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German Communities in American Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth-Century Experience

JAMES M. BERGQUIST

A CENTURY AGO nearly every major American city had its "German district," a visible and tangible reminder of the presence of the country's largest foreign-speaking element, and an image which hovered in the minds of most native-born Americans when the question of immigration was discussed. Typically, the German area began not far from the central business district, and extended outward to more newly-settled neighborhoods, including some small acreages on the edge of the city. Within it a visitor could walk for blocks, perhaps for miles, hearing little else but strange Teutonic sounds. The pervasive "foreignness" of the district was reinforced by the sight of shops bearing signs in German, restaurants and public houses advertising their German fare, German bookshops and newspaper offices, German physicians, grocers and banking houses—all the elements of a rather complete and self-contained community. To many native Americans, of course, such a place seemed to be almost defiantly proclaiming German separateness and resistance to American standards.

Consider as an example the "German district" of Philadelphia, a city which possessed the fourth largest German population in the country. Its fifty-five thousand German-born in 1880, along with their native-born offspring, held a very visible place in that city of nearly eight hundred fifty thousand. Even before the last great surge of their immigration in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the expanding German population had begun to form new neighborhoods throughout the city, removed from the original "German district." Yet that core area still served as the chief focal point for German institutional life. Within an area of several square miles, extending northward and northeastward from the city's oldest commercial district, there could be found the Turner society and its popular German theater, the meeting places of most of the twenty-four singing societies, and the venerable German Society of Pennsylvania, with its meeting halls and its fourteen thousand volume library. Although concentrated geo-

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graphically, social activity was nevertheless widely diffused among organizations of impressive variety. An attempt during the 1870s to count the German lodges and secret societies yielded the number ninety-one. Three daily papers tried to keep track of the innumerable meetings of mutual aid societies, social events and club activities. Every evening had its choice of diversions. The German community, in short, offered the abundance of riches which has traditionally been considered one of the attractions of urban life.[1]

If German urban communities such as this one of a century ago impressed contemporaries with their seemingly exclusive and self-contained character, they also served as an example to subsequent immigrants of what one ethnic group could accomplish by way of creating a social environment adapted to its own particular needs. One would imagine that if leaders of most immigrant groups of more recent date were asked what their ideal of life for such a group might be, it would probably be something like the old German community: highly visible and providing within its structures many of the group's needs, thereby enabling the immigrants to live within a distinct culture with which they identified and in which they felt at home. Historians, too, have seen the nineteenth-century German-American community as an example of a protective and self-contained refuge, strong enough to resist the pressures for assimilation exerted upon those within it.[2] Yet, imposing though they may have seemed a century ago, these impressive urban enclaves are now largely a matter of historical record. Although Germans still immigrate today, they no longer have the potential to dominate the character of the urban landscape. Since it does not seem either rational or fruitful to mourn the loss of the once-proud German urban communities, we can perhaps examine somewhat dispassionately the phenomenon. The general resurgence of interest in ethnicity and the development of new demographic techniques have produced over the past two decades a new generation of studies on specific German urban experiences, enough to justify some tentative generalizations about the development, structure, character, and ultimate decline of these communities.[3] Such generalizations may also offer a basis for some useful comparisons with the experiences of other, more recent ethnic groups.

The Germans were one of the most successful ethnic groups in establishing a tangible presence in America's cities that went beyond a mere collection of institutions to advance ethnicity and became instead a community in the fullest sense, as a sociologist might envision it—a network of institutions of both a formal and informal nature, based upon a sense of

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mutuality, and extensive enough to enable those within it to carry on a continuing pattern of social interactions mostly within that network. The German community was diverse enough in its offerings to enable its members to make many choices of ideology, lifestyle and belief without having to separate themselves from the community.[4]

The concept of such a fully-developed community, of course, implies more than the immigrant "neighborhood." For a variety of reasons, the Germans of a city were seldom restricted only to one particular neighborhood. Although many lived in some degree of social segregation, and usually some area existed that was recognized by all as the main focal point of German life and institutions, the German community persisted for most of its life as one diffused rather broadly through an urban area. The protracted history of German migration might bring different waves of newcomers to various sections of the developing city. The diversified class structure of the group might lead them to different areas of housing according to their needs. Most of the nineteenth-century German urban communities developed in the context of the pre-industrial "walking" cities, where proximity to the workplace was still the most compelling factor determining residence. Thus the highly varied occupational structure tended naturally to scatter Germans across the city. And the sheer size of the German population also helped this diffusion; in the last two decades of the century, when improved public transportation made a "ghetto" more possible, the Germans were already well along in the process of dispersal and were too numerous and socially diverse to be contained in such a section.[5]

The earliest of the major nineteenth-century German urban communities began to take shape in the 1830s and 1840s, and were formed by the circumstances of that era. The wave of migration of that period drew disproportionately upon Germans of the lower middle class—farmers and artisans displaced by the beginning stages of the Industrial Revolution. While land was the goal of many who migrated, their numbers included those with skills useful to growing American cities; thus they formed urban concentrations to a greater extent than had their colonial predecessors. The routes of transportation and the available economic opportunities tended to dictate the cities where they would locate; some remained at the principal ports of entry, mainly Baltimore, New York, New Orleans and Philadelphia; others followed the main routes of travel inland, first to such river cities as Saint Louis, Cincinnati and Louisville, and a little later to the newer cities of the Great Lakes region, such as Milwaukee, Chicago and Cleveland.[6] In most instances, then, the new

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immigration had little contact with areas which had been settled by the colonial German population. Philadelphia and Baltimore constituted the principal exceptions, and in both instances very little of the institutional structure of the colonial Germans remained by 1830 as any sort of basis on which to build a new German community. A newcomer to Philadelphia in the mid-1830s found available to its estimated twenty thousand German-born inhabitants four churches, one synagogue, two mutual aid societies, two German-language schools, and the German Society of Pennsylvania, which was at that time largely in the hands of English-speaking descendants of Germans. Not all of these institutions dated to colonial times. A similar situation occurred in Baltimore, where a gulf of half a century separated the colonial German population from the newer arrivals.[7]

