastern Oklahoma an Archdeacon of the Episcopal Church reports that the only foreigners brought into any kind of touch with him are some Syrians in the oil towns who are looked after in some fashion, by their own priests who make occasional visits to the oil fields" (H 111). The Episcopal Church and Eastern Orthodox Churches had close relations: Maronite and Melkite congregations there were at most not viable. The attractions of Wichita and Oklahoma City were similar, commercial opportunities in a city whose trade territory was developing rapidly in the early decades of the 20th century. The oil country afforded opportunities for accumulating a stake; wages there were considered fabulously high.

96.4 "The Syrian is usually found selling laces, groceries and dry goods" said Hitti (H 73) in 1924, but adds that "there is hardly a branch of commerce, a profession, or a trade that he has not entered." Except as he was drawn into the lower ranks of industry, his occupations, commercial or service in character, put him in direct contact with the general public, and therefore gave him ample opportunity and motivation for acquiring English. This was true even for women (H 75, Ho 648). The goods most frequently sold were destined for women. The laces went with underwear; a specialty was kimonos. Therefore the best peddlers were women, and the Lebanese women undertook the work (Ho 648). When commercial houses were established,
they continued as outside salespersons, sometimes as "drummers" (Ho 652). A larger proportion of immigrating women than in other stocks thus learned English early and could not protest to their children that they could not understand what the youngsters were saying in the language that they learned at school. Syrian farmers were not numerous, but the few that there were often settled, like those in Gray County, Kansas, on the Great Plains (particularly North Dakota H 73, HO 494).

Almost all Lebanese immigrants were Christians, as said above. Out of the 200,000 "Syrians" in the United States according to his estimate, Hitti allows that 1,000 were Druzes and 8,000 Mohammedans (H 108). A very few Mosques were established. The numerical distribution of the Christian Churches in 1960, 1936 and 1924 has been set forth above. In 1911 Mrs. Houghton reported "So far as can be ascertained there are 10 Syrian Roman Catholic Churches [presumably Melkite], 13 Maronite, 7 Papal [presumably Melkite and Maronite mixed]* and 7 Orthodox Greek, 18 Protestant

* These presumptions are determined by comparing towns listed by Mrs. Houghton with the Maronite and Melkite lists in the Catholic Directory of 1960. Mrs. Houghton lists as "Papal" or "Roman Catholic" several cities in each category where there was neither a Maronite or Melkite church in 1960, notably Cincinnati, Troy and Albany. Probably the Lebanese were absorbed into the "Irish" churches.
[presumably missions, which were all very small; only three had buildings in 1924- (H 108)], 9 Moslem, 3 Druse and one Metialley religious bodies" (Ho 966). Mrs. Houghton cites as primarily Maronite communities Buffalo, Lawrence (Mass.), Toledo, St. Louis, Minneapolis and St. Paul. All these except Toledo had Maronite churches in 1960. (St. John's of Toledo seems Lebanese in background.) To the Orthodox she assigns Pennsylvania in general; she should have particularized western Pennsylvania where she would have been on safer ground, for west of the Susquehanna, Maronites and Melkites took root only at Pittsburgh and some distance to the east of that city in Dubois and Uniontown. Hitti in 1924 gives the relative strength of the sects as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maronites</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melkites</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Orthodox</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Orthodox split over who should be their administrative chief. In 1924 19 were Antiochan, 11 were in the Russian Synod (H 107); the schism has persisted. Small settlements are made up usually of people of one faith with a few outsiders. In this they do not differ essentially from Germans. Their sects, however, are different enough in practice from American congeners to cause greater hesitation than with most stocks in shifting to American churches whenever the language question has grown difficult.

In 1960 by the Catholic Directory the Maronite and Melkite parishes in the United States were distributed as follows:
The proportion of Melkite churches in the U.S. is larger as compared with Maronites than the corresponding population proportions in Lebanon.

In 1936 by the Census of Religious Bodies the distribution of the Syrian Orthodox parishes were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Mar.</th>
<th>Mel.</th>
<th>No. of parishes</th>
<th>members</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Mar.</th>
<th>Mel.</th>
<th>No. of parishes</th>
<th>members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calif.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,497</td>
<td>Minn.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conn.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>Neb.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>N.H.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>N.J.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>N.Y.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,391</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,855</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Okla.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>766</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>Ore.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2,306</td>
<td>Penna.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,429</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mich.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3,363</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>651</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. Virginia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1924 Hitti (H 125 ff.) distributes the American Lebanese churches as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calif.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mich.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Okla.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conn.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Minn.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Penna.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>R.I.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Neb.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N.J.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>W. Va.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N.Y.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wisc.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the proportion of the number of Orthodox churches to Maronite churches in the United States is approximately the same as the analogous population proportions in the Lebanon of 1955, it is much higher than the proportion in the Lebanon of 1861-1918. Maronites are reported to have emigrated as freely as other Christian sects, and the explanation of the comparatively limited number of Maronite churches is to be found in the absorption of the Maronites into the general Roman Catholic structure both from natural gravitation and from the efforts of the Catholic hierarchy as applied to small congregations.

The Lebanese, unlike Italians, most Slavs and Greeks, are afflicted with their sectarianism, and they are subject to a tradition of bitter hostility between the confessions. Mrs. Houghton maintained that religious quarrels were common and that
the various creeds would not work together except for large corporations (Ho 803). Hitti though citing an exception, Birmingham, Alabama, agreed fundamentally (H 105). Because of the relative smallness of most American settlements the result has been either social disunion among the Lebanese or else the promotion of indifference — to some it seemed better to abandon the basis of hostility so as to be able to associate with others with whom one has much in common. Both of these conditions promoted Engl-izing; the one by separating the Lebanese from each other, and the other by weakening the force of tradition.

Schooling among the Lebanese was generally an Engl-izing force.

Usually they sent their children to public schools, a few to non-Lebanese parochial schools -- in 1924 on Manhattan 350 to public schools, 6 to parochial (H 61); Hitti added, "A number of Syrian priests run some sort of a school as an adjunct to the church, in which they teach Arabic and church ritual" (H 61). Such schools succeed but rarely and Hitti's phrase "some sort of" implies little success. For children Arabic was certain to become only a "Heimsprache."

