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## The German-Oregonians, 1850-1918

Roberta Lee Schmalenberger  
*Portland State University*

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Roberta Lee Schmalenberger for the Master of Arts in German presented June 3, 1983.

Title: The German-Oregonians, 1850-1918.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

[REDACTED]  
Franz Langhammer, Chairman

[REDACTED]  
Louis Elteto

[REDACTED]  
William Fischer

Of all the foreign-born elements of Oregon's population, the German-born have been the most prominent in terms of size and continuity. At the turn of the century they were an organized and enterprising ethnic group that supported a German-language press, numerous social clubs and ethnic churches. The German-born contributed their share to the development of Oregon through men whose names are almost household words today: Meier and Frank, Weinhard, Dammasch, Villard and Weyerhaeuser. Yet for all of their visibility, the Germans in Oregon have not been remembered as a particular ethnic group.

The demise of a visible German culture in the United States is commonly associated with the patriotic fever and anti-German hysteria that characterized the period of World War I. Tensions evoked by war with the German fatherland

undoubtedly had an impact on the German community in Oregon as well, leading to the disappearance of ethnic institutions. Consequently the question is raised regarding German-American loyalties, their assimilation or lack of it.

In order to address this question, however, the identity of the Germans in Oregon before the outbreak of World War I had to be assessed. This thesis, then, is a background study with the intent of identifying and describing the average German-Oregonians behind the names that stood out in business, politics and social contributions. With regard to assimilation, the self-perception of the German-born is considered. It is a generalized work that could serve as a point of reference for more specialized studies of individuals and specific communities, institutions, contributions and issues. It is also just one dimension of the whole issue of World War I and the German-born that should be a basis for future studies of the activities of the German-Oregonians during that period and the reception accorded them by native-born Oregonians.

To a large extent this study is demographic. In order to arrive at descriptive statements, statistics regarding the German-born, native-born and foreign-born in the census reports from 1850 to 1910 were compared. Where appropriate, secondary history sources were utilized in order to relate the statistical observations to the historical events of which they were a part. This method of inquiry identified the German-Oregonians according to general trends and attitudes. Immigrant memoirs and self-expressions added a more personal dimension

to the statistical observations.

Generally speaking, German-Americans are thought to have been followers of the frontier, not pioneers, and to have had a preference for living among their own kind, particularly in larger cities. This thesis does not dispute these statements but illuminates a similarity between the native-born and German-born whereas such theories taken alone tend to give the German-born a separatistic character. Only a few of the German-born were among the early pioneers, but likewise the pioneers represented just a minute portion of the entire population. The Germans in Oregon did live predominantly in Multnomah County, but the native-born resided primarily in just a slightly larger radius. There were also similarities in the waves of immigration of both population elements into Oregon as well as in occupational stratification.

German immigrants of the 1900's seemed to have seen their heritage as being from the early German pioneers as well as from their homeland. Thus they were hyphenated Americans but not with the generally assumed negative connotation. They perceived themselves not as Germans in Oregon but rather as German-Oregonians with a tie to both cultures.

THE GERMAN-OREGONIANS,  
1850-1918

by

ROBERTA LEE SCHMALENBERGER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of


MASTER OF ARTS  
in  
GERMAN

Portland State University

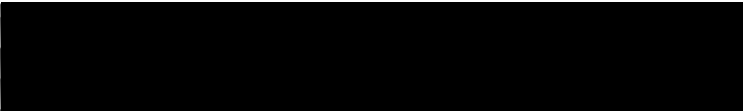
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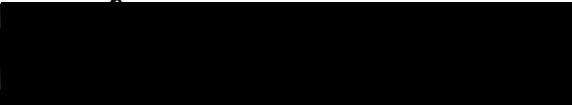
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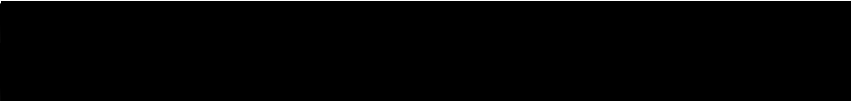
  
Franz Langhammer, Chairman

  
Louis Elteto

  
William Fischer

APPROVED:

  
Louis Elteto, Head, Department of Foreign Languages

  
Stanley E. Rauch, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research

## PREFACE

Of all the foreign-born elements of Oregon's population, the German-born have been the most prominent both in terms of size and continuity. At the turn of the century, one out of every eleven Oregonians was either German-born or first generation German stock. They were at that time a highly visible ethnic group because of their sheer numbers and their enterprising ways. They supported a German-language press, organized clubs and formed churches. Yet the names of those who stood out because of their contributions--names like Meier and Frank, Weinhard, Dammasch, Villard and Weyerhaeuser--are often thought of as American as apple pie. For all of their visibility, the German-Oregonians have not been remembered as a particular ethnic group.

That the Germans were so numerous and yet their contributions to the development of Oregon have rarely been identified as German peaks one's curiosity to ask why. It is common knowledge that during the height of German immigration to the United States, 1850-1890, the German culture flourished in social organizations, German churches and the German-language press. It is also common knowledge that German-Americans suffered tremendous discrimination during the anti-German hysteria of the World War I years. The hysterical patriotism of that epoch is generally associated with the demise of the visible German culture. That is undoubtedly true, but the

conclusion itself leads to more queries. Were the Germans in general so unassimilated that it took an anti-German movement to force assimilation? What were the German attitudes toward their heritage and Americanization? What were their contributions to American society and specifically to Oregon? How did the German-Oregonians perceive themselves and what reception was accorded them by the native-born? Was the diminishing immigrant movement itself a factor in the decreasing visibility of the German culture in Oregon?