The great upsurge in newcomers during the 1830s and 1840s fostered the rapid development of new German institutions. In Philadelphia, for example, the first German daily paper appeared in 1836; the first singing society, the *Männerchor*, was formed in 1835; a library society was organized in 1836, and a German theater in 1837; a literary society, to sponsor debates and lectures, emerged in 1841, and an Immigration Society, to aid German newcomers to the city, was founded in 1843. A host of smaller German organizations was also formed, and festivals involving the whole German community were common events by the early 1840s.[8] Other cities both east and west experienced a similar blossoming of German communities by the mid-forties. By that time, Germans in the new city of Chicago had a well-defined German neighborhood, had elected their own aldermen and had organized politically. The Milwaukee German-born numbered over a third of the city's population by 1848, and their institutional life was well developed. Saint Louis had attracted a leadership of educated Germans in the early thirties, and in the following years booming expansion made the city a destination for many skilled German workers. These factors helped to build a German community with a reputation as one of the most cultured in America. Cincinnati's Germanism also flowered in the decade of the 1830s; by 1840, when the Germans constituted over a quarter of the adult male population, the famous district of "Over the Rhine" and a basic network of German ethnic institutions were clearly apparent. The Germans had their first *Maifest*, a symbolic demonstration of German unity, in 1842. The expansion of German organizations and community life in Pittsburgh and Baltimore also dates from the early 1840s.[9]

While the basic core of the German communities existed in the princi-

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pal northern cities by 1850, two developments of the next decade were to have a profound effect upon the character of these communities. These were, first, the greatest wave of German immigration so far experienced in the United States, and, secondly, the arrival of an important element of activists fleeing the wreckage of the revolutionary movements of 1848.

The German-born population of the United States doubled during the 1850s, and in the rapid change and turmoil that accompanied this growth, German communities developed the immense diversity that was to characterize them until past the end of the century. They also multiplied the chronic frictions and conflicts that bred within them. The sheer number of newcomers made possible the rapid proliferation of social organizations, schools, newspapers and businesses, as is evident in the chronicles of all these communities. With this proliferation, the institutional structure became much more capable of reflecting the diversity of the German-Americans. Now there would be not just one German Protestant church, but a number of them, suiting a wide variety of dogmatic views. Now there might be room for not just one but several singing societies, based perhaps on such shared characteristics as common provincial origin, ideological outlook, class, or other special inclination. Now there would not be merely one German newspaper, struggling to represent all Germans, but several, each catering to a narrower spectrum of political, religious or ideological opinion. And so a German community might take on the aspect, as one student of Cincinnati observed, of "not the equivalent of a single German village but like a score of villages each overlapping in the same limited area."[10] To the outsider, the busy activity of this burgeoning institutional structure gave an impression of great strength and solidarity; to those inside, the increasing diversity of the community and its institutions meant that it was becoming more susceptible to internal conflict than to harmony.

At the same time as this institutional growth there was added to the German communities the new element of the forty-eighters, an element diversified in its talents, even more diversified in its opinions, and eager to play a role in the leadership of the group. German communities had known the political refugee since the 1830s, and often they had represented political and social ideas somewhat at odds with many of the German immigrants. But the limited German-American structure in earlier days usually mandated accommodation (often by muting such differences) by political activists if they aspired to leadership in America. The forty-eighters, being more often men of strong and uncompromising opinion, increased rather than lessened the potential for conflict in the

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community. They were prone to see themselves as destined to bring a much needed unity and coherence to German communities, but the practical effect of their efforts was more often to antagonize one element of German-Americans while activating another. Incipient religious antagonisms in many communities were particularly aroused and brought out into the open by the efforts of some forty-eighters to mix European anticlerical issues into American politics. The most far-reaching contribution of the men of 1848 was surely the marked improvement they brought to German-language journalism.[11] Yet many of them made their papers vehicles for ideas rejected by other German-Americans, who then sought other newspapers more to their own liking.

Although the 1850s have sometimes been represented as an era when all of German-America retreated under pressure of nativism to an exaggerated isolation from the rest of American society, it may be more correct to see these years as a period when the diverse elements of the German-American communities began to seek their own isolation from each other. Certainly this tendency was manifest among the German churches. The Catholic Germans increasingly saw the German-American social scene as unduly dominated by secret societies (of which the church disapproved), by radical labor movements, and by the liberal and often anticlerical societies of the forty-eighters. The Catholics responded by creating their own organizations and their own press. The *Central-Verein*, founded in 1855 as a union of Catholic mutual aid societies, is a direct outgrowth of this tendency.[12] Conservative Lutheranism, to cite another example, was also building its bastions against the rest of German-America. Under the leadership of C.F.W. Walther, the newly-organized Missouri Synod renounced all forms of cooperation with other German churches, condemning with equal vigor Catholics, reformed churches, "rationalists," and the radicals of 1848.[13]

The forty-eighters were drawn in disproportionate numbers to the newer communities of the West, which seemed to offer the greatest opportunities for social organization and political action, and it was there that the resulting conflicts were most noticeable.[14] Saint Louis in the 1850s offers the most striking example. New intellectuals of 1848 were attracted there by the city's already well-established reputation for German culture. The most famous of these was Heinrich Boernstein, a refugee from the revolution in Vienna, who in early 1850 took over editorship of the Saint Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, the leading German paper of the West. In a city already fraught with religious cross-currents, Boernstein greatly intensified religious and social fears and suspicions.