Lebanese societies have not been strong. Mutual benefit and patriotic societies existed (Ho 794, 960, H 95), but they were not important. In the large cities there were coffee houses. Mrs. Houghton remarked in 1911 that "the men like to gather in the store of a leading spirit and talk" (Ho 802). Hitti in 1924 found that "in smaller colonies the restaurants serve as cafes [i.e., coffee houses] and social centers," that is, for men. Hitti says "even the American-born Syrian girls hesitate to dance in
public." This was the affirmation of a Kansas City informant. Similarly Mrs. Houghton says, "There is little mingling of men and women in social pleasures" (Ho 802). For women we have here a force contrary to Englizing.

96.57 Lebanese journalism was active from 1890 (Ho 792). There were in 1903 six newspapers (AI 1012); ten in 1911 said Mrs. Houghton (Ho 792) and in 1924 Hitti listed "half a dozen presses, four daily newspapers, one thrice weekly, one semi-weekly, two weekly, one semi-monthly and one monthly together with five magazines" (H 93). He laments that "some of their papers owe their survival to their insistence on arousing religious and tribal feuds which really belong to a past order of society."

96.58 The influence of the home among the Lebanese immigrants was great. Though women worked outside when they did not have responsibilities as mothers, when the time came they devoted their full energies to rearing their families (Ho 660) except as they could combine store tending with control of the activities in the apartment above. Children were thus kept instructed in Arabic. Still the language problem within the family was difficult. "How to span the gap between the old-fashioned Arabic-speaking parents on the one hand, and the American-born English-speaking children on the other" was, Hitti says (H 80), a problem. He also reported that there was very little intermarriage with other stocks (H 87). But growing absorption into regular Catholic churches has altered this custom.

96.59 Englizing among Lebanese went on at as rapid a rate as in any stock. In 1919, a year in which the conduct described was most prudent, the Literary Digest said: "An authority on Syrians in the United States, himself a Syrian, tells us that in his travels throughout the country it has often been his experience to have a compatriot say after a few minutes' conversation in their native Arabic, 'Let's talk English' "
One symptom more marked among them than among many immigrating stocks was the alteration of their names, not merely to attempt phonetic spelling or to translate words that are also common*

* Name alteration was not uncommon in Lebanon among those rising in the social scale (L 21).

nouns as in Milad to Christmas and Aslshi to Cook, but also to produce a name identical with names in older American stock. Hitti cites Sham'un to Shannon, Hurayz to Harris (H 101, see also AL 43). An example in Kansas is Mureb to Murray. The owners felt that a name should have a translation like any other word; Murray translated Mureb. A Kansas Lebanese surnamed Henry must owe his name to a similar process. The process is the more understandable because these names were almost certain to be mispronounced in English. Lebanese Kansans with names that would not be utterly deformed in American mouths like Farha and Kalliah persist, still recognizably Lebanese. The conflict between the generations on the language question was perhaps more marked than in many stocks because the greatest number of the second generation were growing up under the pressures of the decade following the First World War. Hitti comments thus: "The old generation of Syrians hold the Arabic in almost sacred regard, and true enough, their souls cannot be thrilled other than through...a speaker in this rich and musical mother tongue...The reverse is true of the native-born generation. In answer to a question as to whether she spoke Arabic a three-year-old girl...in St. Louis replied, 'No, ma'am, I speak American'" (H 101), but her
sister said that at home she spoke "Syrian." What has delayed complete shift to English has been the admittance of new immigrants, and in Lebanese settlements there is a greater mixture of language habits than in other recently arrived stocks.

96.6 Magyars or Hungarians have been a relatively small group of immigrants to the United States and the importance of twentieth century waves of immigration caused by political events is much greater than among other peoples. Still, the results are not dissimilar. An excellent account of the Hungarian linguistic fortunes appears in Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States by Joshua A. Fishman (Indiana University, 1966, extensive bibliography). Fishman champions maintenance of Hungarian, but sees its difficulties. He says in his conclusion: "There are undoubtedly many ways in which Hungarian-American experiences have been very similar to the experiences of most other immigrant groups... The result...has been the slow but constant erosion of immigrant ethnic groups and of their cultural and linguistic heritages" (p. 47). He finds the use of Magyar limited, but expresses hope for revival.

96.7 The fate of the Japanese language in the United States is described by Roland T. Tatsuguchi in an unpublished thesis written in 1955 at the University of Kansas, The Japanese American in Process. He records that among 184 immigrants (the "Issei") 143 spoke Japanese excellently or well; five spoke it poorly. Among 100 members of the second generation (the "Nisei") 19 spoke well, 53 sufficiently, the rest (28) poorly or not at all; in the third generation (the "Sansei") 3 spoke sufficiently, the rest poorly (p. 116). A little earlier Tatsuguchi had spoken of "The
Regarding Chinese as well as Japanese, William Carlson Smith stated in *Americans in Process* (Ann Arbor, 1937), "they are actually forced to discard the language of their parents" (p. 178). "In Continental United States the aversion to the mother tongue is accentuated by the fact that many young people of Oriental ancestry have acquired the typical American attitude that the English language is all sufficient and superior to other languages . . . Why learn the parental language? . . . Some do not want it to be known that they speak one of these languages" (p. 182) so as to avoid being called 'Chinks' or 'Japs'. Smith's statements as applied to the Chinese were somewhat exaggerated. Jade Snow Wong was entering public school during the earlier years of the depression in Stockton, California. "The school teacher was a little Chinese lady dressed in foreign clothes. She spoke the foreign English language although when necessary she could explain in Chinese to her pupils. However, she discouraged them from speaking their accustomed language" (*Fifth Chinese Daughter* [London, 1952], p. 23). Jade Snow was educated in Chinese as well as English, and her example was not isolated. Bilingualism has been better maintained by the Chinese than by many groups.