All of these queries made me keenly aware of the need to take a step backwards in history to lay a foundation, to assess the identity of the German-Oregonians before the patriotic fever of World War I. My thesis, then, is a background work with the intent of identifying and describing the average German-Oregonians behind the names that stood out in business, politics and social contributions. It is a generalized work that I would hope would serve as a point of reference for more specialized studies of individuals and specific communities, institutions, contributions and issues.

To a large extent my study of the German-Oregonians is demographic. I have scrutinized, calculated and compared all of the statistics regarding the Germans in the Census Reports from 1850 to 1910. In order to arrive at descriptive statements, I then compared what the statistical records showed about the Germans with the same data regarding the foreign-born. Where appropriate I turned to secondary history sources in order to relate the statistical observations to the historical events



of which they were a part. This method of inquiry resulted in an identification of the German-Oregonians according to who, where, when and why.

A description of the identity of the German-Oregonians would not be complete without considering how they perceived themselves. Wherever possible I have referred to self-expressions. This, however, is a problematic area of study. Extant immigrant memoirs are too few and far between to suggest general trends or attitudes. They are best used to add a humanistic element to the statistical observations. Likewise collections of German-language newspapers that were published in Oregon contain only scattered issues, not enough to ascertain attitudes but to highlight other observations. One is left having to get to know the German-Oregonians primarily through their active rather than verbal responses.

One of the most interesting and useful self-expressions is a book titled Oregon und sein Deutschtum; eine Geschichte des Staates, dessen deutscher Pioniere und ihrer Nachkommen. It was published in 1920 under the auspices of the State Association of German-speaking Societies of Oregon. It was the intent of this organization to revitalize the German culture in Oregon following the repercussions of the anti-German sentiment during the first World War. Because the book was written in German, its intended audience was the German-born. Apparently the German-Oregonians who authored the book felt the need to encourage their countrymen to take pride in their German heritage, because the Germans had contributed much to

the development of Oregon. As a self-expression it voices only the opinions of the die-hard Germans, but through their viewpoint it reflects the attitudes of the less spirited Germans. As such this work is an invaluable source.

Establishing the identity of the German-Oregonians is ultimately addressing the question of assimilation. When all is said and done, the goal of my thesis is to assess the meaning of the hyphen in the term German-Oregonian up to the point when anti-German sentiment became an outside force that had its own impact on assimilation.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE ROOTS OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN OREGON

To trace the history of the Germans in Oregon is to consider the history of the state of Oregon as a whole, the authors of Oregon und sein Deuschtum assert boldly. The premise of the work is appropriately stated in a poem by Konrad Krez which prefaces this German-American view of the history of Oregon:

We did not come as beggars  
From our German fatherland,  
We had brought along much  
Which was strange and unknown here.  
And when the prettiest wreath of fields  
Was created from the dark forests,  
From the barren, dull desert,  
There were also Germans taking part.

Indeed much, which in earlier times  
You had to buy across the sea,  
We helped you manufacture,  
We set up many a factory.  
O, do not dare to forget this,  
Do not say, that this wasn't so,  
It's announced by a thousand chimneys...  
There were also Germans taking part.

And that which art and the sciences  
Bestow on you today in strength and power,  
May the fame rest on the Germans,  
Most of it is the work of the Germans.  
And when in full tones  
The melody of the song rings in the heart,  
I believe, of that which you sing,  
There is also much that is German.

Therefore we stand proudly on this ground,  
Which our strength took care of.  
How would your federal union be  
If never a German came to you?  
How in the days of the Civil War,  
As also at the first cry of liberty,

We may say irreproachably:  
There were also Germans taking part.<sup>1</sup>

In recounting the discovery of the Oregon territory by sea and by land, these German-Americans emphasize the participation of Germans in the expeditions. Supposedly Vitus Bering had a German enlisted as one of his two ship's officers on his first voyage to the northwest coast and several German scientists on his second voyage. An expedition under the auspices of Czar Alexander I was led by the German captain Adam Johann von Krusenstern, and other Russian expeditions were captained by the German Otto von Kotzebue. James Cook was accompanied by a German artist, and the entourage of Lewis and Clark's expedition included four Germans.

None of these claims, or indeed any other, is documented in Deutschtum. Nor did it suit the purposes of this thesis to verify the claims presented here as facts. They are offered instead as evidence related to the German-American's own view of his identity as German or American. However, an analysis of the claims made by Deutschtum is included where those assertions bear strongly on the question of assimilation.

Such is the case when the roots of the German element in Oregon are seen by Deutschtum as even more deeply planted in the court of King John II of Portugal, where the German Martin Behaim, one of the first scholars who believed that the earth was round, resided in 1489. When Christopher Columbus presented his expedition plans to King John II, "he was undoubtedly also influenced by the view of Martin Behaim."<sup>2</sup>

The rightfulness of this claim is at best dubious from several perspectives whether one assumes that it was the king or Columbus who was influenced. First of all, the matter between Columbus and the king had already been taken care of in 1482, long before the supposed residence of Behaim in the king's court. Secondly, King John II rejected Columbus' request. In view of the latter, this is a curious effort on the part of these German-Americans to prove their contribution in bringing civilization to the American wilderness, from the Alleghanies to the Oregon territory. But to the same extent that this account raises the question of the book's validity as a scholarly secondary source, it suggests a compulsion on the part of the German-Americans to establish their identity as Americans. When perceived in this way, Deuschtum can be regarded as a primary source. It is a German-American self-expression.

