

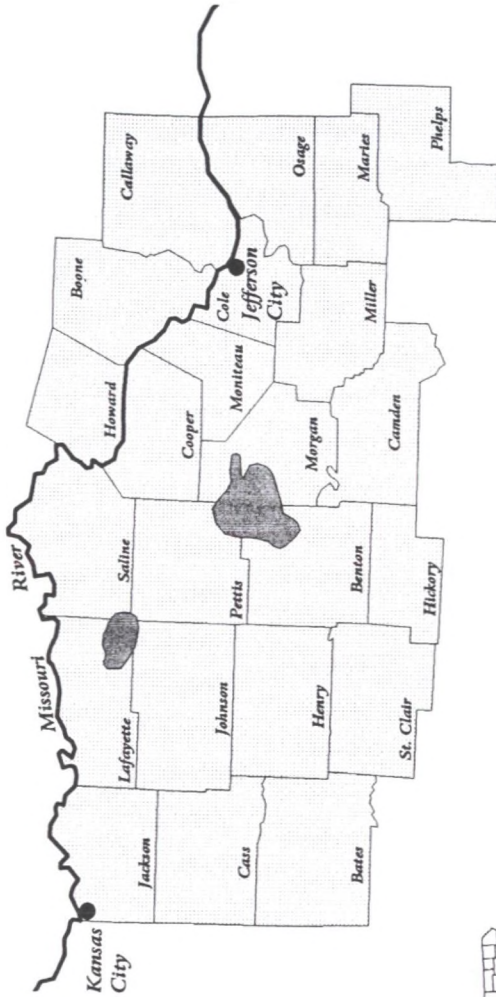
Robert W. Frizzell

The Low German Settlements of Western Missouri: Examples of Ethnic Cocoons

The Low Germans of Cole Camp and Concordia, Missouri, built two of the earliest significant German settlements in the western half of that state. These settlements are prime examples of the ethnic agricultural frontier communities Walter Kamphoefner has characterized as cocoons. For many decades, these communities protected their inhabitants "from the full force of assimilative pressure."¹ The two, composed chiefly of peasants from the north German Kingdom of Hanover, had a great deal in common. Both the Cole Camp Settlement at the juncture of Benton, Pettis, and Morgan counties and the Concordia Settlement in the southeastern corner of Lafayette County began as purely agricultural settlements far from any town. Each remained without a central town for some years after the first settlers arrived. Although neither settlement had Old Lutheran origins, each became a stronghold of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, soon after the synod's founding. In both settlements, for everyday conversation Low German or *Plattdeutsch* was so common that even those Germans in the locality who were not native *Plattdeutsch* speakers had to learn the dialect.² When the Civil War came, each community found itself in an environment of intense military hostility. The Civil War experiences of these communities differentiate their histories from those of other communities of northwest European peasants in the American Midwest. Each community withstood its Civil War ordeal to grow larger and stronger in the decades after the war.

The Cole Camp German community was called Lake Creek in the early years.³ It began in the forested areas along Lake and Haw creeks about 1835. The first German in the area may have been a Catholic from the Rhineland who was sent to look for minerals by a St. Louis company in 1834. Four years later, he and other Germans from Nassau, Hessen-Cassel, and Alsace became charter members of a Catholic congregation at Bahner in Pettis County.⁴

West-Central Missouri



German Settlements



While the earliest settlers, especially in that part of the settlement lying in Pettis County, were of widely scattered origins, a concentrated migration chain of Low German speakers began to arrive quite early. As far as is known, beyond the St. Louis company's effort to find minerals, there was no promotional organization or involvement by an emigration society. Word was simply passed from person to person in Hanoverian villages, en route, or among recent Hanoverian immigrants in St. Louis. Later census information implies that, by 1840, families with such names as Jagels, Mueller, and Holsten had already established themselves in Benton County.⁵ These families, and those that soon followed, came from the Ottersberg area in Hanover immediately to the east of Bremen and from villages north of Ottersberg extending beyond Bremervörde. This migration chain prevailed to such an extent that when missionary August Rauschenbusch visited the settlement in summer 1847 he reported, "nearly all the inhabitants of this settlement are from Ottersberg Township near Bremen."⁶

The land they settled was partly timbered along the creeks and partly open prairie. A farm entirely of prairie, the only option available to many later settlers, was undesirable due to lack of wood for buildings, fencing, and fuel.⁷ American settlers frequently bypassed this area not only to avoid the prairie but also because it was too far from the rivers. Rivers served as the major arteries of commerce before railroads were built. In the early years, a trip of several days by ox-drawn wagon to Boonville was required to sell farm products and buy supplies.⁸

By 1839, a sufficient number of German Protestants had arrived for a German Methodist lay exhorter named Franz Walkenhorst to hold religious services in people's homes.⁹ A log church was built in 1840, but, of course, the church the immigrants had left in the Ottersberg area was the State Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover. Most wished to remain Lutheran. In January 1842 they organized Holy Cross Lutheran Church and contacted C. F. W. Walther, head of the Stephanists in St. Louis, for a properly educated and ordained pastor. Walther sent Emil Julius Moritz Wege. Wege was one of several candidates in theology who came with the Stephanists from Dresden to Missouri in order to preserve pure Lutheran doctrine. Wege's installation at Holy Cross appears to be the first instance of a Stephanist serving a non-Stephanist congregation excepting two ministers whom Walther sent to Illinois German congregations just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis. An inseparable combination of troublesome distances some farmers had to travel to reach Holy Cross, and doctrinal disputes, led to the founding of four additional Lutheran congregations in the community by 1850. Three of the four new churches eventually joined the Iowa Synod. Two German Methodist churches were also organized at the periphery of the community in the 1840s. Methodists

had less difficulty in staffing new churches. They did not require college education for their clergy and the circuit-rider system allowed one clergyman to cover several churches. When the circuit rider was absent, a lay exhorter could conduct services.¹⁰

In the summer of 1850, in the community proper, the census taker found 136 German families to support these churches.¹¹ The overwhelming majority of the families supported themselves by farming. One hundred-twenty of the 136 household heads appear in the 1850 census as farmers. The census reveals only seven German households with other occupations: one physician, one blacksmith, one carpenter, one millwright, one miller, and two ministers.¹² At this early time, Americans provided merchandizing and other services later taken over by Germans.