American Indians have been undergoing much Englishizing in the twentieth century. The process has been more rapid with some tribes than with others. Tribes in the southwest have been least affected. The small size of many tribes, each originally with its own language, not dialect, has made maintenance difficult. Even when languages are as nearly related as the Scandinavian languages, or as Slavic tongues that are contiguous to each
other, English is an easier means of communication for Indians than efforts to understand the related language, examples, Greek and Seminole, Navaho and related Athabascan idioms. Tribes so located so as to be able to discharge members into the general population feel the effect of these exportations on the stock left on the reservations.

97.00 The British colonies in North America received groups speaking various languages. Practically all had been Engl-ized by the beginning of the American Revolution except the Germans, and in urban settings they too had yielded.

97.01 As settlement moved westward immigrants from Continental Europe were among those in the vanguard. These people were mainly Germans in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Other stocks from western Europe became truly significant in the 1840's. Except in eastern Ohio the paths of first settlement were determined by waterways; the Ohio River and Lake Erie channeled east-west movement, together with the Missouri a little later. Earlier movement up the Mississippi had begun, and up the Illinois very soon, also the Wabash. The canals connecting the Maumee with the Wabash and Lake Michigan with the Illinois furnished access to new lands for important foreign settlements. Beyond the Mississippi the rivers of eastern Iowa and the Minnesota conveyed immigrants from Europe to new homes. The valleys of the Kansas River and the Platte River saw early foreign settlement after the opening in 1854 of the country through which they ran. After the Civil War railroads rather than rivers were the guides to areas of settlements. Earlier on the plains the great trails had played a part. The railroads adhered to the river valleys somewhat
more often than the trails, which tended to avoid stream crossings and muddy bottoms, but the readiness of railroads to take the shortest route to destinations in the plains country opened up country, particularly in Illinois and Iowa, which had no navigable waterways connection. Settlement in Wisconsin back from the lake front took advantage of rivers and lakes when possible for access; because of topographical diversity and the relationship of the inland settlements to those on the shore of Lake Michigan the pattern by which the land was occupied was perhaps less determined by natural paths than in any other state.

The accessibility of country farther west was easy once the Allegheny Mountains had been passed; therefore early settlements sent on men to new settlements, and Kansas received inhabitants of stocks recently immigrated from Europe from a great variety of settlements farther east. The railroads made the whole west accessible to immigrants directly out of Europe, and in the trans-Mississippi plains states most foreign settlements in the last part of the nineteenth century contained both large elements who had been no place else in the United States and others that had had stays of longer or shorter duration in America usually west of the Appalachian system. When the elements from the states to the east were lacking as in the case of the Mennonites and Volgans, the Engl-izing went on more slowly than elsewhere.

Among the States on the eastern coast Pennsylvania furnished more for-lings to Kansas than any other. They were mostly speakers of German, (see 55.04) but also the various stocks with miners among them sent representatives from Pennsylvania to Kansas in the late 1870's. The French and Welsh who came to Kansas from Pennsylvania had not, however,
all been miners or did not continue in that occupation. New York City and its environs sometimes harbored those born in Europe who became Kansans, but the elements of those who had been there more than the time necessary to clear the port was not large in Kansas nor indeed in any other trans-Appalachian state. Up state New York gave Kansas a few Germans. Proportionately the exportation of Welsh from New York to Kansas was more important. Individuals from Europe who had resided in other sea-board states and who came west could be cited, but the numbers were not of sufficient significance. The French Canadians of New England have been treated at some length in the work (87.00 to 87.6) though few (isolated exceptions especially from Vermont) came to Kansas because of the parallels to developments in Kansas.

97.1    **Ohio** early sent Germans and Penn-Germans to Kansas and a number of Kansas Welsh had resided there. On Germans in Ohio see Sections 55.10 to 55.29; on Welsh, Sections 92.32, 92.33, 92.91, 92.92. The importance of Cincinnati as a city exporting population to the west is great.

97.20    **Indiana** from various areas but early mostly from the South, sent Germans to Kansas, particularly in early days. Other stocks that sent out future Kansans were in the industrial area near Lake Michigan. For the Swedes at La Porte, see Section 65.04g. For Mexicans at Gary and East Chicago see Sections 89.82 and 89.85. For the Germans see Sections 55.30 to 55.47.

97.21g    **Michigan** was the earlier home of a certain number of Kansans born in Germany (see 55.48 and 55.49) and the Netherlands (see 59.20 and 59.50).
All settlements of importance in this respect were south of the latitudes of Saginaw Bay.

Illinois was the most important source of for-ling population in Kansas. Germans came out from nearly every part of the state in large numbers; see Sections 55.51 to 55.99. For them and for other stocks Chicago was a common way station and often people came on after residing there for some time. Organized settlement associations were formed there. Propaganda was disseminated from there. Individuals accumulated a grub stake there. Swedes came also from the northern part of the state, particularly from the Rock Island-Galesburg area; see Sections 65.00 to 65.03. The French Canadians of Kankakee formed the mother colony for their compatriots in Cloud County, Kansas; see Sections 87.81 to 87.85. The various mining stocks in Kansas, Italians, Slovenians and Welsh especially, came partly from coal-mining centers strung from the north to the south of Illinois; see Sections 49.34 to 49.36, 78.30, 82.70 to 82.72, 92.34.

Wisconsin was more important as a source for early settlement of Kansas than of late. Germans, Norwegians and Danes, later often attracted more to the north, set out for Kansas in territorial times. For Germans, see Sections 56.00 to 56.49; for Scandinavians 67.21 and 68.1. The Kansas Czechs from Wisconsin were rather early arrivals also (74.10). A few Welsh and Dutch Kansans had earlier been in Wisconsin (92.35, 59.21).
Minnesota did not send many to Kansas, but there were Germans and a few Scandinavians from there (54.41, 57.95, 65.4, 67.22, 68.0). The Dakotas with their heavy settlements of Scandinavians and Germans had few relations with Kansas except in the case of the Mennonites and, less, the Black Sea Germans (57.95, 54.41, 54.8 note).