Thus, it is not surprising to find Deuschtum emphasizing that John Jacob Astor was a German when crediting him with having begun the white settlement of Oregon by establishing a fur-trading post at Astoria in 1811. However, it was not just Astor's German birth that interested these German-Americans, but his contribution as a German to that which is American. Having established a white settlement before the British did, he is praised as the trump card for the United States in the question of American vs. British claim to the Oregon territory: "Thus, to a great extent, we have Astor to thank that Oregon, Washington and Idaho are American possessions today."<sup>3</sup>



Deutschtum's discussion of the Oregon question elucidates more than a singular pride in Germanism. Indeed, it is a dualistic pride that has the characteristics of a national anthem. There were "patriotic men who foresaw the radiant future of Oregon" and actively supported its exploration and the United States' claim to the Oregon Territory, even at a time when the powers that be in Congress were reluctant to take steps to assure Oregon for the United States.<sup>4</sup>

However oversimplified Deutschtum's presentation of the determining factors may be, its judgment of the settlement of Oregon by Americans as important to Oregon's future as an American state is not erroneous. Thus Deutschtum recounts the role of John C. Fremont, commonly known as the Pathfinder because of his expeditions to the West in 1842, 1843 and 1845 which gleaned much new topographical information. Fremont is thereby credited by Deutschtum with having opened up the western territory to the mass pioneer emigrations, although in reality, the wagon trains had already begun to roll. But what is here important is that Fremont's success was largely due to the influence and aid of Germans. Besides Swiss Ferdinand Rudolf Hassler, director of the US Coast Survey Office, Deutschtum lists Captain Johann P. Zantziger, botanists Carl Geyer and Dr. Georg Engelmann and topographer and geographer Carl Preuss as important German influences on Fremont.<sup>5</sup> Deutschtum goes so far as to claim that "Fremont took Germans along as assistants on all of his expeditions, whom he valued because of their ability and reliability."<sup>6</sup>

As an example is the case presented for German Carl Preuss:

[He] made a map of the explored parts of the country and furthermore published a guide for emigrants. In 1848, 20,000 copies of this map of Oregon and California were commissioned by the Senate to be printed. In the following years they showed thousands of emigrants the desolate, inhospitable way to the shore of the Pacific Ocean. . . . An anonymous historian says of Carl Preuss: "His name is inseparably linked to the opening and development of more than half of the present surface area of the United States."<sup>7</sup>

Significant to the dualistic nature of the German-American's own view of his identity is Deutschtum's indignation that not even the Germans in the fatherland gave credit where credit was due:

By order of the King of Prussia, Alexander von Humboldt awarded Fremont the great golden medallion for progress in science in 1850. By the recommendations of Humboldt, who was a great admirer of Fremont, and of Professor Karl Ritter, Fremont was admitted as an honorary member to the geographic society in Berlin. A proof that even the King of Prussia, as well as the American historians, was capable of ignoring the merits of his countrymen.<sup>8</sup>

Just as the spirit that drew the entrepreneurs, explorers and adventurers westward was, according to Deutschtum, as unequivocally German as it was American, so was the spirit which accompanied the wagon trains that followed. Deutschtum attempts to fortify this view with long lists of German-sounding names. From lists of pioneers on the wagon trains arriving between 1843 and 1858, Deutschtum presents a total of 150 German names, emphasizing that the names mentioned were only those of men. The real German representation among the pioneers must have been much greater because almost all of them brought along their families,

many of which were large, and many of the leading men of our state today who have American names, have mothers who were the daughters of those heroic German pioneers.

Again the scholarship that produced such a claim is questionable. Not only are the lists completely undocumented, but Deutschtum also seems to use the concepts "German" and "German descendant" indiscriminately. Thus, many of the names listed could conceivably represent long-time American families of German heritage who otherwise would be considered native-born. However, it is precisely this confusion of terms that characterizes the German-American view of themselves. They take pride in both their German heritage and American patriotism. The stated task of the authors of Deutschtum is to set the record straight. History books had traditionally ignored the contributions of the Germans to the development of Oregon. In turn, Deutschtum goes to extremes to compensate for the neglect. Their own account is not boastful but defensive.

The Oregonian German-American's self-concept is identical to that of the native Oregonian. Both see themselves as descendants of hardy pioneer stock who not only endured the hardships of the wagon trail and forged a new life in the wilderness, but also suffered under the Indian attacks that characterized the history of Oregon, 1848-1858. This attitude is revealed in the following excerpt from Deutschtum:

It is impossible to determine the names of all

Germans who set their lives on the line against the redskins and whom we have to thank to a great extent, that today we can go about our business in peace and quiet. The considerable number of German Indian-fighters on the following incomplete list shows again, that the German offers himself, when it means risking his life for the common good, and that he did take a prominent role in the dangerous and hard pioneer work in Oregon. The list is all the more important because Oregon only had a few thousand inhabitants at the time.<sup>10</sup>

The list mentioned consists of 296 men with German surnames.

