

NOTES ABOUT THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE MINNESOTA RIVER VALLEY

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Any comment on the German Press in Minnesota must take into account that there are only three areas in the state where the German population between 1850 and 1900 amounted to 15% or more of the total population. These three areas have two things in common: they border rivers and they were once at least partially covered with hardwood forests. The three areas I am referring to are 1) the two counties of Winona and Wabasha adjacent to the Mississippi in southeastern Minnesota, 2) the two counties of Stearns and Benton, both of which are adjacent to the upper Mississippi, west and east respectively, and 3) the counties of Ramsey, Dakota, Carver, Scott, Sibley, Nicollet, Blue Earth and Brown, all of which edge the Minnesota River. To the latter block which by all considerations comprises the major lode of German settlers in Minnesota must be added several counties situated one-county removed from the Minnesota River, which also had a near 15% German population up to 1900, namely, McLeod, Le Sueur, Waseca, and Martin.

Excluding the first two areas from consideration for this essay, we are concerned with a territory extending basically from the mouth of the Minnesota River at St. Paul in the east central part of the state to just west of the southernmost elbow of the Minnesota River in the south central part of the state. Within this general region are many German place names such as New Trier, New Ulm, Gotha, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Cologne, and St. Bonafatius.¹ Viewed in terms of both cultural and numerical importance, the German influence in the area stacks up as a barbell configuration in which the two major concentrations were heavy at opposite ends, namely in the City of St. Paul in the northeast, and in the City of New Ulm in the southwest. Essentially, the Minnesota River served as the dorsal artery of this trunk.

Germans do not, however, predominate in either the towns or on the lands immediately adjacent to the river except in the major towns of St. Paul, Shakopee, Chaska, Mankato, and New Ulm. The main reason for this is that they arrived on the scene at a time when the easily accessible lands had already been preempted by yankee "immigrants" who consequently furnished most of the place names. This meant that Germans who arrived *en masse* between 1860 and 1870 had to move inland. Also, they acquired more farms west of the river than east making Carver and Sibley Counties with Brown County the three most German, proportionate to total population of all counties in the state as late as 1900.²

Several factors impelled Germans to gravitate to this area of Minnesota. In the first place, this area of the state represented excellent soils which attracted the German peasantry. Moreover, inasmuch as some yankee farmers had already taken up homesteads, their experiences furnished raw data from which records on crops and productivity could be established.

This was important because Minnesota was set on luring German immigrants to the state, and the more data immigrant agents had to work with, the better they could fulfill their missions.

Minnesota enacted its first law calling for a territorial commissioner of Emigration in 1855³ and subsequently developed an elaborate State Board of Immigration with substantial funding and immigrant agents not only in New York, Quebec and Montreal, but in Sweden, Denmark and, notably, Germany.⁴ Certainly one of the most fascinating commentaries ever written on the recruitment of German immigrants within Germany is contained in an official report made by Albert Wolff to Minnesota's Governor Horace Austin on September 7, 1850.⁵ Earlier, Minnesota's State Commissioner of Emigration for Germany, Albert Wolff, had distinguished himself in Minnesota by his role in German-language journalism in the area under discussion. After leaving his duties with the Board of Immigration, he once again returned to German-language journalism in Minnesota.

There is some question as to where Albert Wolff started publishing a German newspaper in the United States, but seemingly it was in the town of Chaska, a flourishing German settlement on the Minnesota River in territorial times. At any rate, an early history of the area reports that "the *Minnesota Tallboat* [sic] printed in German, was the first newspaper published in the county [Carver]. It is established in 1857 at Chaska by Fred Ortwein and Albert Wolff. After one years' issue, it was removed to St. Paul."⁶

From a published collection of Wolff's creative writings in German, it is evident in the editor's introduction that Wolff was for some time indeed the editor of what is referred to as the Carver County *Minnesota Thalbote*, as noted by Neill.⁷ Before coming to Minnesota, Wolff was a theology student at the University of Göttingen until in May, 1849 when he took part in a revolution in the City of Dresden for which he was arrested and sentenced to death, though the penalty was commuted to ten years in prison, and eventually to pardon in 1852. In November of the same year he came to the United States, arriving shortly thereafter in St. Paul.