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Among his other causes, he propounded a theory of dark Jesuit conspiracy and began to rally the anticlerical and antireligious elements among the Germans. By 1851 he had organized a "Union of Free Men," which mingled its anticlericalism with abolitionism and other reforms. This organization grew quickly, partly because of the successful German schools it sponsored; it also fostered German theater and other cultural activities. Yet it also stimulated religious Germans to start their own rival organizations. By the mid-fifties, the Catholic Germans had developed their own paper, the *Tages-Chronik*, as an antidote to the *Anzeiger*. Likewise the Lutherans produced their own paper, the *Volksblatt*, with the endorsement of the Missouri Synod's Walther; the other Saint Louis papers, he said, were either "under the editorship of atheists, moral indifferentists and fanatic revolutionaries," or "in the service of a Papacy seeking political influence, and of Jesuitism."[15] While Saint Louis in the fifties was certainly becoming a more diverse and complex German community, the city was also becoming more deeply divided.[16]

The pattern established in the German urban communities in the 1850s continued to characterize them throughout their "heyday" to the end of the century. Because of large and diverse populations in which constituent elements could form institutions representative of their own special interests and ideologies, the development of one organizational superstructure became a practical impossibility. Religious difference was only the most notable aspect of this fragmentation; it has been often observed that religion, which served as a unifying force among many immigrant groups, served as a disunifying one among the Germans.[17] But there were other points of division as well. Germans came from many regional and provincial origins in a country that was, before 1870, still divided. They tended to think of themselves as Bavarians or Prussians or Saxons. Many social organizations, singing societies and mutual assistance associations had regional identifications, and common provincial origin was often an important consideration in courtship, marriage and even, in some cases, residential location.[18]

Even more important, perhaps, was the wide variety of class and occupational divisions among the Germans—certainly a wider variety than characterized most immigrant peoples. The range of class and status that stretched from a small but influential number of merchants, professional men and political spokesmen on one end to the unskilled and unemployed on the other offered considerable barriers to mutual understanding and not a little potential for conflict. Statistically the Germans were more concentrated on the middle rungs of the occupational ladder as artisans, small

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proprietors and skilled workmen, which usually placed them in a somewhat more substantial status than their Irish contemporaries. However, one should not regard them as lacking a lower class.[19] Indeed, as the century went on and urban concentrations grew, the proportion of unskilled wage-earners among the new immigrants increased. Some of this increase resulted from the growing proportion of newcomers from the northern and eastern parts of Germany, who more commonly lacked industrial skills. And certain other groups of Germans found their status depressed to less-skilled levels when mechanization made their skills obsolete.[20] The intensifying radicalism of some German unions and workingmen's groups in the last quarter of the century served to alarm more conservative upper- and middle-class Germans; in the wake of the Haymarket affair, particularly, German spokesmen took great pains to dissociate German-America in general from such radicalism. Class and occupational differences, like religion, ideology and regional origin, created gulfs between Germans that were difficult for institutions to bridge.

Examination of such sources of diversity and conflict serves to reiterate that Germans in many ways went beyond being an ethnic group to being a community, where one normally expects to find such diversity; and in such a community one does not ordinarily expect to find unanimity. The aspirations of many would-be leaders to unify the Germans and realize their political and social potential were destined to failure; unity was not to be achieved in anything more than a symbolic way, as at community festivals, or in a temporary coming together in the face of some general threat such as prohibition.[21] Attempts to unite all singing societies or all cultural societies frequently only created a new forum for various elements to air their differences. Seldom could any one leader or group of leaders command the allegiance of all Germans. The conditions of the urban environment favored the atomization of the German community; with so many opportunities available for the individual to seek congenial spirits and separate from those he found different, there was little inducement to unite.[22]

The spokesmen of the communities—the growing element of "professional German-Americans" whose careers were directly tied to its institutions and businesses—often felt frustrated at their inability to get all their countrymen to identify with the goal of preserving German culture. But the fact was that immigrant institutions often are used for two rather contradictory purposes. While the one more frequently proclaimed publicly is that of cultural preservation, the other, not always overtly avowed, is that of easing the transition from the previous society to the new soci-

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ety. One goal presumes some resistance to acculturation; the other presumes that acculturation will occur. For many Germans, however enthusiastically they might take part in the activities of the community, its institutions still served mainly as, in the words of the sociologist Milton Gordon, "a kind of decompression chamber in which the newcomers could, at their own pace, make a reasonable adjustment to the new forces of a society vastly different from that which they had known in the Old World."[23] In the long run, the users of the community's structures would have the final say both as to their purpose and their survival. No community of any sort really "defines" its purpose; it and all its institutions depend largely on the pragmatic needs and unstated designs of its members.[24]

If we bear in mind that the German-American community was a waystation rather than a permanent home for many of those who used it, we can more readily understand why the many institutional structures that had developed as the community evolved began to show the signs of strain so quickly after the rate of German immigration reached its zenith in the early 1880s. The community's institutions had been built and sustained by four successive waves of newcomers, with the peaks of those waves in 1847, 1854, 1874 and 1882. The statistics showed the German-born population throughout the country at its highest level in the census reports of 1890, and the same is true for nearly all the individual urban concentrations of Germans. However, that the future numbers of new immigrants would not be sufficient to replace those lost to the German community by assimilation or death became readily apparent within the next few years.[25] The decline in the German-born population was rather quickly reflected in the membership rolls of German organizations and in the circulation of the German press. In a period which saw a dynamic expansion of American journalism generally, the German-language press was in the doldrums. Shrinking readership forced mergers of major German papers in Cleveland, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh and Saint Louis. In other areas, German papers declined or weaker ones closed down, leaving the field to a smaller number of surviving papers.[26] The *Westliche Post* candidly admitted the problem when it consummated a merger with two other Saint Louis dailies in 1898: "Immigration has not kept pace with the mortality of German-Americans. Of the children of German-born citizens, only a small percentage is interested in their father's language and newspapers."[27]

Thus beginning in the 1890s one can sense a growing awareness of decline among the German communities and particularly among their spokesmen. All was not right in German-America; the forces that had