These observations of the Germans as risk-taking pioneers and Indian-fighters are most interesting in light of the commonly held theory that the German immigrants were not frontiersmen, preferring instead to settle on land that had already been cleared and at least partially improved. Indeed, immigrants in general are considered to have been the second wave in the westward expansion, the fillers-in. Oscar Handlin notes in Immigration as a Factor in American History that the immigrants probably hastened the development of the American frontier by being willing buyers of the already improved lands, thereby freeing the native-born Americans to forge westward.<sup>11</sup> Thus, in the 1840's, when Deutschtum pictures numerous Germans among the risk-taking pioneers in early, virtually uninhabited Oregon, Handlin places the overall immigrant in Missouri, Illinois and southern Wisconsin. In the 1850's and 1860's, as Oregon was attaining statehood, the immigrant migration was just expanding into Iowa and Minnesota. Handlin does not see a change in this pattern of expansion until the 1870's when the Homestead Law offering free land overrode the natural caution of the immigrants. This is not to say that no immigrant

was to be found among the first wave of pioneers, but not in the proportion suggested by Deutschtum.

A strong case for the German immigrant as follower, rather than forger, of the extension of the American frontier is also made by John Hawgood in The Tragedy of German-America.<sup>12</sup> Hawgood presents the same pattern of expansion for the Germans that Handlin details for the immigrant population as a whole. However, Hawgood does see the Germans as being only outnumbered by the native-born element in the westward movement that extended to Oregon and California from 1845 to the end of the Civil War. Hawgood nevertheless insists that large numbers of Germans appeared in a territory only as that territory approached or attained statehood.

The conservatism of the 19th century German immigrant, as opposed to the pioneer spirit of the native-born element, is often attributed to the following characteristics: (1) a cautious nature that desired security and permanence over riches, (2) a tendency to settle among their own countrymen, (3) a patriarchal family hierarchy that encouraged generations to stick together and (4) a deep regard for keeping the land fertile rather than using it up.

The defining of these characteristics prompts two further observations. First, the German-Americans of Deutschtum credit their contemporary compatriots with these same attributes. They apparently see no conflict between these characteristics and those that would define a pioneer.

Secondly, to have emigrated from the homeland in the first place, the German immigrant certainly had to throw caution to the wind so these characteristics do not exclude the possibility of a pioneer spirit (the Germans could have indeed had a fair representation among the pioneers of Oregon), but they are best used to explain the phenomenon of the German Belt where 88% of the German-born lived in 1900.<sup>13</sup>

The generally held scholarly theories regarding the 19th century German immigrant have been presented here in order to underscore the theories held by later German-Americans, specifically German-Oregonians, themselves. The two views are seemingly so divergent that the opinions of the German-Americans seem by contrast even more biased, more questionable, more defensive or even more braggart. However, statistics for early Oregon interestingly support the conception of the German immigrant as a pioneer in Oregon.

The United States Census for 1850 reports 156 German-born residents in the Oregon territory. (See Appendix A for population data.) It is a relatively insignificant number in comparison to the total German-born population of the United States for the same year, 23,191,876 (.03%). The 1860 census figure for the German-born population of Oregon is 1,078, a considerable increase but still a trifling number when compared to the total United States' German-born population of 1,301,136 (.08%). However, these are interesting and noteworthy figures when they are considered from the perspective of the following questions: (1) how do they relate

to the claims made in Deuschtum and (2) what significance do they gain when compared proportionately to the other elements of the population of Oregon?

Deuschtum's case rests on lists of German-sounding names, the first group of lists consisting of 150 names and representing Germans arriving by wagon train between the years 1843 and 1848, the last list consisting of 296 names representing Germans who lost their lives fighting the Indian wars from 1848-1858. In each instance Deuschtum would see these numbers as representing just a fraction of the total number of Germans among the Oregon pioneers because these lists do not include the names of women and children. Thus, from a numerical standpoint, the first list of 150 names does not appear to be verified by the 1850 census report of 156 German-born, giving further weight to the argument that these later German-Oregonians were inconsistent in their definition of "German" in order to establish their conclusions. On the other hand, it is certainly plausible that the 1850 census statistics are not accurate.<sup>14</sup> Also, the increase of the German population in Oregon between 1850 and 1860 from 156 to 1,078 indicates that there could indeed have been some German-born among the Indian fighters.

Although numerically there is only a plausible support for the German-American view of his predecessor as having possessed a pioneer spirit, when viewed proportionately, the evidence becomes quite convincing. Just as the German-born

in Oregon represented only a minute .04% of the German-born population of the United States in 1850 and .08% in 1860, the native-born element in Oregon in the same years accounted for an almost equally minute proportion of the native-born population of the United States, .06% and .17% respectively. (See Appendix B for percentage comparisons.) The small percentage of the entire German-born population certainly gives weight to the argument that the German immigrants preferred to aggregate in more populated, civilized areas, but at the same time, when viewed comparatively with the native-born population, it does not necessarily imply that the Germans were significantly less pioneer-minded than the native-born element. Even native-born Americans were not moved in large numbers by the pioneer spirit.

In the years 1850-1860, the proportion of the native-born element in Oregon to the native-born US population increased from .06% to .17%. At the same time, the proportion of German pioneers in Oregon to the German-born US population only increased from .03% to .08%. The actual German population in Oregon, however, increased by 591.03%, whereas the native-born population increased only by 285.78%. (See Appendix C for growth rates.) In other words, during this formative ten year period of Oregon's early history, as it went from territory to state, the Oregonian German population increased at more than twice the rate than the native-born population did.