This immigrant farming community of 1850 was very much a gathering of families, most of them married couples in their childbearing years with young children. While all transatlantic migration in the age of sail required considerable physical effort, creating a farm from virgin forest and prairie was very much the task of young adults at the peak of their physical powers. Children could contribute a great deal, beginning at age six or earlier. One hundred-eighteen (87 percent) of the 136 households appear to have included a married couple and a child or children of one or both adults. Other households consisted of a couple with no children at home, or a surviving parent with a child or children. Many of these households included retired grandparents, servants, and single boarders. But seldom did unmarried immigrants live alone and seldom did single immigrants form households with each other. Most of these people had been in America and in Missouri several years. Seventy-four of the 136 households (54 percent) contained children under three years of age, but in only three of those 74 households was a child under three born in Germany or at sea. One factor helping to explain why there were so few German-born young children at a time when many families immigrated with infants and young children is that many immigrants may have worked for a few seasons or years in St. Louis before moving out to a farm.¹³

Whether or not they had worked in St. Louis, few of these people had spent a great deal of time in other American states. Only five of the nearly 200 American-born children were not born in Missouri: one in New York, one in Virginia, and three in Louisiana. This indicates the importance of the migration route through New Orleans.¹⁴ Five young German men had married American women: two born in Missouri, two born in Kentucky, and one born in Indiana. The Kentucky women probably lived in Missouri before marriage since so many Missouri families at that time had migrated from Kentucky. In short, in 1850, this was a very homogeneous community of Hanoverian Lutheran peasant

couples, nearly all in their childbearing years, and half with very young children. They had come directly from Hanover to Missouri, although perhaps not directly to this settlement. Interspersed among them were some Catholic families and some who had migrated from other parts of Germany.

Hanoverians were the first Germans on the site of the Concordia settlement in Freedom Township, Lafayette County, some fifty miles northwest of Cole Camp. The founder, a Hanoverian called "Troester" Dierking, came to southeastern Lafayette County with American friends.¹⁵ In 1838, three Germans patented lands there. Most of the earliest settlers originated in an area just northwest of the city of Hanover, extending toward Nienburg.¹⁶ Soon immigrants were also coming from an area straddling the border which divided the Hanoverian province of Osnabrück from the former County of Ravensberg in the Prussian Westphalian province.¹⁷ The dialect of the original settlers from near the city of Hanover prevailed over the dialects of other settlers.¹⁸

The earliest settlers tended to stay in the timber along Davis and Panther creeks, but soon Germans were moving onto the prairie.¹⁹ This settlement was considerably closer to the Missouri River than was its sister at Cole Camp, so crops could be marketed more easily. The land in Freedom Township was also more productive.²⁰

In 1840, a German teacher in the new settlement began to baptize children born in the New World. Two years later, ten household heads drew up an agreement to construct a church building for what became St. Paul's Lutheran congregation. After an additional five years, and after the German Methodists had put the community on one of their circuits, the Lutherans managed to obtain an ordained pastor. They, too, contacted Walther in St. Louis who sent Adolph G. G. Franke. Pastor Franke, whether or not deliberately chosen by Walther for this reason, was a Hanoverian by birth and not part of the Saxon migration. But that did not prevent a walkout from St. Paul's in 1850 to found a congregation which eventually affiliated with the Evangelical Synod.²¹

Table 1. 1850 Census: Population of Low German Settlements.

	Born Germany	Born U.S.	Total
Lake Creek (Cole Camp Area)	491	198	689
Freedom Township (Concordia Area)	260	123	383
Grand Total, 1850	751	321	1,072

Table 2. 1860 Census: Population of Low German Settlements

	Born Hannover	Born Germany	Born Missouri	Born U.S., other	Born At Sea	Total
Cole Camp Settlement						
N.E. Benton Co.*	686	150	511	26	2	1,375
Pettis Co.	125	58	148	5		336
Morgan Co.						
Haw Creek Twp.	214	60	187	8		469
Richland Twp.	111	106	174	12	1	404
Total Cole Camp	1,136	374	1,020	51	3	2,584
Concordia Settlement						
Lafayette Co.	305	147	368	14	2	836
Saline Co.	35	16	35	2		83
Total Concordia	335	163	403	16	2	919
Grand Total, 1860	1,471	537	1,423	67	5	3,503

*Williams and Cole Townships

Table 3. Household Characteristics of Low German Settlements

	COLE CAMP SETTLEMENT		CONCORDIA SETTLEMENT		
	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>	<u>1870</u>
German Household Heads*	136	485	72	161	312
Households containing a married couple & one or more children of one or both adults	118	394	56	134	277
Households containing a child or children less than three years of age	72	162	44	81	185
Non-farm households	7	60	6	16	36
Persistence of household heads from previous census		57%		65%	48%

*Includes immigrants and American-born offspring of immigrant parents.

Although the Hanoverian settlement in eastern Freedom Township was not so large as the Cole Camp community, the census taker found 72 German households there in 1850. This community, too, was overwhelmingly agricultural. Only six households were not chiefly engaged in farming: two carpenters, two blacksmiths, one wheelwright, and one minister. With the road to Independence, Missouri, where the western trails began, running through Lafayette County, six young men from the German community had been lured away and were in California hunting gold in the summer of 1850.²²

This, too, was a very homogeneous community of families with young children. Fifty-six of 72 households (78 percent) appear to have contained a married couple and child or children. Forty-four of those households (61 percent) contained a child or children under the age of three. The vast majority of this community, too, seems to have followed a migration chain from Hanover via New Orleans and St. Louis to rural western Missouri. In 1850, only one child had been born in another American state—Louisiana. One wife had been born in New York and another in Pennsylvania. One German woman and her small children lived with an American man born in Tennessee. In comparison with the Cole Camp settlement, a larger portion of families had come from Europe directly and recently. Five of the 72 households contained children under three years of age who had been born in Germany or at sea.

By 1860, when the next census was taken, both communities had grown much larger and had become a little, but only a little, more varied in occupational and social structure. In the decade of the 1850s, the number of German households in the Cole Camp area grew from 132 to 485, and the number of people in them grew from 689 to 2,584.²³ In a community growing so rapidly, it may not be surprising that relatively few left, but the persistence rate of 57 percent is very high for any community in nineteenth-century America, especially a frontier community.²⁴

The census of 1860 for the first time specified how many people had come from Hanover: 1,136 of a total of 1,510 German-born, or 75.2 percent. In the core area in Benton County, twelve miles long and six miles wide, over 90 percent of the households were German while 89.9 percent of the Germans were Hanoverians.²⁵ Germans from other areas appeared more frequently at the edges of the settlement and in the towns of Cole Camp and Florence, where they provided services for the largely Hanoverian farm population. Germans were replacing Americans in marketing and crafts, and thus the German community was becoming more economically diverse. Sixty of the 485 German households appear to have been engaged in pursuits other than farming. Yet, heads of most of these households directly supported the farmers, especially the four wagon makers and two millers. Farmers would have made up the primary market for

the goods and services of the eight shoemakers, seven blacksmiths, and six carpenters. Even the professionals, three clergymen, three physicians, and one teacher would have dealt primarily with farm families. So would the seven merchants, three tailors, one saddler, and two cabinetmakers. Other craftsmen, including the cooper, brick maker, three potters,²⁶ brewer, and baker may have had as many dealings with merchants and other townspeople as with farmers.