Iowa has provided Kansas with a quite varied assortment of settlers, especially Germans, but also Scandinavians of all types, Dutch and Czechs. The Germans came from the eastern Iowa settlements most frequently but not always; see Sections 56.50 to 56.89. The Swedes came from the same general regions (65.10 to 65.12). The Kansas Danes had rather close relations with the Danes in western Iowa (67.24, 67.25). The Norwegians from Iowa to Kansas were few. For early Kansas Czechs Iowa, especially Cedar Rapids, was the jumping-off place (74.12). There was some connection between Iowa Welsh settlements and Kansas (92.36).

Missouri was a very frequent source of Kansas Germans; see Sections 56.90 to 57.29. It was also the infrequent source of representatives of almost all other for-ling stocks to found in Kansas. Bucklin is interesting for Swedes (65.2), the area near St. Joseph for Norwegians (68.2), along the Mississippi River for Czechs (74.9), at Monett for Poles (76.61), at New Cambria for Welsh (92.37). The contacts with Kansas City, Mo., were most important for Flemings (59.9). There have been relations of Kansas for-lings with various other stocks in that city.

Nebraska supplied Kansas with many Germans and Czechs and some Swedes and Dutch, for Germans see Sections 57.30 to 57.69, for Czechs Sections 74.4 to 74.8, for Swedes Sections 65.30 and 65.31, for Dutch Section 59.22. There
were also settlements with histories closely parallel to those in Kansas among the Danes (67.26 to 67.28) and Welsh (92.38). Settlements in Nebraska of particular interest are near or rather near the Kansas and Iowa borders. Among the packing house for-lings at Omaha the Mexicans present interesting comparisons with those in Kansas City (89.89).

97.71 **Oklahoma** exchanged German populations with Kansas (57.70 to 57.89), so also Italians. The development of Mexicans (89.90 to 89.99) Greeks (94.21) and Lebanese (96.3) there is parallel to that in Kansas. The Germans are largely rural, the others urban.

97.72 **Colorado** has been of principal interest because of the speakers of Spanish—Mexicans and Hispanics—, located in the valleys leading out of the state to the east and south. (89.70 to 89.79). The Volga Germans in the Northeast have required attention (57.91 to 57.94).

97.73g**The Southwest** has occupied us for the Mexicans in all its states because of parallels to Kansas—Texas and New Mexico, also as sources of Kansas population, California as the recipient of Mexicans exported from Kansas as well as from other states; see Sections 89.00 to 89.69. Settlements of other types in Texas have received passing attention at various points: Germans (57.96), Poles (76.60) for instance. California's for-ling settlements are of very great interest, but so nearly beyond the field of this work that they have been treated like those in Texas (California Germans 57.97, Italians 82.51, 82.52). The northwest and the mountain states have received but few allusions, though there is interesting matter for study in them all. The south, east of Texas, offers less for study than other sections except in the case of Louisiana (Italians 82.51).
The history of Louisiana French in spite of its great interest and importance offers few parallels to the history of French in Kansas and has been accorded only a brief paragraph (85.9).

Cities as areas of dissemination of for-lingos not only to other urban units but also to rural settlements, have been important to the movement of immigrants. The role of Chicago, Cincinnati, and New York in the movement into the upper Mississippi valley figure in the summary by states just above. Philadelphia also sometimes played such a role even for the West. St. Louis was more important especially when the frontier was near it and when Germany supplied a majority of immigrants. Milwaukee, even for Kansas, had similar significance during the same period.

Settlements in Kansas were rarely way stations for newly arrived immigrants proceeding to other states, but many for-ling Kansans after a period of residence in the state moved on to other states. From the rural settlements the movement has taken people to developing territory further from the eastern ports of entry. The most clearly defined example is that of Volgans and particularly Mennonites into Oklahoma (57.76 to 57.87). Volgans in Colorado sometimes came from Kansas. There was also some movement into Texas. The for-lingos of Kansas, like the citizenry of the state in general, have sent large elements to increase the population of California; sometimes too of Washington and Oregon. Some of these have been the old seeking a climate for retirement and their linguistic habits have sometimes helped preserve their immigrant languages in California settlements. The young, except among the Mexicans, have as a whole been discharged into the general population and ceased to be for-lingos. The Mexicans sent from Kansas
have been part of the Engl-izing forces in California a very small part.

Urban and non-agricultural exportations of for-lings from Kansas have also in part sought California, but on the whole the attractions have been to the east. The superfluous railroad workers have tended most frequently toward Chicago. Coal miners without work at first gravitated toward other mining areas, but later toward industrial centers of all types.
The for-ling, refugees from Kansas, usually increased the bulk of settlements already established, as in the case of Volgans who joined others in Chicago after the railroad shop strike of 1920 or like Mexicans in East Chicago and Gary leaving track work for the steel mills. The Kansans on arrival elsewhere usually found themselves in linguistic surroundings similar to those they left and had no perceptible effect on language development in their new habitat.

98.00 Forces working for or against Engl-izing of for-ling groups in the United States have been repeatedly instanced in all parts of this work. They are summarized in the following sections with only one or two examples cited in each case not always chosen from those that might come first to the reader's mind.

98.01 Nationalistic ardor may well work against Engl-izing. It may not hinder bilingualism at least in political and economic affairs, but it resists suppression of a f-lang. The conservative influence is certain to occur in the individuals possessing the ardor. It has been common among immigrants, but by no means universal. Many have said, "We are in America now; we should behave like Americans. We should use the language of the land." The nationalistic immigrants have nearly always had difficulty in conveying their ardor to the second generation. The natural rebellion of adolescents
to impositions by parents, always likely to be successful when society as a whole does not support the parents, has tended to bring about the rejection of parental f-lang in the households in which its use has been the most strenuously advocated. Nationalistic ardor has then usually meant that f-lang has endured in a settlement as a primary means of communication only so long as the immigrants lived. Exceptions have been determined by other factors.

98.02 The weakening of blood ties with the country of origin has contributed to decrease in nationalistic ardor and promoted Engl-izing by cutting off connections with those who could communicate only in f-lang. The advance of indifference to distant relatives has been the subject of comment for French Canadians in Section 87.5, for Czechs in Section 74.8.