Thus, statistically Deutschtum's claims--that the roots



of the German element in Oregon are entwined in the roots of Oregon itself--seem to be justified, albeit from a different perspective. Indeed, this comparison of the early history of the Germans in Oregon, as interpreted by German-Americans of 1920 and as gleaned from census statistics, yields two distinct but interdependent statements about the German-Oregonians, which are in turn related to the question of assimilation. First, there is the factual statement about the presence of the first Germans in Oregon. Secondly, there is the attitudinal statement about later Germans who saw their heritage as being from German-American pioneers, even though they themselves were emigrants from the fatherland.

A continued look at the statistical history of the Germans in Oregon and their self-expression through the institutions they established serves well in addressing the questions of acculturation and identity.

## CHAPTER II

### FROM GERMANY TO OREGON

In 1884 fourteen year old Heinrich Ruppell wrote from his home in Münden, Germany, to his uncle in Portland. Heinrich was an orphan and had decided to come to his uncle in America. The replies written by his uncle suggest that Heinrich's greatest concern was how chilly the trip would be and that he was most curious about the Indians. These queries were, of course, the products of the active imagination of just a young boy. They do, however, stimulate today's reader to wonder about the sense of anticipation and the anxiety of the unknown that must accompany every emigrant who seeks a new beginning. From that standpoint Heinrich's case illuminates the intensity of the emigrant experience in a way that statistics can only hint at.

As far as Indians were concerned, Uncle Albert Ruppell clearly let his young nephew know that there were more important concerns at hand:

You write me of books about Indians. When you come here, then you will get plenty of Indians to see on the trip, and you will see them as they look. The train goes right through areas where there are still lots of Indians. And you can read enough stories about the American War when you're here. The main thing is that you learn English so that when you are here, you already understand some English. So learn vigorously.<sup>1</sup>

The process of emigrating consisted of more than acquiring the necessary exit documents and concluding one's

business affairs before departure.<sup>2</sup> There were also concerns about any perils that lay ahead. Albert Ruppell's detailed instructions to his nephew create a visual image of the practical aspects of the journey and of his concerns as an experienced emigrant.

You write me that the trip is probably very cold. It's not as dangerous as you think. Just don't be afraid. It's not as bad as you probably think. I'm sending you the ticket now. Then you'll travel from Münden to Bremen. In Bremen you can even look up Heinrich Weiss if you have time. Leave early enough from Münden, then you can be in Bremen for a day. From there it's not far to Bremerhafen. In Bremen go to the emigration counter. You will be transported further from there. Pack your clothes in a little, strong trunk with a good lock and write H. Ruppell Portland Oregon in color on the trunk. And then buy a big, woolen blanket with which you can cover yourself on the ship and on the train. Buy a straw bag in Bremerhafen (Leave the straw bag on the ship; you don't need it on the train), and buy yourself some dried fruit. Prunes are the best. You'll get enough to eat on the ship. On the train you have to provide your own food. When you get to New York, you will come into a large hall that's called Castle Garden. There they will ask you what your name is. Then say your name is... Then say you want to go to Portland, Oregon. They should tell you where the train is. There are agents who will bring you to the train. In Bremen buy yourself a smoked ham and save it until you are on the train in America. On the train buy yourself a cup of coffee and bread now and then. You have to pack your food in a handbag. You can buy bread on the train when you need some. You're not coming by way of San Francisco. You're traveling on the North Pacific railroad directly to Portland. . . . .  
I'm sending you 10 dollars so that you have some traveling money. Be careful with the money so that nothing is stolen from you. You must not show anyone that you have money. Be careful on the boat and on the train so that nothing bad happens to you. And don't lose your ticket. Have a breast pocket made on the inside of your vest where you can put your valuables and always button it up so that you don't lose anything. Dress warmly so that you don't catch cold until you get used to the trip.<sup>3</sup>

As Heinrich Ruppell arrived with just one "strong trunk" and maybe his woolen blanket, others came with very meager possessions too. Even after the advent of the railroad, some had to travel with even less comfort. Augusta Kaseberg Copeland recalls how her father brought their family west via a homemade wagon packed with all of their belongings and their family of eight.<sup>4</sup> For several days their route even followed the course of the Union Pacific, and they would wave at the emigrants on the train. Along the way their load had to be lightened for the horses so that their meager possessions were even more diminished. Even picture frames were thrown out, leaving them with just the treasured pictures as they hurdled the last pass. But catching their first glimpse of Oregon and Washington "'was like looking at our promised land.'"

Visions of Oregon were not always part of the consciousness of the German emigrant as he embarked from his homeland. It is quite probable that the majority took a circuitous route, as did Copeland's father, Johann Kaseberg, who emigrated in 1853 but did not arrive in Oregon until 1882.<sup>5</sup> During the intervening twenty-nine years, Kaseberg worked in Illinois and Missouri. He was always motivated to move on by a desire to improve the economic prospects for his family.

There were also those destined for Oregon who apparently found intervening opportunities or setbacks along the way. Such was the case of the passengers aboard the ship *Amulet* which sailed in 1846 from Havre to New Orleans. The *Amulet's*

passenger list shows 225 names, many of which seem to have been family units ranging in age from six months to eighty. They were listed as Germans destined for Oregon. According to Addie Dyal, none of these names actually appeared on the 1850 census of Oregon Territory.<sup>6</sup> One wonders if and when these individuals and families eventually settled in Oregon, and what intervened along the way.