Before he died on November 25, 1893, Albert Wolff had lent his services generously to the State of Minnesota and the cause of German-language publishing. Perhaps most significantly in 1865, he edited, translated, and published the first official booklet on Minnesota in German, *Minnesota als eine Heimath für Einwanderer*. Actually this first of an annually updated edition was the result of an 1864 Minnesota law offering prizes for the two best essays describing Minnesota in a truthful but promotional way.⁸ After Minnesota officially established its State Board of Immigration in 1867, it was a routine matter that the annual booklet was translated and published in German by Wolff's presses of the St. Paul *Staatszeitung*. As a rule the German versions are somewhat abbreviated from the English publications, and it would make an interesting study to analyze exactly what was considered superfluous and excisable by the German editors.

In addition to German-language publications, another factor influencing the movement of German immigrants to the lower Minnesota River region is a geographical one. That is, the counties under discussion were once extensively covered by a tract of trees known as "The Big Woods" (from the French *le bois grand*). A lecture given by N. H. Winchell in 1875 pinpoints this tree-covered region of Minnesota: "In general, the Big Woods may be thus bounded: Beginning a few miles west of Minneapolis the eastern edge of the Big woods crosses the Minnesota in a line toward Lakeville in Dakota County. Continuing in a southerly direction, it

passes about a mile east of Canon City, and Owatana, when it takes a short bend to the west and northwest, passing about four miles north of Waseca, . . . About six miles south of South Bend, it turns north and crosses the Minnesota . . . Running along the west side of the Minnesota . . . it begins to bear off toward the northwest at St. Peter, and passes five miles west of Henderson."⁹

In considering where Germans settled outside of the urban areas in Minnesota, it is important to know that, for reasons not always explicable, they showed preference for forested regions over prairie lands. One of their considerations was that the woods provided fuel and could also be sold to city dwellers to heat their homes, thus affording the immigrant farmer an economic cushion until his crop production could be expanded. This preference partially explains why there were heavy concentrations of Germans in the counties east and west of the lower Minnesota River. It does not account for the most singularly German settlement in the state, New Ulm, being essentially a German city on the prairie, although even in this case it is clear that in pioneer times a spur of the Big Woods did run parallel to both sides of the Minnesota northwestward beyond the present city of New Ulm. Early plat books of the region indicate that as available land in the wooded regions became exhausted, Germans tended to move onward slightly west of the wooded regions to the available prairie soils.

A final factor in the immigration of Germans to the lower Minnesota River region lies with another German journalist and distinguished Forty-eighter, Eduard Pelz. This well-educated Saxon, born in 1800, acquired an almost fanatical conviction that Minnesota was destined to become the greatest state in the world and he expended bursts of energy to entice his countrymen to share his dream.¹⁰ Pelz came to Minnesota by the round about route of an active literary career in Halle, Copenhagen, Breslau and St. Petersburg, with many travels including that as official representative of Silesia to the 1848/49 German Parliament in Frankfurt. For his publications supporting the cause of the weavers' uprisings in Silesia he was imprisoned and subsequently released to take part in the liberal revolutions going on in various cities, especially the one in Karlsruhe in March, 1848. Seeking a better country for the future of German culture, Pelz arrived in America in 1850 and eventually in Minnesota in 1858. His first significant book fostering emigration to the United States was *Kompass für Auswanderer nach den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas* (Kassel: J. C. J. Raabe, 1853) followed by his *Nachrichten über Minnesota* (Bamberg: Buchnersche Buchhandlung, 1858) which went through three editions and sold over 150,000 copies.