The village of Cole Camp, itself, so small as to be difficult to identify in the census list of 1850, was quite recognizable by 1860. Half its fifty household heads, including a physician and sixteen craftsmen, were German. Among the Germans, those originating outside the Kingdom of Hanover predominated. Of Cole Camp's three carpenters, two were Prussians and one was from Oldenburg. Both blacksmiths hailed from Saxony. One shoemaker was from Württemberg and the other from Alsace, although there was a Hanoverian journeyman. The tailor, cabinetmaker, saddler, and baker had all come from Hanover. Yet, both tanners were Prussians, one wagon maker was a Prussian and the other an Austrian, and the physician was Prussian. The merchants and hotel keepers at this time were still Americans.

With its slow maturation, the entire community experienced the same gradual change in social structure as in economic composition. The portion of households that included a married couple and child or children declined in the 1850s from 87 percent to 81 percent. The portion of households with children under the age of three declined from 54 percent to 33 percent. Despite rapid growth, the community held few new families who had come directly from Europe with young children. Although the census taker found six German-born four-year-olds, there was only one European-born child under three. Perhaps the Panic of 1857 made it more difficult to begin a farm. Certainly, the total number of Germans coming to America fell in the late 1850s.

The vast majority of American-born children in the settlement had been born in Missouri, but eight families had lived in Illinois long enough to have a child born there, five in both New York and Louisiana, three in Ohio and one each in Virginia, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. There were thirteen American-born spouses not born in Missouri. The only state represented more than once in this group was Ohio, where five spouses had been born. Just as the non-Hanoverian Germans were more likely to earn their living outside agriculture, so they were also more likely to have lived in other American states before coming to Missouri. Of the twenty-four households with children born in states other than Missouri, only ten (or 42 percent) were families whose heads had originated in Hanover. By comparison, 75 percent of all area Germans were Hanoverians.

Thus the Cole Camp settlement in 1860 continued to be a large gathering of Low German peasants who had followed a migration chain directly from

Hanover to Missouri. Some had worked in St. Louis for a time and had thereby begun the assimilation process into German-America or into the larger majoritarian American culture. But many had little real experience outside the villages in which they had been born and the Hanoverian cocoon at Cole Camp. Of course, they encountered physical and economic conditions in Missouri quite different from those they knew in Hanover. But Cole Camp provided an excellent opportunity to create a Hanoverian-American subculture. To be sure, by 1860, people from other parts of Germany, who were more likely to have lived in other American states, played an increasingly important role in providing the Hanoverian farmers with craft goods and services. But by doing so, they scarcely made the community more cosmopolitan than it would otherwise have become. In fact, these craftsmen and professionals from other parts of Germany served to insulate the rural Hanoverians from contact which otherwise would have been necessary with the larger American community.

In the 1850s, the Concordia community changed in a similar way to its larger Missouri Low German sister, except that as of 1860, its central place was scarcely yet a town. The community grew from 72 households to 161, including sixteen households across the county boundary in Salt Pond Township of Saline County. Even though its 124 percent rate of growth of households was significantly below the 257 percent rate enjoyed by the Cole Camp community in the same decade, the Concordia community's 63 percent persistence rate was even higher than Cole Camp's 57 percent. So the Freedom Township community was smaller, but somewhat more stable. Perhaps the differences can be explained in part because in Lafayette County there was less room to expand without buying out Americans at a relatively high price; but once acquired, the Freedom Township land gave a better return.

Hanoverians comprised slightly more than two-thirds of the German-born population. Since most of the others were Prussians, most of whom came from northern Westphalia, Low German speakers made up fully 90 percent of the community. Still, the new community leader who arrived in 1860, Pastor F. J. Biltz, was one of the original Stephanists from the Kingdom of Saxony.²⁷ His wife, Marie Wormb Biltz, had a more exotic origin, having been born to German missionary parents in the Cape Colony in South Africa. Two farming families had originated in Baden. Two or three individuals had come from Bavaria. One of the blacksmiths was from Württemberg and the other from Saxe-Weimar, but the difference in place-of-origin between farmers and craftsmen was not so striking as at Cole Camp.

Only sixteen German households of the Concordia settlement were engaged in activities other than farming: three ministers, one merchant, two blacksmiths, two millers, two shoemakers, two carpenters, and one each wagon maker,

saddler, plasterer, and spinning wheel maker. The very limited number of German craftsmen, especially in the earliest years, probably accounts for why there is so little German material culture today in the Concordia area compared to the German areas of eastern Missouri. The census lists imply that few artisans capable of producing high quality buildings or craft objects lived in the settlement, and, in the early years, there were no wealthy townsmen to patronize such artisans.²⁸

The future town of Concordia, itself, although it did not obtain a post office until 1865, is more or less identifiable in the 1860 census schedule. Within eleven census listings were one carpenter, two millers, the merchant, one of the community's two blacksmiths, the wagon maker and the saddler. All were Germans. Together with Pastor Biltz, who lived nearby, here were more than half of the community's non-agricultural households. Still, this was hardly a town—just a grouping of a store, mill, a blacksmith and three other craftsmen within half a mile of the church.

The portion of households containing a married couple and child or children actually rose in the 1850s from 78 percent to 83 percent, but as the community matured and new land became scarcer, so did families with very young children. The portion with children under age three fell from 61 to 50 percent. The only families who had brought children from Germany in the last four years were three families with German-born three-year-olds.²⁹

In the 1850s, the Concordia settlement had more than doubled in size. A new church, one of the first German Baptist churches in the region, had been established in 1851.³⁰ Yet, in 1860, the community remained an enclave of rural Low German-American life, set apart from the larger region. In the years immediately after 1860, the community was to clash violently with the majority of the larger region.

Both settlements suffered extraordinarily during the American Civil War. Most of the slaves of Missouri were in the Missouri River counties from Callaway westward. Support for the Southern cause was strongest in this part of the state. None of the Hanoverian farmers, so far as was reported, owned slaves. Few could afford slaves despite their need for agricultural labor. Moreover, most felt slavery was morally wrong and inconsistent with their idealized view of American political and social freedom. Some were repelled by slavery because the African-American slaves seemed so different from North Europeans.