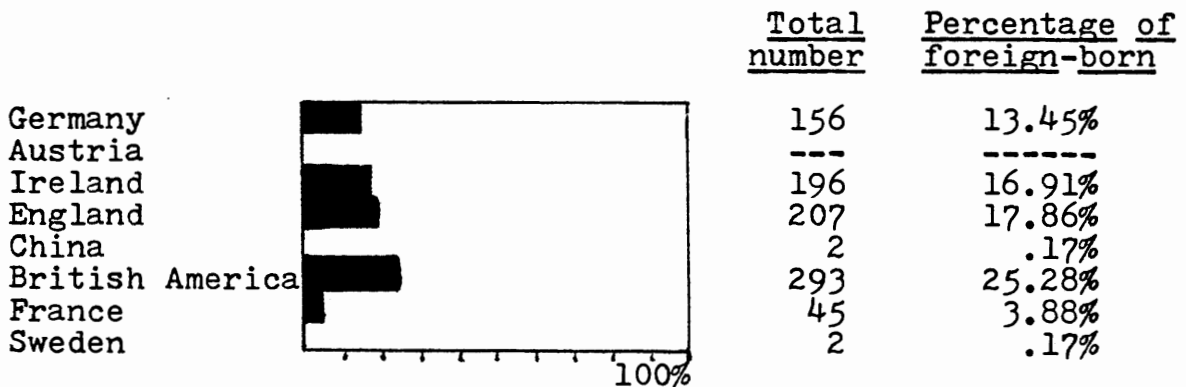
Taking into account the arduousness of emigration and the anxieties intermingled with the longing for a brighter future makes the enormity of the immigrant movement seem all the more remarkable. Extant memoirs and documents point to just a few cases, but statistics attest to thousands.

The Germans have always constituted one of the largest, if not the largest immigrant group in Oregon. In the decades 1850, 1860 and 1870 the Germans were slightly outnumbered by the Irish, and in 1870 the Chinese took a huge lead over both the Germans and the Irish. By 1890 the Germans outranked all other foreign-born elements numerically, a position that they also held in 1900 and 1910.

The significance of the size of the German-born population in Oregon lies in its steady rate of growth. All other immigrant groups surged and plunged proportionately. This would certainly be a factor in the visibility of the Germans as a distinct ethnic group, in the reception accorded them by the native-born population and in their assimilation. The consistency of their proportionate size also helps to explain the dual German-American identity that the German-Oregonians

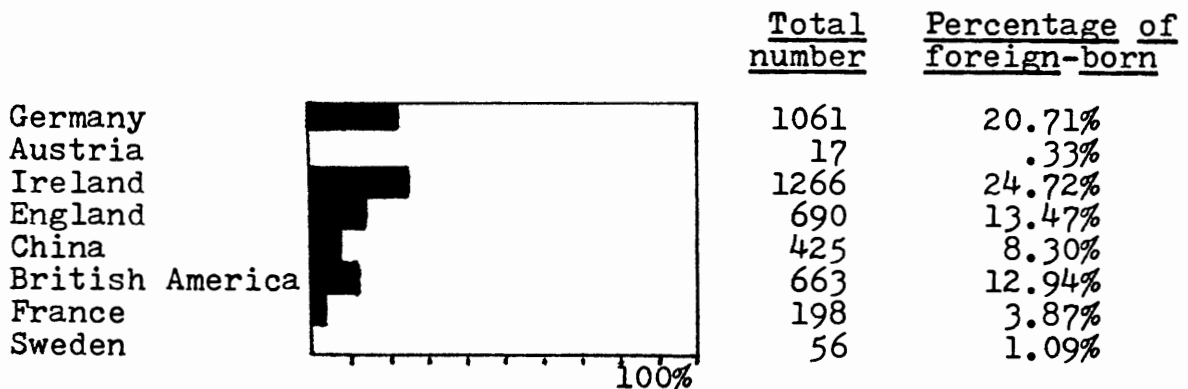
of 1920 perceived of themselves, as discussed in the preceding chapter.

The following figures show the proportionate relationship of several immigrant groups to each other in the decades 1850-1910.



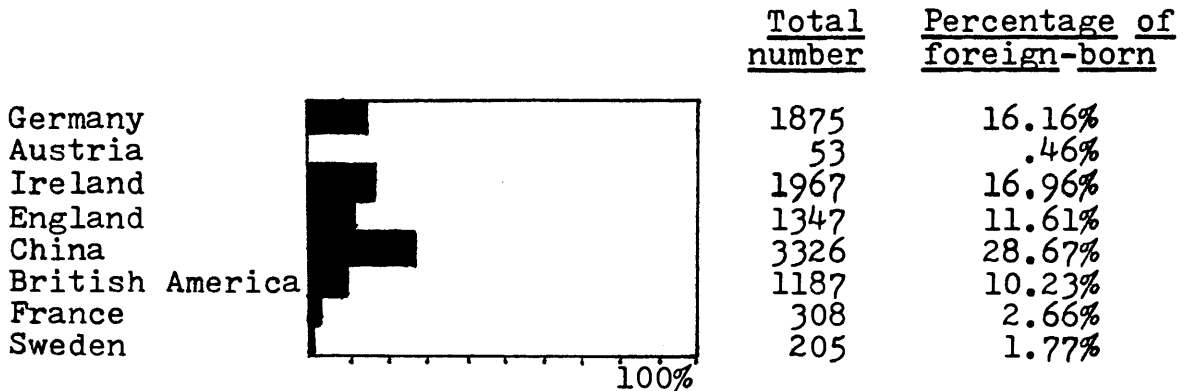
Based on Census Report, 1850, p. xxxvi.

Figure 1. Comparison of foreign-born elements of Oregon population, 1850.