These items were followed by two others, *Die Auswanderung mit besonderer Beziehung auf Minnesota* (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1866) which was a translation by Pelz of a book by Thomas Rawlings, and *Vier Hauptfragen in der Auswanderungsangelegenheit* (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1869); these were followed in 1870 by Pelz's own monthly journal *Der Pfadfinder* with the subtitle "A Monthly for the Evaluation of German Emigration and Immigration". The explicit purpose of the latter was to promote Minnesota and to advertise the lands available for colonization from the Northern Pacific Railroad, whose agent at that time was Pelz. The focus of publications in the journal is not specifically on the lower Minnesota River region, but it is obvious that one of the side effects of Pelz's efforts was to bring German immigrants to this area as well.

Although a personal friend of Albert Wolff, Pelz was never editorially

involved with the German language press in Minnesota. He did contribute, however, to the Bremen-based *Auswanderer Zeitung*. Praising the advantages of Minnesota, particularly its climate, Pelz made a strenuous effort to correct the then popular myth, still believed, that Minnesota is America's Siberia.¹¹ Other states and in particular the railroad agents from states farther south distributed adverse information which many a writer as well as Pelz found it necessary to counter.¹² Thus, it was frequently mentioned that the growing season was longer in Minnesota than in the middle tier of States, and, according to a certain Dr. Anderson of Minneapolis, it was even claimed that in Minnesota the temperature could fall as low as 20° with the right conditions and there would be no severe damage to crops. One writer put it more encompassingly, "The atmosphere in Minnesota in winter is like a wine, so exhilarating is its effect on the system."¹³ In the final analysis, the best place to counter false information continued to be advertisements in the emigrant newspapers in the country of origin of which there were at least five in Germany and two in Switzerland in 1855.¹⁴ Some effort was also made to advertise in the German-language papers in America's eastern states, among them the *Schnellpost* of New York, the *Telegraph* of Buffalo, and *Der Ohio Correspondent* of Chillicothe.¹⁵

Investigating the role of journalists in bringing Germans to Minnesota reveals an occasional opinion that a few of them may have actually dissuaded certain groups from coming, particularly the Catholics and those Protestants who were not sympathetic to freethinkers. Alexander Berghold, for example, wrote that the *New Ulm Pionier*, through its "misconception of the idea of freedom brought great discredit upon the city of New Ulm, especially among religious people. The same feelings were entertained toward all who were not Germans, especially toward those whom they called 'Americans'."¹⁶ Similar qualms existed in regard to the *Minnesota Staatszeitung* whose editor was Samuel Ludvigh.

Picking up essentially where the *Deutsche Zeitung* by Wolff and Orthwein left off in 1858, Ludvigh began publishing the *Minnesota Staatszeitung* on July 24, 1858 with an editorial reminding his readers that he was a materialist of the extreme left, one who was very well known to the German public of North America, and one who was simultaneously very loved and very hated by everyone. He proclaimed that he had come to beautiful Minnesota after twenty-eight years of travels (*Lust- Irr- und Geschäftsfahrten*) on three continents. Immediately he took up the torch of the Republicans in Minnesota, declaring in 1859 and 1860 that very few intellectual Germans any longer belonged to the Democratic Party.¹⁷

After considering thus far the reasons why German immigrants came to the Minnesota River Valley and what influence German-language journalists had in their coming, it would be well now to make some general remarks about the influence of the German-language press on the regions. To do so it would be appropriate to have some idea of the composite circulation of German-language papers in the area between the representative years of 1870 and 1910. In the compilation, the figures used are given in the book *German-American Newspapers*.¹⁸ A casual glance at this volume shows that those Minnesota German-language newspapers with large circulations in the specific time period were distributed much more widely than to the German population of the Minnesota River Valley.

In particular, the *Minnehaha* which was a Sunday insert of the St. Paul *Tägliche Volkszeitung* was credited as having a circulation of 28,403 in 1905 but there is grave doubt that the *Tägliche Volkszeitung* was indeed

published as a daily after the year 1871.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether a daily German-language newspaper was ever really successful. The *St. Paul Volksblatt* tried it unsuccessfully in 1859 and again from 1867-1871.²⁰ The *Minneapolis Herald* achieved it for less than a year in 1884; *Die Presse* briefly in 1885; and the St. Paul based *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* managed a three-times weekly edition for a time after 1868. Thus, there is reason to doubt whether the *Minnehaha* ever achieved such a high circulation as is reported in Arndt/Olson. There is no evidence, for instance, that it was distributed with any other German-language paper anywhere in the Northwest. Yet the *Minnehaha* continued after World War I on its own as a semi-weekly paper.