98.03 Resistance to linguistic displacement in Europe was based upon and gave rise to nationalistic ardor. Training in the techniques of resistance allowed immigrating stocks to resist Engl-izing more effectively. The noteworthy cases are the Czechs, the Russian Germans and the Welsh (71.51, 71.52; 53.14, 53.80, 54.25, 54.61; 92.0). Success in resistance to Engl-izing in the United States was greater among immigrants from Bohemia, Russia and Wales to the extent that they enjoyed more respect from the second generation than was true in most stocks. Grandparents could teach their grandchildren to understand them with less disapproval from parents and nostalgia for the abandoned language arrived sooner. The position of the Russian Germans was weakened by the fact that the written language differed so much from their own speech. Still their conservation of German was better than the Italians' conservation of Italian, to whom standard Italian was very nearly a foreign language because of lack of education.
The use of a dialect greatly different from a standard f-lang weakened the second generation's ability to resist Engl-izing, not only among Italians, especially south Italians, but also among Reich Germans. At any early date where there were no parochial schools, and there were very few conducted in Italian, not many in German except among Missouri Lutherans and in early days among Mennonites, the language of the pulpit and of the printed word became incomprehensible to children. Where there were parochial schools when the shift to English became necessary after the First World War the same thing became true. Even when f-lang was retained for teaching religion the standard vocabulary was too limited to aid greatly in conserving the use of the language. A curious case for German in Iowa at St. Donatus is discussed in #56.62. In #47.12 Mrs. Parsley's exposition of the attitude of teachers knowing dialect toward instructing in the language near Pittsburg Kansas is of interest.

Isolation of a for-ling settlement is the most certain means of conserving its f-lang. The isolation may be physical, voluntary for religious or social reasons, or involuntary. It may be more or less absolute for any of these three causes. Only geographical isolation is without countering factors that alter its effectiveness. The isolation of the Hispanos in New Mexico was for a long period absolute; ever since the Anglo conquest it has been peripherally attacked, during this century in the core county attacked by efforts at cultural instruction rather than by penetrations of population elements. Spanish has maintained itself completely in many small communities (89.10 to 89.29; particularly 89.26 to 89.28). Absolute geographic isolation in Kansas could be but brief. It may be
said to have existed for a decade among the Bremen-Horseshoe Germans (48.56A).

There was little settlement in the neighborhood except for other Germans.

To the north was the Otoe Reserve. The use of German persisted long.

Large foreign settlements, particularly when rural, brought to the members who resided within the core a type of isolation that helped them conserve f-lang. The borderlands with a population largely non-for-ling contained for-lings who underwent the influence of their neighbors, but at the center such influence was indirect. The borderlands might resist as a geographic entity almost as long because late arriving families would locate there for lack of land for sale in the center. However, the resistance of these late arriving families endured a shorter number of years. These phenomena are observable among the Germans in the Belleville area in Illinois across and slightly downstream from St. Louis (55.57 to 55.63) and among the Cuba Czechs in Kansas (47.14, 47.15).

Religion may bring about almost complete isolation of a for-ling group if its will to resist contamination from the "world" is sufficiently strong. The isolation of the Amish is of this type. The forces of the twentieth century have been sufficient to spread bilingualism among them but not to displace "Dutch." The examples in Iowa at Kalona (56.72) and those in Kansas at Yoder (48.74G) are similar.

Religion may bring about a relative isolation among for-lings that is not founded upon renunciation of the "world," but upon limitation of membership of congregations to one for-ling group. The case of the Lutherans Missouri Synod, at least up until the First World War, illustrates such a condition (58.15, for Kansas 41.10, 41.11). Partly for doctrinal reasons this denomination isolated itself, but largely because most members, not officially the governing body, felt that German was necessary for salvation.
It was doubtful if Swedish or "English" Lutherans were among the chosen of God. The parochial school was used as a protection against both linguistic and doctrinal contamination (see below). Perry County, Missouri (57.01) contains examples of the potency of the influence. In Kansas besides the Bremen-Horseshoe community already cited, the Upper Lyon Creek Germans illustrate the case (48.21G).

The influence of pastors over for-ling groups was in the beginning toward conserving f-lang (the French Canadian pastors in New England have been examples, 87.10; example from Kansas, Polish Grudzinski in Kansas City, 47.34). When persistence in its use began to drive away the young, the pastors became advocates of the use of English. Here is a statement on the subject from an Italian Protestant pastor (such pastors have been few but his statement is typical of scores of pastors who would prefer not to be cited):

"Services in Italian for those who do not understand English and services in English for the young people should be provided; yet the wise pastor will urge parents and children to share one another's church services" (Sartorio — see Italian bibliog. — p. 73).

Religion may serve as a conservator of f-lang, though less powerfully, even when a church body's membership includes several linguistic stocks. The Catholic Church is a case in point. Though the hierarchy has in general favored unification of language in the United States to accompany other unity, it has been most anxious to retain souls. The national parish (49.59, 49.64) and often the parochial schools exist as such because of the linguistic identity of the parishioners. The French Canadians in New England buttressed their religion by their language and their language by their religion (87.10 to 87.2).
In Kansas the linguistic behavior of Volgan Catholics as contrasted with
the more varied conduct of the Volgan Protestants illustrate the workings
of this religious influence (Catholics 47.03 to 47.06) Protestants (47.48,
48.79 C and D).

98.4 Religion tended to eradicate f-lang in denominations where for-ling
units formed part of a church body mainly American in origin. German and
Swedish Methodism, except where it maintained the only church of any kind
in a rural district, had difficulty in retaining the young within its fold
and was unable to resist the hysteria of the First World War and the years
following (58.23 to 58.26, 66.1, Kansas 41.23, 41.26 and 41.27).