When the war began in 1861, C. F. W. Walther warned members of his denomination to hold themselves aloof from the conflict. The Christian was not to be overly concerned with secular affairs, and the Old Testament seemed to sanction slavery.³¹ In both settlements, the Hanoverian farmers found

themselves in close proximity to thousands of slave-owning farmers and admonished by the leader of their denomination that slavery was acceptable. Yet they chose to follow the lead of German radicals in St. Louis and the Missouri "Rhineland" by flocking to the defense of the Union in opposition to the majority of their American neighbors.³²

When Nathaniel Lyon, federal commander of the St. Louis Arsenal, began to organize and arm German Home Guard companies in late spring 1861, some 600 Benton County men, mostly Germans, formed six companies. They received their arms in mid-June. On 15 June, Lyon arrived from St. Louis to drive the pro-secessionist state government out of Jefferson City, the state capital. Two days after that, Lyon routed Governor Jackson's State Guards as they attempted to defend Boonville from the federals.

The next day, local Benton County secessionists decided to attack the local German Unionists who were camped just outside Cole Camp in the German neighborhood. Benton County, which is situated on the Ozark plateau, contained only 600 slaves in 1860. But secessionist leaders in Warsaw, the county seat, managed to gather 350 men with which to attack the Germans. They arrived at Cole Camp during the wee hours of 19 June. As many as 400 Unionists were bivouacked in and near two large barns east of town. They were caught sound asleep. Their alertness may have been dulled by the libations of the previous evening. Thirty-five German men were killed instantly or mortally wounded. How many received wounds from which they recovered is unknown. The secessionists took perhaps twenty-five prisoners, but most of the Unionists simply faded away into the woods. The secessionists lost seven killed and perhaps twenty-five wounded. Thus the Hanoverians, led by Americans born in northern states, suffered a serious defeat. The next year, two skirmishes took place near Cole Camp. Moreover, Jo Shelby led his Confederate cavalry through the community in October 1863 during his Missouri raid. But for this community, the truly terrifying event of the war happened on one of the war's first days.³³

Despite its losses, the Cole Camp settlement continued to grow during the 1860s, especially after the war ended. By 1870, the town itself had twenty-two German non-agricultural households, up from seventeen a decade earlier. Americans had departed during the decade so that Germans made up two-thirds of the town's household heads. There were now four German merchants and a saloon keeper in addition to the craftsmen and laborers. Hanoverians remained a minority of Germans in the village despite their overwhelming numbers on the farms. Four Bohemian families had come to the village by summer 1870.

The community had grown into additional parts of Benton and Morgan Counties. Moreover, Germans had bought-out Anglo-Americans in Flat Creek and Williams townships so that the old German neighborhoods became more

German. "German" households grew from 62 to 76 households in Flat Creek and from 213 to 262 in Williams. The second generation, born in Missouri, founded many of the new households, although others resulted from new immigration. Forty-four families recorded in the census, who had not been recorded in the settlement ten years earlier, had Missouri-born children over ten years old. Some of these families probably were missed in the earlier census, but most must have moved to the settlement from St. Louis or other Missouri locations. Thirty-six new German families in the two townships had children less than ten years old born outside Missouri. Some of these were not part of the prevailing migration chain, having come from central or southern Germany or having lived in Illinois, Ohio, or elsewhere in America. But eleven of the families clearly formed a new segment of the main pre-war migration chain. These families contained children aged five or younger who had been born in Hanover.³⁴

Despite the continued attractiveness to newcomers of the central townships of the Cole Camp settlement, the persistence rate in these settlements fell in the 1860s. The rate was only 42 percent for the 213 households of Williams Township and 45 percent for the households of Flat Creek Township. Of course, some household heads were killed in the war and others died natural deaths as the settlers of the 1830s and 1840s aged. No doubt, too, men who farmed as tenants in the older areas in 1860 bought land in new areas of the settlement during the decade. But another factor of importance is that after the Civil War, Germans left the Cole Camp area to establish daughter settlements.³⁵

On the eve of the Civil War, rather different circumstances existed in Lafayette County. There the Hanoverians were not just near a group of secessionists. They were next door to the epicenter of the Missouri secessionist movement. More people were enslaved in Lafayette County in 1860 than in any other Missouri county—6,374 to be exact. Saline County adjoined Lafayette, and its 4,876 slaves made it fourth among Missouri slave-holding counties.³⁶ The secessionist governor of Missouri, Claiborne Fox Jackson, hailed from Saline. The commander of the secessionist Missouri State Militia, Sterling Price, had lived for decades at Keytesville, just across the Missouri River. Two of Price's most important subordinate commanders were John S. Marmaduke from Arrow Rock in Saline County and Joseph O. Shelby who lived at Waverly in Lafayette County itself. Shelby lived so close to the Freedom Township Germans that, before the war, he sold land to them and bought farm produce from them.³⁷

Unlike their fellow Hanoverians at Cole Camp, the Concordia Germans grew hemp as a cash crop, thereby involving themselves in the slave economy. In contrast to their American neighbors in Lafayette County, the Germans did not use slaves for the backbreaking labor required to produce hemp. The fiber,

however, that they themselves grew, became packaging for a slave-produced product. Missouri hemp was used chiefly for burlap and rope to wrap and bind cotton bales in the American South.³⁸ Slaves produced much of the cotton, of course. Missouri was the nation's second largest hemp producer in 1860, and half the Missouri hemp crop was raised in Lafayette and Saline Counties.³⁹ The Concordia Germans joined their American neighbors in growing and selling hemp to be used in the commercial agriculture of the South.⁴⁰

Neither proximity to the hub of secession, nor production for the slave economy, nor religious admonition prevented the Freedom Township Germans from vigorously defending the Union. Within days after Nathaniel Lyon chased secessionist Governor Jackson from Boonville, an independent company of Freedom Township Germans garrisoned Lexington, the Lafayette County seat, for the Union. Later in the summer of 1861, Colonel Edwin Price, son of General Sterling Price, gathered 2,000 additional secessionists in Saline County. On the way to join his father, who was then in far southwestern Missouri, Edwin Price stopped at Concordia. He interrogated community leaders, intimidated outspoken Unionists, and commandeered horses, wagons, and supplies.⁴¹ In 1861, however, the distinction between soldiers and civilians was maintained so that the German civilians were not physically attacked.