Another paper that enjoyed a wide circulation was *Der Wanderer*, a Roman Catholic weekly that began in 1867 with a circulation of about 3,000 and passed the 10,000 mark shortly after 1900. Bearing a subtitle of "Glaube, Hoffe, Liebe", the *Wanderer* stated editorially at its inception that it was called into being in the interests of truth and uprightness, primarily because there was no other like-minded German-language newspaper published in the whole of the Northwest, and none along the Mississippi with the exception of the *Herold des Glaubens* in St. Louis. Claiming approval of Bishop Grace, the paper promised to be a weekly visitor in Catholic homes in support of Catholic spirituality. Accepting ads from various areas of Minnesota and even Iowa, the paper seemed to have fulfilled its goals admirably, at least in the earlier years.²¹

Finally, the *National Farmer und Familien Journal*, began in 1902, had a circulation as early as 1910 of 31,589 which grew steadily until 1924, but it is evident in its very title that this publication had a large audience. In summary, then, it is unlikely that the *Minnehaha* enjoyed as large a circulation as is credited to it. Regarding the latter two publications, it appears that their circulations went far beyond the target region, if not to the whole nation.

Excluding these three, therefore, a tally of the composite circulations of German-language newspapers in 1870 would amount to a mere 8,750. In 1880, the figure failed to remain constant, dropping to about 7,000. If we carry forward the 1880 figures for the two Twin Cities papers whose circulations in 1890 are not available, we find a nearly constant figure again of about 7,500 for the 1890 distribution. Moving to the year 1900, composite circulations bounded to nearly 25,000. However, this leap is deceptive inasmuch as the two most prominent St. Paul papers, the *Minnesota Volksblatt* and the *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* had by this time merged with the *Tägliche Omaha Tribune*, thus greatly swelling the potential subscriptions. The *Minneapolis Freie Presse-Herold*, however, enjoyed a circulation of 5,000 on its own in 1900. Begun in 1869 by the distinguished German journalist, Lambert Nägele, founder of the *New Ulm Pionier*,²² the *Presse-Herold* continued to thrive until 1924, enjoying in 1920 a circulation over 10,000 although by that time many of its facilities had been merged with the Westlicher Herold Publishing Company of Winona, Minnesota.²³ In other words, it cannot be assumed that the circulation of 10,000 refers to the Minneapolis edition alone. The possible audience for 1910 German-language newspapers in the Minnesota River Valley, therefore, is not necessarily above the 8-10,000 figure that prevails for earlier decades.

The conclusions that result from these data are that the Minnesota River Valley territory supported between eight and ten thousand families where a German newspaper was read regularly over the entire spread of

1870 to 1910, after which date the Germans were no longer the most populous foreign-born nationality in Minnesota, being then superceded by the Swedish.²⁴ Looking forward from 1910, the conclusions that can be drawn are: First, that the demise of the German press in Minnesota did not result on a massive scale as a result of America's involvement against Germany in World War I, as tends to be the pattern elsewhere.²⁵ Secondly, German-language newspapers were founded and faded from the Minnesota scene with seeming regularity from November 19, 1855 on, with a few still publishing. Thirdly, the period between 1880 and 1910 witnessed a kind of heyday in the number of independent German-language papers,²⁶ while the years after 1920 saw the most substantial decline of publications and circulations. Finally, as for the three mainstays of the Minnesota Valley, the *Minneapolis Freie Presse-Herold* capitulated in 1924, having earlier moved operations to Winona; the *New Ulm Post* continued almost a decade longer, discontinuing finally in 1933 after nearly seventy years of service; and back at the opposite end of the German-settled barbell, the *St. Paul Tägliche Volkszeitung*, having merged with the *Omaha Tribune* in 1937, provided an overall circulation in 1935 of over 16,000 and continues today as the *St. Paul Volkszeitung-Tribüne*.