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sustained its growth would not continue.[28] A number of factors contributed to this feeling—some coldly statistical, some emotional. Just as the flow of immigration declined markedly, death began to take its toll more rapidly of the generation that had entered the country in the 1850s. The forty-eighters whose leadership had been part of that generation, were now also passing from the scene.[29] In some cities the German population was dispersing quickly to new neighborhoods and suburbs, making it more difficult for older German institutions to maintain contact with them.[30] And in addition, the new waves of immigration of other groups made it clear to the Germans that their relative prominence in the city's population would never be the same again.[31]

The sense of decline brought on a heightened aggressiveness by German-American leaders about the preservation and defense of their culture. Some of this doubtless resulted from attacks at that time from various quarters upon the use of German in school instruction. Laws were passed in Illinois and Wisconsin about 1890 to restrict the use of German in the nonpublic schools, and there were controversies over the use of German in the public school systems of Louisville, Saint Louis, Saint Paul and Indianapolis.[32] But while German-American leaders defended their rights to the German language, they also had to address the problem of its declining use within the German-American community. The attacks currently being made upon German culture, said the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* of Chicago in 1894, showed that Germans had been too lax in its defense and in not trying to slow the process of Americanization. The paper reported by way of example that even now the Milwaukee *Turnverein*, one of the most distinguished in the entire country, was actually debating the use of English commands in its gymnastic drills because too many pupils no longer could understand German. The *Staats-Zeitung* claimed that the recent instances of hostility to the German language would "fan the German spirit into flames anew," but this was indulging in overoptimism.[33] Although the professional German-American elite showed an increasing concern at the turn of the century about the purity of the mother tongue, the forces of urbanism were working inexorably against language retention in the cities. The urban community lacked all the characteristics which might foster language retention: isolation, residential stability, and religious and ideological homogeneity.[34] In addition, to learn a standard literary German as a common medium was difficult for many who came to America speaking a dialect; often they simply found it easier to turn to English.[35]

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A growing uneasiness among German ethnic spokesmen about the loyalty of German-Americans to their own culture played a role in their growing stress upon the *superiority* of German culture. It did not exist, they averred, for German-Americans, but was a treasure to be preserved for what it could contribute to all Americans. The most ardent proponent of this view perhaps was the prolific Cincinnati scholar, Heinrich A. Rattermann, who proclaimed at every opportunity how much America needed the continuing benefits of German culture.[36] Other German spokesmen made it clear that their contribution to American life was not to be put on an equal plane with that of other ethnic groups. The Cleveland *Wächter und Anzeiger* in 1895 scoffed at a reference to the "achievements" of Irish-Americans, asserting that their political skill was not to be compared with the German influence on American music, education, journalism, and statesmanship:

> Just what in the world are the "achievements" of the Irish in this country? That they show themselves more united for the lowest sort of politics and office-seeking? That they have a few more scruffy policemen and other places than the Germans? They may perhaps have had a dominant influence upon the "mob," and this only because they became Americanized so quickly.[37]

The appeal to the unique superiority of the German heritage became even more important as the growing tide of other immigrant groups threatened to make the Germans numerically just one of many. An Illinois newspaper showed this in its hostile reaction in 1894 to a suggestion made in Newport, Kentucky that the "Irish language" as well as German be taught in the public schools. German, said the writer, was not taught merely to suit the preference of German students but because the language had objective advantages: its widespread acceptance, its practical use for commerce, science and business, and the great literature that had been written in that tongue. "Can the Irish say all that on their own behalf?" asked the paper—and the answer expected was obvious.[38] German cultural organizations began to counsel that the real purpose of German instruction must be the inherent value of the language. As Professor Marion Dexter Learned wrote in the *Pedagogische Monatshefte*: "No foreign language should be taught in the American public schools simply because the pupils and patrons of the school speak the foreign language in question. If this principle will not be recognized, we will not only have German schools, but Hungarian, Polish and Italian ones as well."[39]

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The concern about language retention was the most evident aspect of growing worry about the loyalty of the second and third generations. Much of the increasing self-criticism of the German community centered on this theme. Consider, for example, this account by the chronicler of the *Sängerbund*, one of Philadelphia's oldest German singing societies, as he told of how that group began to decline:

> In the years 1889 and 1890, when the *Sängerbund* had its home in the tavern next to Tagg's Männerchor Hall, the society relinquished leadership to its younger members in the hope that they might preserve it in good condition. But most of them were born here and did not possess the proper motivation and the necessary interest, and naturally could not maintain the membership as their elders had, and so the passion for entertainment was more indulged in than the cultivation of singing. It was therefore not surprising that in the beginning of the year 1891 the continued existence of the society became a serious question.[40]

The jeremiads about the German community's own lack of interest in its culture give a strong indication that many of its members were not ready to give much more than lip service to the goal of cultural preservation that the German-American leaders talked about so much. A high degree of motivation was needed for ordinary German-Americans to preserve the language by creating conditions in which their children could continue to speak it—and relatively few were willing to make the effort.[41] In Saint Louis, the public school system discontinued German instruction in 1887; the German press said that the apathy of the German population allowed this to happen. Subsequently, attempts were made by German organizations there to provide German instruction on Saturdays—but the classes were poorly supported, as repeated exhortations in the German press demonstrated. Likewise in Saint Louis, the German theater, which was always considered among the country's best, found itself consistently in financial difficulties, and special appeals were necessary to maintain it. As in every society, a deep and sustained interest in literary and artistic culture was something found only in a minority.[42] The German radicals were frequently moved to sarcasm by what they saw as pretensions to culture and learning among the German-American middle-class. The radical Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung* told with evident glee of the German organizations' excitement over the dedication of a statue to Beethoven in the city's Lincoln Park. Despite all the oratory about German culture none of the participants seemed to notice that of the sixteen notes from a

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Beethoven symphony carved on the base of the statue, eight were false; and two of the nine German words in the inscription were misspelled as well. Most of the people involved, said the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, probably thought that Beethoven was the proprietor of a grocery store in Dearborn Street.[43]