The situation changed in 1862. The United States Army prevented Missouri Confederate troops from operating in the Missouri River Valley. Secessionist civilians then created a powerful guerrilla movement against the Federal Army and unionist civilians. The epicenter of the guerrilla movement, whose most notorious chieftain was William C. Quantrill, lay in southeastern Jackson County only about thirty miles from Concordia.⁴² The first major guerrilla attack on the Germans took place on 5 October 1862. Several families gathered to celebrate the baptism of the twin sons of Julius Vogt, a community blacksmith. Guerrillas surrounded the house and took the German men away on horseback. At intervals that evening in the darkness, three Germans were dismounted and killed or fatally wounded. Three others received wounds from which they recovered. Five were freed unharmed in the course of this evening of terror.⁴³

The next summer, in July 1863, a group of men, probably a part of Quantrill's band, rode into the community, took four prisoners, and then killed them. In August 1864, guerrillas passing through the community fatally wounded a Hanoverian farmer and rope maker at his house and killed his apprentice instantly.

The worst incident for the Concordia community came near the end of organized warfare in Missouri at the time of General Sterling Price's great raid from Arkansas back into his home state. On the morning of 10 October 1864,

as Price's army entered Boonville some forty miles to the east, Quantrill's men led by George Todd and David Poole approached the Freedom Township settlement. An American miller signaled the Germans, who gathered the home guard. Soon, about 100 mounted guerrillas encountered about twenty-five mounted Germans. During the main encounter in open fields, it would appear that one guerrilla was wounded and all the Germans, save one, were killed. Then the guerrillas raided houses and set them afire, although some were saved by women as the guerrillas rode away.⁴⁴

Additional battle deaths and deaths in camp from disease brought the community's war-related loss of life to about forty, or 15 percent of all men in the community over the age of fifteen and listed in the 1860 census.⁴⁵

Despite these losses and the climate of terror which existed for several years during the war, the community had grown greatly by the next census in 1870. The entire settlement now numbered 312 households, up 94 percent in ten years. The settlement had expanded from Freedom Township across Davis Creek so that thirty families lived in eastern Davis Township in 1870.⁴⁶ If the families who moved to this new area of the settlement are included, 77 or the 161 household heads of 1860 remained a decade later for a persistence rate of 48 percent. Also still in the community in 1870 were the families of nine 1860 household heads known to have been killed in the war. Including these households brings the persistence rate to 53 percent, which is nonetheless ten percentage points lower than the rate for the preceding decade. While only one family could be documented as fleeing the community in response to the war's violence, additional wartime flight may have contributed to the lower persistence rate.⁴⁷

Those households newly present in 1870 fall into several categories. Thirty-four new households contained children aged ten or older who had been born in Missouri. Most of the families had probably been living in St. Louis when those children were born. Only one family was matched to the Cole Camp settlement in 1860. Seventeen new families had children less than ten years old who were born in other states. One suspects that most or all of these families came to the Concordia settlement after the end of the war in 1865. Five of the seventeen came from Illinois, but the former residences of the other dozen were widely scattered. One Hanoverian family had spent at least seven years in Canada before coming to Concordia. Another eighteen families contained children born in Germany in 1860 or later. A dozen new families had come from Hanover since 1860, four from Prussia, and one each from Holstein and Bavaria. Six of the north German families included children aged three or younger who had been born in Germany. Concordia, too, continued to receive not just new single immigrants, but new families, after the Civil War.

The Concordia settlement was still a community of families, most of which contained young children. Two hundred seventy-seven households (89 percent) included a married couple and a child or children in 1870. New second generation families and the arrival of young families from Europe caused the portion of households with children under the age of three to rise to 59 percent, almost the level of two decades earlier.

Concordia, itself, hardly recognizable as a village in 1860, was something of a boom town ten years later. The census found twenty-one German non-agricultural households in the village. Six merchants, two druggists (who probably sold more whiskey than anything else), a hotel keeper, a physician, and Pastor Biltz lived near ten craftsmen and laborers. Thirty additional craftsmen and laborers boarded with the town's householders. Householders and boarders, all of whom served the local economy, were about equally divided between Hanoverians and other Germans. Single migrants not a part of the primary migration chain resided in Concordia, but they played a comparatively smaller role than at Cole Camp. Even with the growth of the town, non-agricultural households remained less than 12 percent of the total of the settlement. In addition to the twenty-one German household heads, four non-German householders resided in the town. Two of these were railroad contractors, one born in Ireland and the other born in Kentucky. Housed with them were fifteen young men. The Lexington and St. Louis Railroad was being constructed through town that summer. Only a minority of these workers were German, but their presence was undoubtedly temporary.

Although several times larger than twenty years earlier, both Cole Camp and Concordia remained Low German cocoons after the Civil War. Long-time exposure of the old families to their American neighbors, to the American economy, and to the American physical environment worked for Americanization. But the new immigration from Hanover after the war retarded Americanization. So, too, did the process of community expansion by which German-Americans purchased the farms and businesses of Anglo-Americans who lived in their midst or at the edges of the settlements.

The chief interaction between the Low Germans and the larger society was economic. The Germans sent agricultural commodities to the larger society and imported manufactured goods in return. Such changes as occurred in these communities over the next half-century came largely in the form of new agricultural equipment and new factory-produced household goods and appliances. These material changes, in turn, produced some limited social change.

Some other disruptions of the cultural cocoon took place. At the Concordia settlement in the post-war decades, some German farmers lived beside

and employed black freedmen.⁴⁸ In another challenge to the north German peasant *Weltanschauung*, three Concordia families had a child "at college" in 1870. But this education may not have necessitated stepping very far outside the cultural cocoon since most post-elementary education took place within the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and thus within a carefully controlled cultural environment. Indeed, the synod opened an academy at Concordia in 1884.

Nor did the politics of the post-war period bring the Hanoverians out of their communities. During the period when the Radicals controlled Missouri state government, 1865-75, many Missouri Germans played important political and official roles. But the west Missouri Low Germans found little entry into state public affairs beyond exercising their right to vote. Although generally literate, most had little secular education or experience with non-agricultural matters. For leadership, they tended to look toward ministers who sometimes viewed excessive contact with people of other faiths as a threat to eternal salvation. Moreover, they were political, as well as ethnic, minorities in their counties of residence. Thus, they could not ordinarily be elected to county-wide offices or to the state General Assembly. The majority of Concordians voted against the majorities of nearly all other precincts in Lafayette County in the post-war years. For example, by a margin of two to one, Concordians voted with Germans elsewhere in the state to reject the conservative Missouri constitution of 1875, which ended the Radical era of state government. But Lafayette County as a whole approved the new conservative constitution by a margin of six to one.⁴⁹

After the Radical era, with the return of conservative government to Missouri, the Low Germans found themselves in the political minority on the state level, as well as within their own counties. The state political realm seemed unfriendly to their interests. They watched as relatives of former Confederate General Marmaduke established a spa at Sweet Springs, just east of the Concordia settlement. The General summered there when he became governor of Missouri.⁵⁰ President Cleveland appointed former Confederate General Shelby as United States marshal for the western district of Missouri.⁵¹ The state located its home for Confederate veterans and widows at Higginsville, only fifteen miles from Concordia. Thus, for some decades, for the Hanoverians, participation in affairs of their counties and state was largely limited to going to the polls and voting for losing candidates.