Evaluating the political or cultural impact made by the German press on the life of the Minnesota Valley is more difficult. However, a general survey of all the available papers permits a few generalizations. One is that the everyday life of the area formed a kind of cultural unit. Secondly, that the two German cultural centers at opposite ends of the barbell were some eighty miles apart did not seem to be a negative factor. The advertisements, for example, indicate that local merchants in towns within the area valued the patronage of customers throughout the region. One is struck by the heavy advertising of the German-American Bank of St. Paul, placed continuously for decades in most of the German papers of the target area.²⁷ Thirdly, it is clear that Minnesota also had its share of *Männerchöre* and many a *Sängerfest*. Ample attention was given in the press to the Club life of the Germans and, in fact, the *St. Paul Volksfreund* proclaimed that one of its primary functions would be to cover news of the German organizations in the area.

Theater performances in German were also common, drawing praise and criticism in the Twin City and New Ulm papers. Like German stages throughout America in the nineteenth century, however, a great many authors unknown today were played to rather indiscriminating audiences. To Minnesota's credit, perhaps, August von Kotzebue was staged less in the region than in many other German-American cities²⁸ while Friedrich Schiller was by far the most-often staged classical German writer. Goethe's *Faust* enjoyed some prominence and surprisingly Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Merchant of Venice* did run in German with considerable interest shown by the major German papers.²⁹

Over the years, of course, German plays appeared on many city stages in the target region, among them Mankato, Chaska, Osseo, New Rome, Young America, Waconia, Carver, Faribault, Jordan, St. Peter, Shakopee, and Waseca.³⁰ Surely the best playwrights as well as the finest German theatrical performances in the region were those offered in the City of St. Paul. Building on a long tradition from the first Thalia group which existed already in 1858 to a kind of climax in the years after 1920, the St. Paul German Theater was usually good and often distinguished. It resulted eventually in the construction of *Das deutsche Haus* which was completed in 1921 and thereafter served all the German organizations of

St. Paul, offering along with its other facilities a large hall with a fine stage.³¹

An item of national scope that interested the Valley German editors was of course the temperance movement. As elsewhere, the Germans dealt with the issue partly through the ballot box and partly through ridicule. John P. Mueller, editor of Shakopee's *Minnesota Post* wrote, for instance, that the Catholic University in Washington, D. C. planned to establish a Chair on Temperance. But, he said, the professor would have as many students in attendance as the Sanskrit professor who at that particular time was on leave at the University of Göttingen. But if attendance were made mandatory, "then the students will flee as if from a medieval torture chair, and the temperance professor will become the University's student-scarecrow."³² To many Minnesota editors of German papers, the "English water-preachers" were a kind of public enemy number one. A feeling permeating editorials of the time is that the anti-alcohol advocates were the enemy because in condemning liquor, they were really attacking the German language and thus the very German identity in the United States.

Opposition to temperance and by association to the Republican Party was widespread among the German papers. On the issue of public v. private schools, there were attacks, for example, by the *Minnesota Post* on the *New Ulm Post*, though usually such opinions depended on whether a paper represented a Catholic, Protestant, or Freethinking clientele.³³ More often than not, internecine conflicts hinged on whether one editor had strong political feelings as opposed to another. In Minnesota, as elsewhere in the United States, the German-American hero, Carl Schurz, enjoyed legendary acclaim.³⁴

Minnesota Germans also were, for years, aware of the Indians. Ever since the Sioux uprisings at New Ulm which wiped out the *New Ulm Pionier* in August 1862, German papers in the target area were concerned about Indian affairs. Mostly, it appears, the Germans wanted to render the Indians into an agriculturally, self-sufficient people. As the problem evolved from the level of physical threat into innocuous curiosity, editors became less opinionated. In 1891, for example, stories were serialized on how Sitting Bull actually died. On the broader subject of ethnic minorities, a few editors feared that ill effects might accrue to the German element on the coat tails of anti-Chinese laws which they believed to be the products of "nativists" and "puritans".³⁵

In the final analysis, it must be maintained that no matter how strong the German-language press was in the Minnesota River Valley, it was never by itself an influential cultural force. This coagulant force must be ascribed to the churches, either Lutheran or Catholic, and in the case of New Ulm, Freethinkers.³⁶ Political boundaries, German state of origin, shopping areas, and the German-language press all seem secondary in the face of the overriding cohesive cultural forces of the churches. Important as the press was, its influence was never a paramount force in Minnesota's German element.