The malaise of the German communities was indicated most frequently in the repeated appeals for their diverse elements to unite, so that the full strength of the community's institutions could be used for the defense and preservation of Germandom. The Philadelphia *Vereins-Reporter*, for example, bemoaned the atomized state of the city's German societies in 1894:

> We have hundreds of mutual aid societies, large and small, which operate without any central organization, although it would be really advantageous to their purpose, but instead they contribute little to advancing the Germans' sense of solidarity. And we have the various entertainment and other societies, numbering a hundred, of whose existence some people have not the slightest notion, but which when added together possess a membership running in the thousands. If all these societies were united under one central leadership, if the representatives of these societies would take counsel together once every three months about their own welfare, and if at these conferences Republican, Democratic and every other kind of political interest were laid aside, and only the status of German-Americans kept in mind, we are convinced it would be to everyone's advantage.[44]

Such demands for unity and solidarity were becoming more frequent in all the German urban communities in the 1890s, and they reflect an effort to maintain an artificial sense of community when the natural sense of community was beginning to decline. One senses a desire to avoid any issue which might be divisive, and so the appeals to the German community became devoted to exploiting whatever symbolic and emotional ties might be common to all. These appeals included general glorification of German culture or of a vague *Deutschtum*, while avoiding any serious attempt to analyze what was meant by the term; rhetoric about the greatness of the new German Empire; rallying cries for the defense of the German way of life against the threats posed by the prohibitionists; and symbolic celebrations that would demonstrate German unity to the rest of the world and generate a rosy if ill-defined feeling of being German.[45] These appeals are best epitomized in the annual "German day," which became a standard celebration in German-American communities in the late 1880s

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and 1890s. The customary celebrations that various German groups might organize in the normal course of the year's events no longer sufficed; it was necessary to have one which would demonstrate to the rest of America the strength of the Germans and the superiority of their culture. The elaborately organized "German days," which enlisted the participation of every possible German society, surely were impressive sights, and events of which native-born American politicians took note. But they can also be seen as manifestations of a community's concern about its own loss of a feeling of community, and about its fear over loss of power and prestige in the society as a whole.[46]

In general, then, the 1890s show the first symptoms of the decline of the German-American communities—in the sense that the statistics of the changing American population were now running against the Germans; in the heightened appeals to Germans to preserve their culture, to forget their differences and unify, and to hold the loyalty of the younger generation; and in the resort to symbolism and emotional appeal as the least common denominator upon which to unite German-Americans. All of this indicated an effort to get Germans to identify with something that they once had identified with naturally as part of their everyday lives. A German-American elite was confronted with an ethnic group in the process of transformation as the older generation passed from the scene and the newer generation rose to more influence. Seeing valued institutions threatened, they tried to posit some "goal" or "purpose" as the reason for preserving them. But the great masses of German-Americans did not customarily think of that community or its institutions as having an overall "purpose." Like most members of a community, their view was more pragmatic; the German community and its institutions constituted something that they had developed for their own purposes and might use for whatever purpose they had at the moment. In the long run, the very richness and diversity of German-America, and the widening variety of perceptions of it by others, proved to be the weakness in that elaborate structure.

The story of the German-American churches perhaps provides an instructive example, for they were often the first institutions to appear in the German community and the last to disappear. The reason is that they had a clear purpose of their own which transcended ethnicity; the churches had something to provide to German-Americans no matter what the degree of assimilation; and when their adherents began to assimilate, the churches could change their language (not always, of course, without some debate) and continue to work for their traditional purpose. Al-

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though, because of their variety, the churches could not create cohesion among German-Americans, they could more easily attune themselves to the needs of an immigrant group in transition. But compare that with the experience of the Turner societies, which had their own "official" purpose (usually including the development of physical culture) but also developed in many places into German social centers. When in 1894 and 1895 the North American Turnerbund decided to seek and accept new English-speaking societies, it provoked an immediate debate between those who saw the Turner movement as an important part of Germandom and those who believed that its work should transcend ethnic lines. As the *New Jersey Freie Zeitung*, defending German culture, lamented, "This will be marked down as the beginning of the de-Germanization of the Turner societies in America. If it is really carried out, it is going to be the beginning of the end of the North American Turnerbund."[47] Unlike the German churches, the Turner societies found it much more difficult to assert a more enduring purpose which could outlive the German community.

Many discussions of the nature of German-America have leaned heavily upon the interpretation of John A. Hawgood, who placed particular emphasis upon the eras of the 1850s and of the First World War. The nativism of the former period, he said, produced an isolated and defensive German-America with a high degree of resistance to assimilation; the mistrust and hatred during the First World War violently shattered the structures of German-America.[48] While there is much to praise in Hawgood's narrative, his interpretation may overemphasize the influence of these two periods, missing other changes within the community in the intervening years. Hawgood may also have mistaken the external structures of German-America for the individuals within those structures. The imposing edifice of the German community, enduring though it seemed to be, was made possible and maintained by several successive waves of German migration over half a century. It was a complex and changing structure through which many passed; because Americans always saw the German community as crowded and full of life, they thought of it as unchanging. But doubtless many of the children of the immigrants of 1840 and 1850 had deserted that edifice even as it was still being populated anew by the immigration of the 1870s and 1880s. When this process of replenishment did not continue, the decline of the German community's structure rapidly became apparent. The events of 1917 and 1918 were only the *coup de grâce* administered to an already weakened structure. The real "tragedy" of German-America, to seize upon Hawgood's

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phrase, lies perhaps in the self-delusion that it was somehow destined to last forever.