The Hanoverians of western Missouri differed considerably from many German-Americans in other states and in other parts of Missouri. They formed agricultural communities which contained few merchants and craftsmen in the early years and no "Latin Farmers." Most members of these communities joined

a church which was adamant in its determination to preserve Lutheran orthodoxy. The communities were far removed from the centers of Missouri German culture in St. Louis and along the lower stretches of the Missouri River. Yet, they were far from unique. Many other Midwestern settlers originated as European peasants (and often as dependent tenants), migrated in chains to America, settled in homogenous communities in which the church was the central institution, and were noted for their strong families. What distinguishes the Missouri Hanoverians from similar subjects of recent historical studies—Kamphoefner's Westphalians, Ostergren's Swedes, Gjerde's Norwegians, or Saueressig's Dutch⁵²—is not socio-economic difference so much as the place of the Hanoverians in the midst of the guerrilla violence of the Civil War. This they experienced in their home communities, not just as soldiers on battlefields hundreds of miles from home. Moreover, after the war, the Hanoverians experienced directly the radical government and subsequent return to conservative rule which typified the South in the post-war period.

While the cocoon-like character of the Missouri Hanoverian communities has greatly deteriorated over the course of the twentieth century, it has proved to be highly effective for the survival of a distinctive ethnic identity. In common with so many other Germans in rural America, the Hanoverians have flourished in comparison to others around them. Much of the farmland of the western river counties and of the northern Ozark Plateau is managed, today, by descendants of the Low German immigrants. Descendants of the Hanoverians have been buying out their Anglo-American neighbors in every subsequent generation. Descendants of the original Kentucky and Virginia Anglo-Americans have also been displaced by descendants of Westphalians and of other northwest Germans who moved, in considerable numbers, up the Missouri River from the "Missouri Rhineland" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Thus a great quantity of the gently rolling western Missouri farmland is now occupied by people whose ancestors spoke Low German—*Plattdeutsch*. Some current residents still speak the language. Many more feel the common bond of an ethnic heritage nurtured for many decades in cocoon-like rural communities.

Hendrix College
Conway, Arkansas

Notes

¹ Since so little has been published about either of these settlements other than by community organizations, this paper will concentrate on the details of their early development and growth. At the same time, it will examine their occupational and agricultural patterns and their homogeneity with respect to regional origins, which Kamphoefner found to be among the chief characteristics of cocoon settlements. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The German Agricultural Frontier: Crucible or Cocoon," *Ethnic Forum* 4,1-2 (1984): 22. In describing rural cocoons, Kamphoefner also examined "the prevalence of intermarriage, the content of German or bilingual education in the schools, and the preservation of the German language, particularly into the second and third generations." Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to systematically examine the communities with respect to these latter criteria, impressionistic information about the two settlements strongly suggests that they conform to the cocoon model in these respects as well. Enough speakers of Low German remain at Cole Camp so that an annual performance of skits and songs in *Plattdeutsch* has been performed by local residents since 1989. *Plattdütsches Theater* (Cole Camp, MO: The Plattdütscher Vereen von Cole Camp, 1996), videotape. Similar performances have also been done in the 1990s in Concordia.

² William G. Bek, "Survivals of Old Marriage Customs Among the Low Germans of West Missouri," *Journal of American Folklore* 21,1 (1908): 60. For a brief but unusually insightful look at the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, see James D. Bratt, "Protestant Immigrants and the Protestant Mainstream," in *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1998), 110-35.

³ Louis Gross, "Die 80 Jahre alte deutsche Ansiedlung Lake Creek in Pettis County," *Deutsche Geschichtsforschung für Missouri* 1,4 (1914): 115.

⁴ *History of Pettis County, Missouri* (1882; rpt. Clinton, MO: The Printery [1978]), 1101; Manuscript Schedule, Seventh Census of the United States, Pettis County, Missouri, 1850. Microfilm roll 409, district 68, household 618.

⁵ The 1850 census list was searched for German families with Missouri-born children over the age of ten. Manuscript Schedule, Seventh Census of the United States, Benton County, Missouri, 1850, microfilm roll 392. The resulting family names were checked for village of origin in Leonard Brauer and Evelyn Goosen, eds., *Hier Snacket Wi Plattdütsch/Here We Speak Low German* (Cole Camp, MO: City of Cole Camp, 1989), 331-39. This is an amazingly full and sophisticated community history.

⁶ August Rauschenbusch, "Der Bote aus Amerika," *Palmblätter* 4 (1847): 342. Interestingly, when Leonard Brauer, Evelyn Goosen and their research team (see note 5) surveyed church records, family genealogies, published community histories and family oral tradition for data on community family origins 140 years after Rauschenbusch, they found the majority of families for whom information is available had, indeed, originated at or near the area Rauschenbusch specified.

⁷ Gross, 115. For a fuller discussion of the difficulties of prairie farming at the time, see Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Cornbelt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1963).

⁸ Gross, 116.

⁹ Richard A. Seaton and Dorothy A. Bass, *Hallelujah in the Forest* (Acton, MA: Tapestry Press, 1993), 17, 57.

¹⁰ *Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Cole Camp, Missouri 1842-1992* (Cole Camp, MO: The Church, 1992), 1-3; August R. Suelflow, *The Heart of Missouri* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954), 29-30; Brauer, *Hier Snacket*, 65-69. In 1844, Walther sent a letter to Wege in Benton County warning of the "perniciousness of the Methodist sect." *Letters of C. F. W. Walther: A Selection*, trans. and ed. Carl S. Meyer (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 63-69.