¹ See Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names: Their Origin and Historic Significance* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1920). For a description of the Undine region around Mankato and its German significance, see p. 65. There are many more German place names outside the target area: Hanover, Friesland, Potsdam, Danube, Flensburg, New Munich, Nassau, Humboldt, Elba, and even "Prosit". Some township names include Germantown, Germania, Posen, Augsburg, Berlin, Bismarck, Fanconia, Sigel, Frankfort, New Germany, North Germany, etc.

² U. S. Censuses, 1860-1910. See also the maps and graphs showing percentages of German stock in Minnesota in Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Distribution of German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," *Rural Sociology*, 6 (March, 1941), 30-31. Additional information is available in official state descriptions of Minnesota such as *Minnesota As It is in 1870, Its General Resources and Attractions*

for *Immigrants, Invalids, Tourists, Capitalists and Business Men* [partial title] ed. J. W. McClung (St. Paul: Press Printing, 1870).

³ Livia Appel and Theodore C. Blegen, Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota During the Territorial Period," *Minnesota History*, 5 (1923), 177.

⁴ Theodore C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3 (1919-1920), 3-29, and Theodore C. Blegen, "Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants," *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society*, 11 (1926), 3-28.

⁵ Preserved in the Governor's files # 608, the document is reprinted in the *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society* (1926), 55-64.

⁶ Rev. Edward D. Neill, *History of the Minnesota Valley* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Co., 1882), p. 355, John Massmann, "Friedrich Orthwein: Minnesota's First German Editor," *American-German Review*, 26 (April-May, 1960), 16-17, and Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961), 220, who refer to the *Thalbote* as originating in 1856 in the town of Carver (whereas in fact it began in Chaska in 1857) but do not associate Wolff's name with it.

Further evidence linking the name of Albert Wolff with the paper is available in Samuel G. Ludvigh, "Nach dem Westen; von St. Louis nach New Ulm in Minnesota," *Die Fackel*, 11 (1858), 217. Ludvigh tells of stopping in Chaska where he spoke to a small gathering of Republicans and of debating with the Democrat Wolff, editor of the local *Thalbote*. It should be pointed out at this point that Arndt/Olson include in their bibliography, p. 790 the following reference: Herman [sic] E. Rothfuss, "Copies of German Language Newspapers printed in Minnesota preserved in the Archives of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota." The Society's archivists are unable to identify such a collection. Furthermore, in a personal letter to me, dated November 17, 1971, Hermann Rothfuss wrote: "I cannot give you any information concerning the item on page 790, Arndt/Olson. In fact this is the first time I heard of it, but I can say that I do not possess any copies of old German language newspapers."

⁷ See *Poesie und Prosa aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Albert Wolff* (St. Paul: Volkszeitung Druck, 1894), 216 pages, available in the Minnesota Historical Society. For a brief description of the *Nachlass*, see Lynwood Downs, "Albert Wolff," *Minnesota History*, 27 (December, 1946), 327-329. For additional particulars about Orthwein and Wolff and other early German journalists in Minnesota, see Daniel S. B. Johnston, "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, 10, Pt. 1 (St. Paul: Minn. Hist. Society, 1905), 286-289 and 317-318. See also John C. Massmann, "Friedrich Orthwein: A Case Study in Historical Investigation" (unpubl. M. A. Thesis, Univ. of Minn., 1959).

⁸ The first essay was written by Mary J. Colburn, the second by William R. Smith. Copies of the German pamphlets are available in the Minnesota Historical Library. See also Carlton C. Qualey, "A New El Dorado: Guides to Minnesota, 1850's-1880's," *Minnesota History*, 52 (Summer, 1971), 215-224.