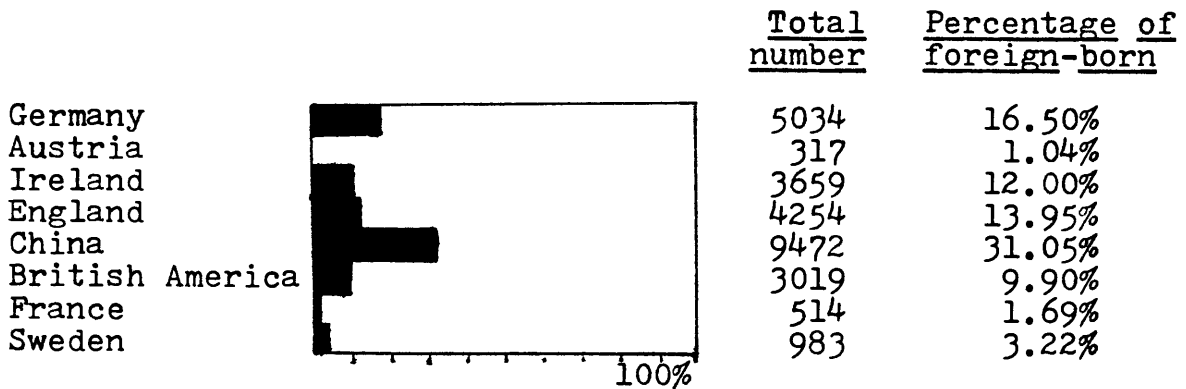
Based on Census Report, 1860, II, 405.

Figure 2. Comparison of foreign-born elements of Oregon population, 1860.



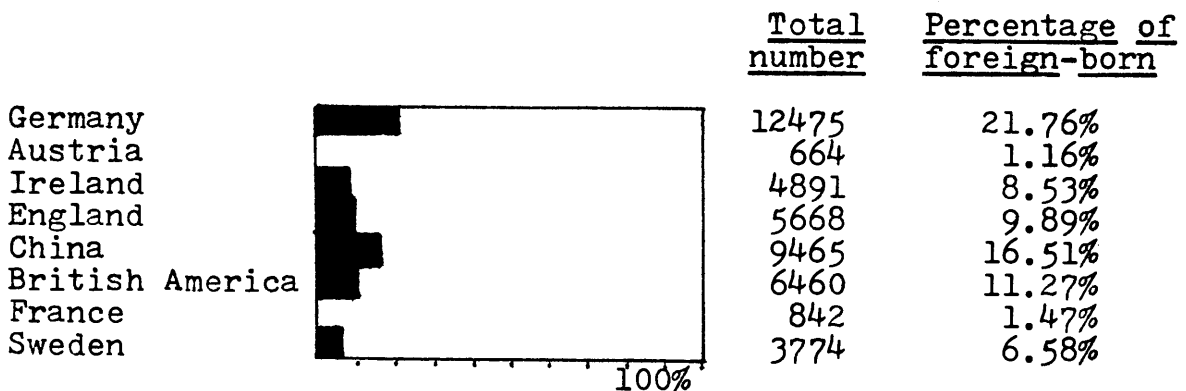
Based on Census Report, 1870, I, 337-42.

Figure 3. Comparison of foreign-born elements of Oregon population, 1870.



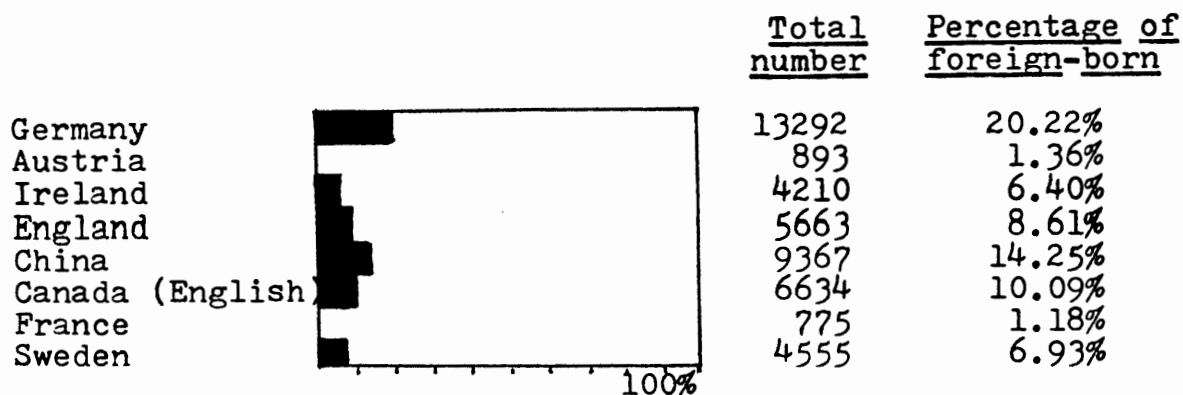
Based on Census Report, 1880, I, 492-95.

Figure 4. Comparison of foreign-born elements of Oregon population, 1880.