¹¹This and all subsequent population and household figures have been aggregated by the author from the microfilmed manuscript census schedules for the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Censuses of the United States, 1850, 1860, and 1870. For the purposes of this study, the Cole Camp Settlement in 1850 is defined as the German households of "District 68" of Pettis County, Haw Creek Township of Morgan County, and Williams Township of Benton County. Since the 1850 schedule for White Township of Benton County includes eighteen German households which appear (even in the same order in several cases) in the 1860 schedule in the western part of Williams Township adjoining White Township, it is assumed that the German households of White Township in 1850 were listed in error and were actually located in Williams Township. It is clear in which part of Williams Township the eighteen households were located because the 1860 census of Benton County was recorded by Congressional township as delineated by the federal land survey, not by electoral township. For 1860, one can see who was living in each six mile by six mile square.

¹²The other German household heads for whom the census did not record an occupation were probably tenant farmers or people who had recently been, or soon would be, farmers.

¹³Walter Kamphoefner found that many of his rural Warren County Low Germans had worked in St. Louis for a time. A recent German scholar agrees with Kamphoefner that many northwest Germans left the Old World with little more than passage money. In order to accumulate the money required to begin even as tenant farmers, many such migrants would have needed to work for a time either in a city or for another farmer. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1987), 46, 150-51; Anne-Katrin Henkel, "Ein besseres Loos zu erringen, als das bisherige war." *Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgewirkungen der hannoverschen Auswanderungsbewegung im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Hameln: C. W. Niemeyer, 1996), 130-31.

¹⁴The primary importance of the New Orleans immigration route for Germans going to Missouri is confirmed by George Kellner. According to figures collected by the German Society of New Orleans, of 240,625 Germans arriving at that port from 1848 to 1861, 113,534 left the city intending to go to St. Louis. J. Hanno Deiler, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans* (New Orleans, LA: 1897) as summarized in George Helmut Kellner, "The German Element on the Urban Frontier: St. Louis, 1830-1860." Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1973, 316. Reports of the St. Louis German Emigration Society confirm that about twice as many Germans, between 1848 and 1855, arrived in St. Louis from New Orleans as from eastern port cities (*ibid.*, 319).

¹⁵Bek, "Marriage Customs," 60.

¹⁶Alfred W. Rodewald, ed., *Descending Love, Ascending Praise: St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Concordia, Mo., 1840-1990* (Concordia, MO: The Church, 1990), 13. This area in the valley of the Leine and the area immediately to its west in the valley of the Weser are the areas from which the first European Germans came to Illinois. Emil Mannhardt, "Die Deutschen in Du Page County," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 1,4 (1901): 33-40.

¹⁷In addition to the information found in individual family histories and biographical sketches from county histories, the parish register or *Kirchenbuch* of Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Emma, Missouri provides place-of-birth for about two dozen Germans who died between 1901 and 1925. This register also provides place-of-birth in its marriage register from 1871 to 1885. The two regions mentioned in the text are strongly represented in these records, as is the region from which the Cole Camp majority emigrated. It would appear that numerous people came from Cole Camp to Concordia beginning as early as 1844. Several biographical sketches mention such a move and several American-born individuals married at Emma were born at Cole Camp.

¹⁸For the linguistic evidence, see William D. Keel, "The Low German Dialect of Concordia, Missouri," in Adolf E. Schroeder, ed., *Concordia, Missouri: A Heritage Preserved* (Columbia: University of Missouri-Columbia, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, 1996), and William Ballew, "The Low German Dialect of Concordia, Missouri," Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1997.

¹⁹Rodewald, *Descending Love*, 144, 149-52.

²⁰ One early settler whose family moved from Benton to Lafayette County in 1844 indicated that a good corn yield at Cole Camp in the early days was 40 bushels per acre while a good yield at Concordia was 60 bushels per acre. William F. Walkenhorst, *The Walkenhorst Homestead* (Concordia, MO: The Concordian, 1976), 32. This is a booklet of reprinted newspaper columns which originally appeared between 1925 and 1927.

²¹ Rodewald, *Descending Love*, 29-34; Franklin Marlin, "The Methodist Church of Concordia," in Harry R. Voigt, *Concordia, Missouri: A Centennial History* (Concordia, MO: Centennial Committee, 1960), 114; Suelflow, *Heart of Missouri*, 19. St. John's congregation, the result of the 1850 walkout, is mentioned in the records of the *Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens* as early as 1854. Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis, Eden Publishing House, 1939), 512. But as late as 1864, the congregation's constitution still demanded adherence to the Augsburg Confession. In November 1868, the catechism of the State Lutheran Church of Hanover was prescribed for both the church and its parish school. *Protokollbuch, Skt. Johannes Gemeinde*, St. John's United Church of Christ, Emma, Missouri.

²² These young men should not have been listed in the 1850 census of Freedom Township since they were, at least temporarily, resident in California. But see households 1338, 1342, 1356, 1357 and 1373, Manuscript Census Schedule, Freedom Township, Lafayette County, Missouri, Seventh Census of the United States.

²³ For the purposes of this study, the Cole Camp Settlement in 1860 consisted of the German households of Flat Creek Township in Pettis County (probably the same as "District 68" in 1850), Haw Creek and Richland Townships in Morgan County, Williams Township and the northern two Congressional townships of Cole Township in Benton County. This collection of census districts represents an effort to include all the groups of German settlers contiguous to the main settlement. It was not always clear from the census lists which groups of settlers in which townships were contiguous.

²⁴ This is, of course, the measured persistence rate. Since in neither 1850 nor 1860 do the census takers seem to have been familiar with German names, they must have badly garbled a considerable number. Sometimes, by matching entire households from one census to the next as was done for this study, the correct name can be surmised from a badly garbled one. But surely some matches were missed owing to garbled names. Moreover, at least a few families and individuals are missed in any census. Thus the real persistence rate is higher than the measured rate. Donald H. Parkerson, "How Mobile Were Nineteenth-Century Americans?" *Historical Methods* 15,3 (1982): 99-109.

²⁵ The most concentrated area of German settlement, thus, "the core area," was Congressional townships 42 and 43, range 20 west. These made up the eastern half of Williams Township, Benton County.

²⁶ Two of these potter householders were John M. Hummel and his assistant. Hummel was born in Saxe-Coburg from which a significant migration chain extended to Boonville, Missouri. In 1860, Hummel's pottery at Florence in Richland Township, Morgan County, employed four non-household heads. It continued in business until 1892. Hummel's decorative ceramic stove tiles are now in the Smithsonian and the Winterthur Museum in Delaware. (He is apparently unrelated to Sister Maria Innocentia Hummel, a twentieth-century Bavarian, whose drawings were turned into figurines very popular in recent decades.) 1860 Manuscript Census Schedule, Richland Township, Morgan County; Charles van Ravenswaay, *The Arts and Architecture of the German Settlements of Missouri* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1977), 477.