What does the experience of the Germans suggest for the other ethnic groups which have followed them into the cities of industrial America? One should, of course, proceed with caution in making comparisons, since the Germans' story is a rather special one in a number of ways, mostly because of the group's size, diversity and ability to dominate so much of the society of many cities. But one can certainly observe that even the most elaborate of immigrant community structures may carry the seeds of its own decline. Indeed, "success" in terms of the ability to afford a great variety of ethnic institutions may serve to diffuse the energies and allegiances of the group and to frustrate the attempts of ethnic leaders to achieve "unity." The German community structure probably resembled that of other groups in the early phases of its development, when its formation was motivated partly out of self-defense against the host society and partly out of the simple desire for the security of that which was familiar. But beginning in the late 1840s the great stream of diverse German migrants created a more complex institutional structure, attuned to a multitude of cultural and social differences and more likely to develop conflicts within the group than to foster unity. A perceptible decline in new German immigration after 1885, along with the passing of many of the older immigrants of the mid-century era, caused within the next two decades a critical period of transition in the German community's institutional structure, with accompanying tensions over the proper purpose of those institutions. How such rapid decline in migration affected other ethnic groups is perhaps worthy of exploration. In any event, even when the German institutional structure was at its peak, a very aggressive and defensive posture among its leadership actually cloaked weaknesses within; again, perhaps some similar warning signs can be seen in the life-history of other groups. The German experience also suggests that despite the concern of ethnic leaders about adherence to some "purity" of ideals (linguistic, cultural or otherwise), in the long run ethnic institutions will survive on largely pragmatic terms, such as their usefulness to the current generation and their ability to adapt to the changing needs of their users. Those needs may or may not coincide with the cultural and social goals envisioned by the community's "founding fathers."

NOTES

This essay has its origins in a paper delivered at a symposium on German-Americans held at Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia, in December 1975. The present version re-

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flects considerable elaboration and revision in the light of research published during the intervening years by students of German-American urban groups.

1. This description is drawn largely from Alexander J. Schem, ed, *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-lexikon*, 11 vols. (New York, 1869–74), vol. 8: 682–684, and from Philadelphia *Demokrat*, 6, 7, 8 December 1875.

2. The best known example is John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German America: The Germans in the United States of America during the Nineteenth Century—and After* (New York, 1940). Hawgood stresses the defensive and culturally conservative aspects of "German-America," and deals more with what he sees to be the German-American state of mind than with the concrete conditions of their communities.

3. Among writings dealing with Germans in specific cities are: on Cincinnati, Guido Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community: the Cincinnati Germans, 1870–1920," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1965), and Joseph M. White, "Religion and Community: Cincinnati Germans, 1814–1870," (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1980); on Milwaukee, Kathleen N. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); on St. Louis, Audrey L. Olson, "St. Louis Germans, 1850–1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and its Relation to the Assimilation Process," (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1970), and George H. Kellner, "The German Element on the Urban Frontier: St. Louis, 1830–1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1973); on Baltimore, Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, N.J., 1948); on Philadelphia, Alan N. Burstein, "Residential Distribution and Mobility of Irish and German Immigrants in Philadelphia, 1850–1880," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1975); on New York, Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* (New York, 1949), and Stanley Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland:* New York City's Germans, 1845–1880," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1981); on Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, Nora H. Faires, "Ethnicity in Evolution: the German Community in Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, 1845–1885," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1981); on Chicago, James M. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes of the German Immigrant in Illinois, 1848–1860" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1966), and also the work of the Chicago Project at the University of Munich, for example John B. Jentz and Harmut Keil, "From Immigrants to Urban Workers: Chicago's German Poor in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, 1883–1908," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 66 (1981): 52–97. A number of pre-Civil War urban communities are dealt with in Bruce C. Levine, "In the Spirit of 1848: German Americans and the Fight over Slavery's Expansion," (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1980).

4. The meaning of the term "community" has of course provided a continuing debate for sociologists throughout the existence of their profession. A discussion of the debate which historians may find particularly useful is Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1978). See also Joseph R. Gusfield, *Community: A Critical Response* (New York, 1975). The reader may discern the following aspects of the concept "community" as it is used in the present discussion: (1) it places less importance on territoriality as defining a community; (2) defense against outsiders is not its primary *raison d'être*; (3) it is a dynamic unit, subject to considerable development and change; (4) heterogeneity is quite compatible with the character of a community. For specific discussion of the concept of community with reference to the German-Americans, see Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 3–5; Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland*," pp. 272–274; Faires, "Ethnicity in Evolution," pp. 2–3.

5. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants* (New York, 1971), pp. 105–123; Howard Chudacoff, *Mobile Americans: Residential and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880–1920* (New York, 1972), pp. 77–83. For discussion of the German settlement pattern in specific

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cities, see Burstein, "Residential Distribution," pp. 69–72, 175–178; Olson, "St. Louis Germans," pp. 248–249; Kellner, "German Element," pp. 118–145; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 126–153; Bergquist, "Political Attitudes," pp. 329–334; Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, pp. 37–41; Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland*," pp. 55–57, 78–79; Faires, "Ethnicity in Evolution," pp. 176-211; Joseph Garonzik, "The Racial and Ethnic Make-up of Baltimore Neighborhoods, 1850–70," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (1976): 396–402. The literature on residential mobility and segregation is discussed well in Kathleen Conzen, "Patterns of Residence in Early Milwaukee," in *The New Urban History: Quantitative Explorations by American Historians*, ed. L.F. Schnore (Princeton, N.J. 1975) pp. 145–183.

6. For the process of emigration and settlement, see Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 51–56; Thomas W. Page, "The Distribution of Immigrants in the United States before 1870," *Journal of Political Economy*, 20 (1912): 676–694; Hildegard B. Johnson, "The Location of German Immigrants in the Middle West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 41 (1951): 1–41. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 65–74, confirms the generally lower middle-class nature of Milwaukee's German population.

7. "Aus den Aufzeichnungen von L.A. Wollenweber über seine Erlebnisse in Amerika, namentlich in Philadelphia," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 13 (1909): 7–8; Oswald Seidensticker, *Erster Teil der Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 54–55. See also Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, pp. 237–238; Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, Va., 1969), pp. 203–204, 214.

8. C.F. Huch, "Die Deutsche Einwanderungsgesellschaft von Philadelphia," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 7 (1908): 27–29; L.A. Wollenweber, "Aus meinem Leben," ibid., 14 (1910): 14–18; 15 (1910): 11–12, 18.