98.50 The parochial schools among for-ling stocks were created as much to
preserve f-lang as to teach religion, also other subjects from an appropriate
point of view. Various pressures were from the beginning at work to
weaken the accomplishment of the linguistic aim. One of the most powerful
was the willingness of both parents and religious authorities to see English
introduced into the curriculum because of the material advantages that
would be given the children who were growing up in an English speaking
country. Another was the constant pressure of governmental educational
authorities to make parochial schooling conform in aims and accomplishments
to standards generally established. There was also the need to prepare
children to carry on their education in institutions more advanced than
the f-lang schools. Parochial schools might be summer schools or Sunday
schools with pupils trained otherwise in the public schools. The transfer
of children back and forth between public and parochial schools introduced
children into the latter who were accustomed to think in English.
Among Catholics episcopal authority usually helped rather than hindered other Englishizing forces. Greek Parochial schools (94.60 Kansas 47.36) are among those which have best been able to resist complete Englishizing.

98.51 The public school has undoubtedly been the most powerful institutional Englishizing agent in the United States. The source of its power has lain in the social and political structure which supports it, but it has been a most effective instrument. For-languages which had participated little in education before leaving Europe have been forced to send children to school, and soon saw the advantages of so doing. Exceptions occur among migrant workers, particularly Mexicans (for Kansas and Colorado, see 47.22, 47.24, 89.77, 90.34). The heterogeneous nature of the school population of most districts made English a necessity, but even when pupils were from homes monolithically for-languages, the constant exercise of thinking in English and the acquisition of English as the sole cultural language has tended to make children not merely bilingual, but monolingual in all cultural fields but the religious. (On public schools in Kansas see 31.0 to 31.4 and 31.6. The struggle in Wisconsin over the Bennett law of 1889, which was regarded by the Germans as imperilling both their religion and their language is recounted 56.41 to 56.45, most significant 56.43.)

98.60 Economic and social advantage has been an Englishizing force even stronger than the school, though not organized to accomplish such a purpose. The potency of this force is easily seen in the fact that men frequently acquired English more quickly than women (for statistics among coal miners see 49.33, for packing house worker 47.33, 49.39); men learned English at work. Even among women the words signifying objects
which they might buy in the stores penetrated their vocabulary. The prestige value of English in business is illustrated by the interview with Mr. T. at Belen, New Mexico (84.25).

98.61 Shame for the language of one's ancestors was a product of the social rewards for speaking English. A young Mennonite, commenting upon a preliminary form of the section on Kansas Mennonites (47.44 to 44.47) wrote:

"I noticed also that you mentioned the element of prestige in speaking English and shame in knowing one of the German dialects, but I was wondering if you had treated these feelings emphatically enough. One never can be sure just how seriously to take an informant who says that he doesn't know Low German. I have a nine-year-old niece, for example, who is very ashamed of knowing anything at all about Low German. (This is of course in Minnesota.) Once I offered to teach her a folksong, and she was delighted. But when I said that it was in Low German, she absolutely refused even to listen to the song. One evening, however, when I was reading a very funny story in Low German, my niece listened and laughed hilariously. She understood almost every word, of course. And I had a similar experience here in Lindsborg a couple of weeks ago. A middle-aged man here told me that he didn't know any Swedish, but about ten minutes later when he was trying to sell me a Swedish recipe book, he read the names of the recipes aloud without any difficulty."

98.62 Women preserved f-lang longer than men. They less frequently needed to deal with the general population: At home, where they most often were, they had less need for a new vocabulary in carrying on operations and in discussing them with other women. They followed religious observances
more diligently and found more meaningful than English the language in which they had received early training. In home stocks particularly among those of the "New" immigration they arrived in the United States much later than their husbands, in all stocks as a generality somewhat later. Thus they forced husbands to go on using f-lang. Those women who were thrown into the life of the general population -- maids in homes, employees in factories, salesgirls -- were no more conservative than men linguistically. They were among those most likely to take a husband not of their own stock. Even they, however, remained bilingual more easily than men because of association with older women.

98.70 Miscegenation or intermarriage almost always has led to the establishment of English in the new household even when neither mate was "American." The commonness of intermarriage was the subject of #49.80ff. On its prevalence among French Canadians at New Bedford and Fall River see #87.12. The displacement of f-lang which was thus accomplished was not entirely limited to the immediate family. Daughters-in-law ignorant of a family's f-lang are offended when English is not the language of conversation in their presence (a Danish example 67.23, a Czech example 48.79E). The needs of grandchildren making visits unaccompanied by parents were yet more imperative.

98.71g Returns to Europe, permanently, for brief residence, or for visits or military reasons had their effect upon Engl-izing. If the return were permanent the effect for the community quitted usually advanced Engl-izing. Individuals who would have been resistant to it were those most likely to leave. If the return was for no more than a few years the effect was conservative of f-lang in America; the immigrant's Engl-izing had been
inhibited. Both these phenomena were common among peoples of the "New Immigration", and may be considered as balancing each other. At least the "New" immigrants have Engl-ized as rapidly as others. If the returns were for visits they helped conserve f-lang especially when the visitors were of the second generation. The same may be said of periods of duty in the armed services in Europe. Visits were relatively infrequent before the First World War. They became common place after 1945 when Engl-izing had been generally accomplished.

Hostility or lack of it by a community toward users of f-lang has been a factor affecting Engl-izing. The hostility prevalent during the First World War has been the subject of repeated comments in this work (especially 49.71, Kansas 9.6; specific instances: Staunton, Illinois 55.69, Salina, Kansas 48.81B). In that period the hostility was greater toward the language than for the people who might speak it. When a new type of immigrants arrived and took its place at the bottom of the economic hierarchy, the hostility was rather for the people than for their language. Such hostility was particularly severe when the physical appearance identified a stock before its members had spoken. The most obvious case is that of the Mexicans. Italians, Greeks and Lebanese suffered similarly (83.71, 94.8; Kansas 47.08). Without the handicap of a dark complexion the Volgans were disdained, often by Germans from Germany (Hastings, Nebraska 57.66; Herington, Kansas 48.21G). Hostility in its most overt forms means segregation and discrimination. As long as a for-ling continues to belong to a group thus treated, the segregation helps maintain f-lang. Many individuals, either escaping or hoping to escape the stigma, become Engl-ized to promote acceptance. There are contrasts in Engl-izing in such groups. On the whole conservation of f-lang is promoted.
Cultural ambition, which has often been combined with economic ambition and ambition for social acceptance, has been an Engl-izing force. In a country where the general population carries on its cultural activities in English, where cultural instruments (books, etc.) are readily obtainable only in English, where the financial awards for cultural performance go to those who perform in English, and where other performance can be recognized by only a relatively small group, for-lings ambitious to make their mark cease to be for-lings except incidentally. The fate of Swedish at Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas, illustrates the phenomenon (47.44). Dana College at Blau, Nebraska, gave Danish the same treatment (67.26).