⁹ See "Notes on the Big Woods," *Transactions of the Minnesota State Horticultural Society* (1875), 47-48. See also Rexford Daubenmire, "The 'Big Woods' of Minnesota: Its Structure, and Relation to Climate, Fire and Soils," *Ecological Monographs*, 6 (April, 1936), 235-268.

¹⁰ For biographical data, see *Der deutsche Pionier*, 8 (Cincinnati, 1876), 213-227 and 282. See also Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Edward Pelz and German Emigration," *Minnesota History*, 31 (December 1950), 222-230.

¹¹ See, for example, Pelz, *Über Auswanderung*, with subtitle "Besonderer Abdruck aus der deutschen Auswanderer Zeitung" No. 47-49 in the Minnesota Historical Society.

¹² See the many official State of Minnesota publications on "Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants," as well as Philip D. Jordan, *The People's Health: A History of Public Health in Minnesota to 1948*, especially Chapter I, "Salubrious Minnesota" (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1953). Also Blegen in "Minnesota's Campaign," *op. cit.*, 6 quotes from Hans Mattson, Minnesota's Immigrant Agent who reports that "a prominent newspaper writer in Kansas accused me of selling my countrymen to a life not much better than slavery in a land of ice, snow, and perpetual winter, where if the poor emigrant did not soon starve to death, he would surely perish with the cold."

¹³ Ledyard Bill, *Minnesota; its Character and Climate* (New York: Wood and Holbrook, 1871), 71.

¹⁴ See Appel and Blegen, "Official Encouragement . . . During the Territorial Period," *op. cit.*, 186.

¹⁵ See Cardinal Leonidas Goodwin, "The Movement of American Settlers into Wisconsin and Minnesota," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 17 (July, 1919), 420. See also La Vern J. Rippley, "The Chillicothe Germans," *Ohio History* (Autumn, 1966), 217 ff.

¹⁶ A prolific writer on many subjects, Berghold was the Catholic pastor at New Ulm and is quoted in Louis A. Fritsche, ed., *History of Brown County, Minnesota, Its People, Industries, and Institutions*, Vol. I (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen, 1916), 452.

¹⁷ Samuel Ludvigh was born in Grünz, Austria-Hungary in 1801 and traveled widely in Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan countries until 1833 when his writings about the "Metternich System" brought censorship and embitterment followed by departure for the United States. After working on German papers in Philadelphia and Baltimore, he initiated *Die Fackel* in 1849, a Baltimore-based quarterly which for the most part vented Ludvigh's own radical opinions. See Alexander Schem, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Konversationslexikon*, 6 (New York: Steiger, 1872), 657. For an overview of the German Press in Minnesota at 1872, see Schem. VII, 369-370.

As regards *Die Fackel*, see *Der Deutsche Pionier*, ed., Heinrich Rattermann, 1 (1869), 358. See also Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 261-262. The Minnesota Historical Society has volume 7 (1853) and volume 11 (1858) of *Die Fackel*.

¹⁸ See Arndt and Olson, 220-237.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 228-229.

²⁰ For information about the *Volksblatt's* founder, Philip Rohr, see Lynwood G. Downs, "Music Moves West," *Minnesota History*, 20 (December, 1951), 239-242. Rohr was also linked with the German edition of the *Emigrant Aid Journal*, the official paper of the now famous Minnesota ghost town of Nininger. See Dudley S. Brainard, "Nininger, A Boom Town of the Fifties," *Minnesota History*, 13 (June, 1932), 131.

²¹ *Der Wanderer*, November 16, 1867 and ff.

²² For details on the career of Lambert Nägele see Hermann E. Rothfuss, "Westward with the News," *The American-German Review*, 20 (February-March, 1954), 22-25.