9. Bergquist, "Political Attitudes," pp. 36–37; Emil Mannhardt, "Die erste beglaubtigen Deutschen in Chicago," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 1 (1901): no. 1, 38–46; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 18–19, 167–170; Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City*, 2nd ed. (Madison, Wis., 1965), pp. 72–79; Kellner, "German Element," pp. 85–86, 269–275; Marlin Tucker, "Political Leadership in the Illinois-Missouri German Community, 1836–1872," (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois, 1968), pp. 68–79; Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 236; Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Die Sociale und Politische Stellung der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Deutsche Pionier*, 6 (1874): 277–282; White, "Religion and Community," pp. 17–46; Levine, "In the Spirit," pp. 210–215; Faires, "Ethnicity in Evolution" pp. 165–166.

10. White, "Religion and Community," p. 57. Stanley Nadel points out (*Kleindeutschland*," pp. 55–75) that in the case of New York City, the rapid expansion of the German immigrant population produced new German neighborhoods that were more differentiated by class, occupation or provincial origin. After the 1850s, Prussians, Bavarians, and Hanoverians, for example, could seek out neighborhoods with concentrations of immigrants of similar background.

11. For German journalism in the fifties, see Daniel Hertle, *Die Deutschen in Nordamerika und der Freiheitskampf in Missouri* (Chicago, 1865), pp. 26–29. For the activities of radical leaders among the growing German working-class, see Levine, "In the Spirit," pp. 215–219, on Cincinnati; also Susan E. Hirsch, *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800–1860* (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 118.

12. Emmett A. Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States, 1830–1860* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 108–122; Sr. M. Hedwigis Overmoehle, "The

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Anti-clerical Activities of the Forty-Eighters in Wisconsin, 1848–1860: A Study in German-American Liberalism," (Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1941); Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers; German-American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame, 1968), pp. 19–23.

13. Carl Mauelshagen, *American Lutheranism Surrenders to Forces of Conservatism* (Athens, Ga., 1936), pp. 110–112.

14. Albert E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1950) contains a biographical directory of them (pp. 257–357). A rough tabulation of their principal residences in the United States before 1860 shows 164 west of the Appalachians, and 129 on the eastern seaboard. The results must be regarded as approximate because many changed residence, but the tendency to move to western states is clear.

15. *Der Lutheraner*, 22 May 1854.

16. Heinrich Börnstein, *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt: Memoiren eines Unbedeutenden*, 2 vols. (2nd ed. Leipzig, 1884), vol. 2: 104–108; *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis), 26 March 1851; Olson, "St. Louis Germans," pp. 122–123, 171; Kellner, "German Element," pp. 168–197. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 172–189, describes a similar process in Milwaukee; a Catholic newspaper emerged in 1851 in response to the radicalization of the *Volksfreund*; at least fifteen different special-interest German publications emerged in the 1850s; even the German school population became divided between Catholic, Lutheran, free-thinking and public schools. For similar developments in Cincinnati, see White, "Religion and Community," pp. 333–359; in Pittsburgh, see Faires, "Ethnicity in Evolution," pp. 297-610.

17. The strength of churches as the focal points of German social life seems to have varied among urban communities. Joseph White's study of pre-Civil War Cincinnati saw religion as the principal source of identification to the German community (White, "Religion and Community," p. 364). Nadel's study of New York City, on the other hand, saw religion as playing a "far from central role" in the community, with many Germans having their strongest ties to secular organizations. (Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland*," pp. 184–213).

18. Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland*," pp. 74–75, 254–262, 299–301; Faires, "Ethnicity in Evolution," pp. 511–522; Laurence A. Glasco, "Ethnicity and Social Structure: Irish, Germans and Native-Born of Buffalo, N.Y., 1850–1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1973), p. 145; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Predisposing Factors in German-American Urbanization," paper presented at meeting of Organization of American Historians, Philadelphia, April 1982, p. 19.

19. While the common features of German urban communities are being discussed here, differences among them in such matters as religious composition, provincial origin, and organizational life should not be ignored. Not the least of these is the occupational structure of the German-Americans, which varied according to such factors as the city's economy and the available opportunities. Faires' study of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, for example, finds striking differences between the two cities related to their differing economies (pp. 214–260). For other specific data on occupational structure, see Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 63–74; Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland*," pp. 128–174, 181–182; Dean R. Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City: Ethnicity and Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Community* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1975), pp. 83–85, 126; Donald B. Cole, *Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845–1921* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), pp. 103–104, 125.

20. Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland*," pp. 45–48, 264–271; Jentz and Keil, "From Immigrants to Urban Workers," pp. 52, 60, 63, 75–78.

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21. For a general discussion of the attempts at German-American unity, see Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutsch-Amerikanertums* (Berlin, 1937). The group's heterogeneity is an important theme in Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, Ill., 1974), especially chap. 2.

22. For examples of the conflict and disunity within specific cities, see Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 189–191; Olson, "St. Louis Germans," pp. 145–149, 231, 250–256; Guido Dobbert, "German-Americans between Old and New Fatherland, 1870–1914," *American Quarterly*, 19 (1967): 663–680; Bergquist, "Political Attitudes," pp. 47-54; Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, pp. 281–282, 321–328.

23. Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York, 1964), p. 106; see also pp. 105–114, 244. For other discussion of the dual role of immigrant institutions, see Jerzy Zubrzycki, "The Role of the Foreign Language Press in Immigrant Integration," *Population Studies*, 12 (1958): 73–82; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 3–4, 154–156.

24. Robert K. Merton uses the concept of "manifest and latent functions" as a device for sociological analysis of any institution, and stresses that distinctions must be made between the consciously intended purpose of those who run an institution and the "unrecognized but objective consequences" of the institution as it is actually used. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, rev, ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 73–138; quotation from p. 116.