Within the family and within the individual Engl-izing has followed a similar course almost always. Let us consider as the most usual type a family arriving from Europe in the United States about 1880. It consisted of a father and mother still rather youthful with, say, two small children. The parents had some but not much education and very little capital left after the voyage. They found their way to a rural settlement that was of medium size; still without a parochial school.

Economic necessity soon made the father partially bilingual. The children began to attend the district school as soon as they were old enough. More children were born. At school the children attending learned English and acquired the habit of speaking English. They taught their younger brothers and sisters before they reached school age. The mother in these surroundings learned to understand her children, and acquired enough spoken English to trade in stores where there was, no for-ling clerk. The family as a whole may now be considered bilingual.
Bilingualism is an unnatural state -- a statement that will shock polyglots and the advocates of learning a second language. The statement is not intended as an advocacy of the contrary. There are advantages to knowing more than one language that make the effort worth the while. But bilingualism requires effort, not much effort to be sure if practice is constant, but effort nevertheless, particularly if each language is to be kept free of penetration from the other. Since it is natural to avoid effort, we return to the affirmation: bilingualism is unnatural.

If the same two languages are well known to two speakers the constant tendency is to interlard words, expressions or perhaps whole sentences taken from one language into discourse carried on in the other. There is also a tendency to make one language rather than the other the means of communication within certain domains of activity or within certain emotional areas. If a bilingual speaker is in contact daily for many hours with monolinguals he will ultimately find that their language can express all the emotions (or almost all), and deal with many activities that he had at first felt reserved for expression in his other language. If his experience with one language does not lead him into certain areas in which he has common experience with the other he will cease to be bilingual in those areas. Before pursuing farther evolution from bilingualism to monolingualism, let us return to the family which was the subject of the preceding paragraph.

School children taught younger children English because at school they dealt with activities, often play activities, that they wished to continue on their return home either for the pleasure of the activity itself or for that of showing off to the less advanced the superiority of their accomplishment. They therefore used with the pre-school youngsters
the language in which they had learned the activity. Mothers learned to understand their children to retain the power of supervision, but they might reject the use of the new language because it put them in a position of inferiority to their offspring and thus endangered the prestige necessary to the maintenance of authority.

99.3 A language learned in early childhood is not firmly retained unless it is frequently practiced. Furthermore, disuse of a language at any period of life means at least temporary loss of fluency in expression, though ability to understand may well be retained. Therefore, a great many children unable to speak English on first going to school later forgot completely the f-lang they had used before, or else retained only the ability to understand the limited types of discourse heard in f-lang from parental lips.

99.4 Children abandoned f-lang not only because they entered new domains of activity where English was required but also to gain group approval or merely the favor of the teacher whose approval entailed certain rewards either material or emotional. As boys grew up they might affect disdain for a teacher's approval, but the influence of their age groups, now accustomed to regard the use of English as "the thing", kept them in the habit of speaking English. If the children belonged to a stock despised to a point that they would not be accepted even if they used English they might glory in bilingualism. Our hypothetical family, however, did not belong to such a stock. The children arrived at adolescence confirmed in the habit of speaking English to each other. Most of them, all except the youngest, were still able to converse in f-lang with their elders, though they might disdain to do so and might answer in English when
addressed in f-lang. To be sure there were fathers who were convinced that their f-lang was a thing of value that should not be lost and who were strong enough to force their children to use only f-lang in their presence. The majority of fathers, however, no matter what their opinion, wearied of any attempt to control the speech of their offspring, especially as they themselves might fall into English at least for words and phrases in discussing matters dealing with the outside world.

Adolescents in the period of rebellion and emancipation were in most settlements firm in their championship of English. They objected to attending church when the preaching was in f-lang. In "young people's" church societies they made their desires for English vigorously known. They might take up with a girl or boy from among the "Yankees." The boys found occasion for expeditions into the outer world. The girls were arriving at the age where they might hire out into some family more well-to-do where English was the only language known. If the parents had been able to control their use of English at home until then, they found their children asserting their independence by stubbornly talking English. All this was true in communities where the for-lings were fairly well accepted as was true for our hypothetical family. Where acceptance was denied they might be driven back upon their f-lang or might have an ambivalent attitude defiant of both parents and the community. If they were in a very large settlement their experience up until this age might have been almost altogether with f-lang, and at this point expeditions beyond the settlement would teach them the advantages of English; their limitations would begin to seem irksome.
When adolescence ended and the for-lings became young parents they were apt to feel that children were handicapped if they knew no English on going to school. Even though they might have inherited a tradition that f-lang was the proper speech for parents, they would abandon its use as the oldest child approached school age so that he would be fully the peer of others. The f-lang that the third generation acquired would then be mostly from grandparents. The father of our hypothetical family died before all his grandchildren were born and the mother, whose English was rudimentary, went to live with the family of her eldest daughter. Her grandchildren in that family became proficient in understanding her f-lang and one or two learned to speak a little.

Old women who had come to America when grown or nearly grown could hardly be separated from their f-lang. Old men who had arrived here at a similar period in life preferred it unless they had been in commerce or in some industries. If they had arrived as small children like the two of our hypothetical family, both sexes in comparatively small communities had accepted English, but in large settlements they behaved as their elders had. So did those born in the first years after arrival.