See also Isaac Atwater, ed., *History of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota* (New York: Munsell, 1893), 377. "The *freie Presse Herald* is a weekly newspaper published in the German-language, and is the only German newspaper in the city. The *Freie Presse* was founded in the year 1869 by some German-American citizens of Minneapolis, mostly belonging to the Harmonia Society, the West Minneapolis, St. Anthony-Turnverein and Lodges." In its early years the paper was edited by Dr. A. Ortman and Anthony Grethen, lawyers who gave their services without pay. The first salaried

editor was Theodore Hielcher. In December, 1890 the paper merged with the *Minneapolis Herald*, a German weekly which was established in 1882. In 1892 the officers of the new *Minneapolis Freie Presse* Herald are listed as: Otto E. Naegle, president, Arthur W. Schlichting, secretary and manager, Adolph Duevel and Charles Baehr, directors, and Charles Baehr, editor. The paper was said to be democratic in politics, and enjoying a circulation of nearly 10,000, a good reputation and offices in the *Evening Journal* building. Some of this information augments and varies from what is furnished in Arndt/Olson, 223. See also a file of clippings and manuscripts entitled "Lambert Naegle and Family Papers" in the Minnesota Historical Society, and a feature story in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, August 17, 1952.

²³ The story of the Westlicher Herold Company at Winona has not yet been told. This company was involved in the production of countless German publications throughout the upper Midwest, including Minneapolis papers, many from Wisconsin North Dakota and even Ohio.

²⁴ See U. S. Census, 1910 and Johnson, "The Distribution of the German Pioneer Population," 19.

²⁵ See Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957).

²⁶ Most of these had short lives, were bland with opinion, skimpy on news of local interest and ill-equipped to receive major news stories. For the most part they are detailed in Arndt/Olson to whose compilation little new information can be added. Regarding the *Minnesota Staats-Anzeiger*, however, it could be included in Arndt/Olson, 228, that Julius Stackemann was editor from April 26-July 26, 1889.

²⁷ Headed for years by the brothers F. and G. Willius, the bank offered every possible financial service for the German American. Currency transactions as well as business and financial dealings in either country were available, even the services of a Prussian Consul, who for a time was F. Willius. In later years, the ads announced that the bank existed for the general public, but for the German public especially. See e. g. *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung*, January 4, 1877. Later in the century the bank is proclaimed as the "Germania Bank" with officers Wm. Bickel, President, and P. M. Kerst, Cashier. See *St. Paul Volksfreund*, September 22, 1894.

²⁸ See, for example, La Vern J. Rippley, "German Theater in Columbus, Ohio," *German-American Studies*, 1 (1970), 78-101.

²⁹ Hermann E. Rothfuss, "Criticism of the German-American Theater in Minnesota," *The Germanic Review*, 27 (April, 1952), 124-130, and "Early German Theater in Minnesota," 32 (Summer and Autumn, 1951), 100-105 and 164-173.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, "Plays for Pioneers: German Drama in Rural Minnesota," *Minnesota History*, 35 (Summer, 1955), 239-242, and "Theodore Seidle, German Theater Pioneer," *American-German Review*, 17 (February, 1951), 17-19.

³¹ Oscar H. Rudnick, *Das Deutschtum St. Pauls in Wort und Bild* (St. Paul: n. p., 1924). Pp. 69-107 cover the history of German Theater. Other chapters deal with the *Vereine*, etc.

³² *Minnesota Post*, April 13, 1893.

³³ During this time Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul had become controversial in Minnesota and beyond state borders for his Faribault Plan, which was an accommodation by which state monies were funneled to Catholic Schools through an arrangement for the leasing of Catholic facilities by local school districts.

³⁴ The evidence derives from many papers. See also Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Election of 1860 and the Germans in Minnesota," *Minnesota History*, 28 (March, 1947), 28 ff.

³⁵ *Minnesota Post*, August 3, 1893.

³⁶ See Esther A. Selke, "Pioneers of German Lutheranism in Minnesota," *Minnesota History*, 14 (March, 1933), 45-58, and Sister Grace McDonald, "Father Francis Pierz, Missionary," *Minnesota History*, 10 (June, 1929), 106-125. See also Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Intermarriages Between German Pioneers and Other Nationalities in Minnesota in 1860 and 1870," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (January, 1946), 229-304.