25. The demographic change can be seen in figures on the average age of the German-born population; see Nadel, "*Kleindeutschland*," p. 50, 107; Harmut Keil, "Die deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im städtisch-industriellen Kontext: das Beispiel Chicago, 1880–1910," unpubl. MS, Symposium Tutzing, 18-21 October 1982, pp. 3, 5–6. Chicago was one city where the peak of German-born population was seen in the 1900 census.

26. For information on circulation and mergers in the German press, see Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732–1955: History and Bibliography*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1965).

27. *Westliche Post* (St. Louis), 7 June 1898, as translated in Harvey Saalberg, "The *Westliche Post* of St. Louis: A Daily Newspaper for German-Americans, 1857–1938," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1967), p. 304.

28. The phenomenon is analyzed most thoroughly in Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community"; see esp. pp. 94–101. The trend may have been noticeable at an earlier time in Cincinnati since that city did not receive proportionately as many newcomers from the influx of the 1880s and so its German population fell off more rapidly.

29. Of a list of 208 prominent forty-eighters whose dates of death were determined, exactly half (104) died between the years 1880 and 1899. Calculated from Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, pp. 257–357.

30. Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," pp. 431–433; Olson, "St. Louis Germans," pp. 81–90; Burstein, "Residential Distribution," pp. 132–140, 249–255; Gerd Korman, *Industrialization, Immigrants and Americanizers: the View from Milwaukee, 1866–1921* (Madison, Wis., 1967), pp. 46–47.

31. Justin B. Galford, "The Foreign Born and Urban Growth in the Great Lakes, 1850–1950: A Study of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Milwaukee" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1957), esp. pp. 120–121, 173–174, 186–187, 254–255; Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," pp. 18–19; Olson, "St. Louis Germans," pp. 46–47.

32. Heinz Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. Joshua R. Fishman et al. (The Hague, 1966), pp. 233–237; Robert J. Ulrich, "The Bennett Law of 1889: Education and Politics in Wisconsin," (Ph.D. diss, University of Wisconsin, 1965); Frances H. Ellis, "German Instruction in

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the Public Schools of Indianapolis, 1869–1919," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 50 (1954): 262–276.

33. As quoted in *Belleviller Post und Zeitung* (Belleville, Ill.), 8 September 1894.

34. Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," pp. 206–208; John L. Hofman, "Mother Tongue Retentiveness in Ethnic Parishes," in *Language Loyalty*, pp. 127–155.

35. Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," pp. 53–64.

36. George C. Schoolfield, "The Great Cincinnati Novel," Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, *Bulletin*, 20 (1962): 47–49. See also Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," pp. 80–94.

37. Quoted in *Belleviller Post und Zeitung*, 12 February 1895.

38. *Belleviller Post und Zeitung*, 21 August 1894.

39. As translated in Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," p. 236.

40. Christian Lang, "Der Sängerbund," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 17 (1910): 11–12. The society lingered in a sporadic existence until its merger with another group in 1899.

41. Joshua R. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "Organizational and Leadership Interest in Language Maintenance," in *Language Loyalty*, pp. 156–173; Ernest J. Becker, "History of the English-German Schools in Baltimore," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, *Twenty-fifth Report* (Baltimore, 1942), pp. 13–17.

42. Olson, "St. Louis Germans," pp. 91–132, 149–152. For an account of the fruitless efforts to develop an interest in German-American history among the German-Americans, see John J. Appel, "Immigrant Historical Societies in the United States, 1880–1950," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1960), pp. 308–323.

43. Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 26 June 1897.

44. *Philadelphia Vereins-Reporter*, 6 January 1894.

45. See especially Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," pp. 46–80, 102–120.

46. Philadelphia claimed to have established the first such "German day" in 1883; see C.F. Huch, "Die Entstehung des Deutschen Tages," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 17 (1908): 31–32. See also Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," pp. 120–123; Olson, "St. Louis Germans," 162–167. A variety of dates were used for this celebration, but the one most frequently observed was October 6, the date of the first settling of Germans in Germantown, Pennsylvania in 1683. Usually dates associated with German history were avoided in favor of dates that would stress the German role in American history. For debate on the discussion of dates, see *Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung* (Madison), 29 July 1891, 10 August 1892; *Belleviller Post und Zeitung* (weekly), 30 March 1895; *Belleviller Zeitung* (weekly), 5, 19 September 1889.

47. Quoted in *Belleviller Post und Zeitung*, 17 January 1895; this issue and that of 3 February 1894 have other debates on the subject. On the tendency of Turner societies to become merely a sort of German community center, see Dobbert, "Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," pp. 102–114; and Augustus J. Prahl, "History of the German Gymnastic Movement of Baltimore," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, *Twenty-sixth Report* (Baltimore, 1945), pp. 16–29.

48. It should be pointed out, however, that despite these emphases Hawgood does acknowledge that some signs of decline were emerging by the turn of the century and that "cracks in the once solid structure of German-America had appeared." *The Tragedy of German-America*, pp. 287–298; quotation on p. 291. Hawgood's analysis has come under increasing criticism in the last decade; for discussion, see Kathleen N. Conzen, "Die As-

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similirung der Deutschen in Amerika: zum Stand der Forschung in den Vereinigten Staaten," in *Die deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten*, ed. Willi Paul Adams (Berlin, 1980), pp. 33–64.

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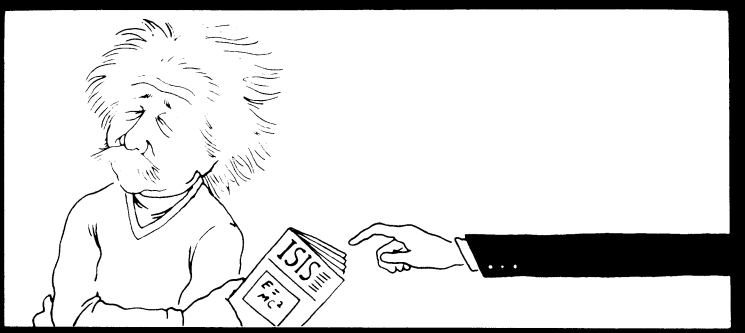

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