²⁷ Voigt, *Concordia*, 109; Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri 1839-41* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 153.

²⁸ Charles van Ravenswaay visited the community twice searching for buildings and craft objects for his famous study (note 26). He attributed his complete lack of success to the inability to find a local guide who could adequately distinguish between locally hand-crafted objects from the 1850s and items made in St. Louis and Cincinnati factories in the 1880s. But the census implies a

different reason for his lack of success. Interview with Charles van Ravenswaay, Columbia, MO, 19 April 1980.

²⁹ The number of officially counted emigrants from "Landdrostei Hannover," the district which included "Fürstentum Calenberg," the area where so many Freedom Township Germans originated, fell sharply in 1858 and 1859. The emigration figures of this district had peaked in 1845 and again in 1854. Henkel, *Ein besseres*, 216. It is not known what portion of the emigrant stream troubled itself to obtain official permission, but the kingdom did make it relatively easy to obtain permission to emigrate as a way of dealing with a perceived overpopulation problem (*ibid.*, 185-86).

³⁰ Jerry Kibbons, "The Historical Record of the Concordia Baptist Church," in Voigt, *Concordia*, 112; Albert John Ramaker, *The German Baptists in North America* (Cleveland: German Baptist Publication Society, 1924), 31.

³¹ Roger Moldenhauer, "Benton County Lutherans and the Battle of Cole Camp June 19, 1861," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 61,4 (1988): 153-55; Abdel Ross Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1954), 162-65.

³² The ethnocultural explanation of American voting behavior, so popular in recent decades among political historians in America, might also lead one to expect these "ritualistic" Lutherans to be Democrats and thus to be less than enthusiastic supporters of the Union. But as Kamphoefner has pointed out, most Missouri Germans show strongly Unionist behavior. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37,3 (1991): 232-46.

³³ Brauer, *Hier Snackt*, 179-94; Moldenhauer, "Battle of Cole Camp," 155-56.

³⁴ The official figures for emigrants from "Landdrostei Stade," from which district most of the Cole Camp people came, jumped sharply in 1866 and remained high through 1869. Unfortunately, there are no figures from this district until 1859. Henkel, *Ein besseres*, 216.

³⁵ For an excellent study of one daughter settlement in Kansas, see Carol K. Coburn, *Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender and Education in a German Lutheran Community, 1868-1945* (Lawrence: U of Kansas P, 1992).

³⁶ R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1992), 220.

³⁷ Robert W. Frizzell, "Killed by Rebels': A Civil War Massacre and its Aftermath," *Missouri Historical Review* 71,4 (1977): 375, note 21.

³⁸ Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 103.

³⁹ Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1864), 91, 95.

⁴⁰ Ironically, even the German settlers's fathers back in Hanover had been part of the slave economy within the capitalist world system. Home-production of coarse linen was important to all economic strata from *Kolon* to *Heuerling* within northwest German peasant villages in Westphalia and Hanover. Much of this linen was exported to the new world to clothe slaves. Reinhard Oberschelp, *Niedersachsen 1760-1820: Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur im Land Hannover und Nachbargebieten* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1982), 1:183; Jürgen Schlumbohm, "From Peasant Society to Class Society: Some Aspects of Family and Class in a North-West German Proto-Industrial Parish," in Richard L. Rudolph, ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society: Historical Studies* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1995), 193.

⁴¹ Hawkins Taylor Commission Musters, microfilm roll L1, Office of the Adjutant General of Missouri, Jefferson City, Missouri; William Arndt. "Several Episodes in the Life of the Sainted Pastor F. J. Biltz," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 6 (1933): 42-44.

⁴² Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas* (New York: Random House, 1996), *passim*. In an otherwise excellent book, Leslie missed the encounter between Quantrill's men and the Concordians described below. Frizzell, "Killed by Rebels," remains the only account of the event more than a couple of paragraphs in length.

⁴³ Arndt, "Several Episodes," 45.

⁴⁴ Frizzell, "Killed by Rebels"; Gilbert Knipmeyer, "Concordia in the Civil War," in Voigt, *Concordia*, 19-25; R. P. Sevin, "Aus schwerer Zeit," *Deutsche Geschichtsforschung für Missouri* 1,2 (1914): 70-72. Low German women in Missouri are even more sparsely documented than the men. But see Coburn, *Four Corners*; Linda Schelbitzki Pickle, *Contented Among Strangers: Rural German-Speaking Women and Their Families in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996); and Michael Fellman, "At the Nihilist Edge: Reflections on Guerrilla Warfare during the American Civil War," in Stig Forster and Jörg Nagler, eds., *On the Road to Total War* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute and Cambridge UP, 1997), 531.

⁴⁵ This is near the general rate of war-related deaths in the South and is about twice the general rate in the North. Approximate rates calculated from Donald S. Frazier, "Civil War: Losses and Numbers," in Richard N. Current, editor in chief, *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 1:338-39.

⁴⁶ For this study, the German households which seem to have been in the eastern part of Davis Township (near Concordia), that is, households numbered up through 74, were included. Those with higher numbers and apparently closer to the later town of Higginsville, were excluded. By 1870, if not earlier, there may have been Low German households across the border of Freedom Township in Grover Township, Johnson County and Blackwater Township, Pettis County.

⁴⁷ Heinrich Dierking, born in Büren, Amt Neustadt am Rügenberge, was part of the original migration chain to Concordia. But he moved his family to Secor in north central Illinois, probably in 1864. There he helped found a Missouri Synod congregation, half of whom were East Frisians. Dierking died at Secor in 1901. Parish register, St. John's Lutheran Church, Secor, Illinois.

⁴⁸ The number of blacks in Freedom Township declined from 271 in 1860 to 196 in 1870. Ninth Census, vol. 1: *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1872), 190. The 1870 manuscript census list indicates that several black families lived near Concordia where most or all of their close neighbors were Germans. One German family boarded three mulatto farm laborers and another included a black child in its household.

⁴⁹ *History of Lafayette County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), 197-303.

⁵⁰ *History of Saline County, Missouri* (Marceline, MO, Walsworth Publishing Co., 1967), 343.

⁵¹ Daniel O'Flaherty, *General Jo Shelby: Undefeated Rebel* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1954), 383.

⁵² Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*; Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transformed: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Community* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1988); Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand Norway to the Upper Midwest* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985); Yda Saueressig, "Emigration, Settlement, and Assimilation of Dutch Catholic Immigrants in Wisconsin, 1850-1905," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1982.