A settlement as a whole very seldom received its settlers during a short period. The immigrant arrivals were usually spaced over a rather long stretch of time. Families at different stages of Engl-izing would be distributed through the population. But the settlement tended to behave as a unit in its Engl-izing. If it were very large, it might break into units similar in behavior. In each unit the Engl-izing of the first arrival might well be retarded by the number of immigrants who soon joined him. Acquisition of English would be
accelerated for families coming late; they would make an effort to be like everyone else. There were always aberrant families either conservative or the contrary, those who tended to flout social pressures.

In the following sections the development of a typical community of moderate size, one characteristic of Kansas is outlined. Slight variations from this schedule were more frequent than conformity to it. Major variations existed, but not in sufficient numbers to destroy the value of the schedule.

99.90  **STAGE ONE—F-LANG**

F-lang is regularly used for all purposes throughout the settlement, though a few bi-lingual individuals provide necessary contacts with the outside world. In many settlements, because settlers had sojourned for longer or shorter periods elsewhere in America, Stage One did not exist in Kansas.

99.91  **STAGE TWO—F-LANG STILL UNIVERSAL**

Soon various pressures studied elsewhere enable many men and not so many women to use English whenever necessary. F-lang remains, however, the ordinary medium of communication in business as well as in social contacts. Non-for-lings dealing regularly with the settlement tend to acquire a skill in f-lang sufficient to carry on their business.

99.92  **STAGE THREE—F-LANG STILL PREDOMINANT**

Children of school age early become proficient in the use of English, but use f-lang in their play. Adults speaking English increase in number, but many have not acquired proficiency. Those proficient in English use f-lang except to outsiders. F-lang is always used in religious devotions.
Commercially, knowledge of f-lang is still advantageous. This is the stage of most variable length depending upon the size of the settlement and whether the school is parochial.

99.93 STAGE FOUR—F-LANG STILL NEEDED

Everybody is still able to use f-lang without difficulty. Adults unable to speak English are not unusual, but these persons are ordinarily among the less active in the community. Children in general still learn f-lang before English. A few for-ling families and a larger number of children of school age and young people use English as the normal means of communication with each other. Agitation for the use of English in religious services begins. Trading in English becomes commonplace. The intrusion of English words into f-lang vocabulary, which has begun early, at this stage is quite evident. This stage may be quite short.

99.94 STAGE FIVE—F-LANG ABANDONED BY SCHOOL CHILDREN

Publicly, the settlement very frequently uses English, but generally for home life and gossip, f-lang is still customarily used. Pre-school children still hear f-lang from their parents, but older brothers and sisters teach them English. Inability to use English becomes a mark of being old, and many who are younger go on using f-lang only because they must deal with these old people. Stores need f-lang-speaking clerks only for certain long-established customers. English is introduced into many religious services as a concession to the young, who frequently prefer to express themselves in English. Certain original immigrants have been converted by their families to the habitual
use of English. Death has taken some immigrants. A few individuals are unable to speak f-lang, but all understand it unless it is too abstract. English words adapted to f-lang are common. Casual conversations among adults are almost unconsciously shifted back and forth from f-lang to English.

The time of transition from Stage Five to Stage Six is elsewhere called the "Critical Date".

99.95 STAGE SIX—F-LANG USUALLY KNOWN BUT GENERALLY ABANDONED

English becomes the normal public means of communication even when non-for-lings are absent. Married couples using f-lang in the home become the minority. Though certain children still reach school age ignorant of English, households with children generally use English unless grandparents live there. Many children are unable to speak f-lang, their efforts frequently excite ridicule; their understanding, except in families where three generations live together, has become limited. English has attained a position of equality in religious services. F-lang in general is in a corrupt state. Religious services in f-lang are not often attended by the young.

99.96 STAGE SEVEN—F-LANG OFTEN PERSISTING

The use of f-lang in family life persists with old couples, who are numerous, among the families of late-arriving immigrants, and a few families clinging to old tradition. But the community feels that a child is not properly prepared in life if he is sent to school unable to speak English. Many adults are becoming rusty in the use of f-lang, but in social groups passages in f-lang are part of an evening's activities. F-lang is relegated to a subsidiary place in religious services.
STAGE EIGHT—F-LANG FOR THE OLD

The habitual use of f-lang in family life persists with such old couples as have used f-lang all their lives, and occasionally in families where a parent lives with adult children. Older people still sometimes keep secrets from children by speaking f-lang. If a rare grandparent, unable to speak English, lives with grandchildren, these two generations are frequently able to communicate only imperfectly; the middle generation acts as interpreter. Regular religious services in f-lang are reduced to once a month and persist as a concession to the old-timers and for a few of a nostalgic turn who are not so old. In social gatherings f-lang is heard occasionally, usually to the very old or for exhibitionist purposes.

STAGE NINE—F-LANG FOR THE VERY OLD

Very old couples still use f-lang in the home, but most of the old are now widowed. F-lang has disappeared from regular religious services, is used by ministers, if they are still able to speak it, in pastoral work with the old, and sometimes in bits on ceremonial occasions in the church. General community use of f-lang is limited to certain formulae used jocosely and indicating that one "belongs". The middle-aged have forgotten all other f-lang.

STAGE TEN—F-LANG A REMINISCENCE

Only those who are very old have ever spoken f-lang fluently and they have forgotten it or nearly so. A traditional song and a few nostalgic phrases are still to be heard occasionally, but f-lang is no longer an instrument of communication.
The ten stages outlined above as typical of rural settlements of mid-importance have analogies in all settlements, though important variations occur. The tenth stage is normally ending about a century after the arrival of the first settler in settlements of this size; the critical date (end of Stage Five) is reached in half the time or less. In settlements of hi-importance and above, the critical year is normally 10 years later.
References in this index are to section numbers. Instead of repeating in successive references an identical pair of digits preceding the decimal point, after the first reference only those digits following the decimal point are entered. The point is repeated before single digits, rarely otherwise. As an example the references for "Slovenians" under "Catholics in the United States" is entered as "77.8; 78.2, 31, .4, .5"; expanded the references would read "Section 77.8; 78.2; Sections 78.2; 78.31; 78.4; 78.5."

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If stock is not indicated it is German.

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