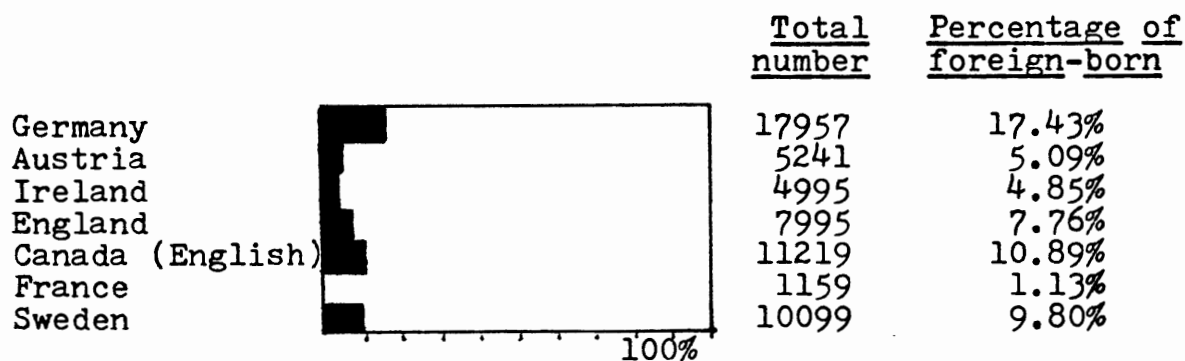
Based on Census Report, 1890, I, Pt. 1, 606-09.

Figure 5. Comparison of foreign-born elements of Oregon population, 1890.



Based on Census Report, 1900, I, Pt. 1, 732-35.

Figure 6. Comparison of foreign-born elements of Oregon population, 1900.



Based on Census Report, 1910, Abstract for Oregon, p. 594.

<sup>a</sup> Until 1900 Canada (English) was noted as British America in census statistics.

<sup>b</sup> This figure is for foreign-born whites only. Beginning in 1910 the Chinese as well as the Japanese, Indians and Negroes were classified as colored in the census statistics. They were not designated as foreign-born or native-born. Since they were so few in number, the difference between the total foreign-born whites and the total foreign-born aggregate would not be significant.

Figure 7. Comparison of foreign-born elements of Oregon population, 1910.

The foreign-born from Ireland, England, China and British America (later identified as Canada - English) were chosen for comparison, because at one time or another each was the



largest immigrant group. Although each of these nationalities increased numerically over the decades 1850-1910, none kept pace with the growth of the German population in Oregon. At the point where each stood out temporarily as the predominant foreign-born element, one would inquire about specific historical reasons for their sudden influx. However, the steady increase among the Germans prompts one to look away from specific incidents to more perennial characteristics or motivations. The difference between the spurts of the other immigrant groups and the flow of the German immigration into Oregon points also to a continual renewing of the German element in terms of population and culture. This continuity yields both an historical context for incoming Germans as Americans and a revitalization of the German culture for the already settled German-Oregonians.

Because language is also a bond that would affect the assimilation and visibility of an immigrant group, the French and the Swedes were included in the figures for comparison. Neither the French nor the Swedes ever constituted a large proportion of the foreign-born, but they were at times the next largest groups following the Germans that could be characterized by speaking a foreign tongue. The French followed the Germans in this category in 1850 and the Swedes in 1910. During the other decades, the other largest foreign-speaking element was, of course, the Chinese. The often extreme differences in the comparative sizes of these populations makes language even more noteworthy as a tool in determining the

visibility of the Germans as a distinct ethnic group. Whereas in 1850 there were 156 Germans in Oregon, there were only 45 Frenchmen. And in 1910 when there were 17,957 Germans and an additional 5,241 Austrians (not all necessarily German-speaking), the Swedes numbered just 10,099. It is also interesting to note that the other sizeable immigrant groups were from English-speaking countries--Ireland, England and Canada (English).

Thus far the numerical significance of the Germans in the mass population of Oregon has been presented on a continuum. To really appreciate the Germanic element as inherent to the make-up of Oregon, one must also envision it in terms of the rippling effect of an ever-widening circle. The impact of any foreign element is not only increased by the influx of additional foreign-born but also by the birth of their children on American soil. For statistical purposes these offspring are considered native-born. Recalling the Kaseberg family as an example, socially they might have been known as the German family down the street. However, only Mr. and Mrs. Kaseberg were officially tabulated as Germans. Their eight children were native-born American citizens. Socially there were ten Germans down the street, but statistically there were only two. Any consideration of assimilation, reception and contribution to the adopted country must take this into account. The native-born of foreign stock were numerous enough to increase the visibility and impact of the foreign cultures and values dramatically.

From 1870 on, the census has inquired about parentage

in order to more accurately ascertain the contribution of the foreign-born to the make-up of the total population. The census classification of foreign stock includes natives of foreign parentage, natives of mixed parentage (having one foreign parent and one native parent) and the foreign-born. At the time of the first inquiry, the foreign-born constituted thirteen percent of the total population of Oregon while the foreign stock accounted for twenty-three percent. The ratio of the foreign stock to the total population rose to thirty-one percent in 1880, thirty-four percent in 1890, thirty-six percent in 1900 and fell slightly to thirty-five percent in 1910.<sup>7</sup> From 1880-1910 approximately one-third of all Oregonians were direct products of foreign cultures and values.

The size of the German stock in Oregon from 1880-1910 is indicated in the following table:

TABLE I

THE GERMAN POPULATION OF OREGON AS REFLECTED BY  
GERMAN IMMIGRANTS AND GERMAN STOCK, 1880-1910

	German immigrants		German stock	
	Number	Percentage of total population	Number	Percentage of total population
1880	5,034	2.88%	11,788	6.74%
1890	12,475	3.98%	27,262	8.69%
1900	13,292	3.21%	36,412	8.81%
1910	17,957	3.45%	53,359	7.93%

Based on Census Reports.

Taking the German stock into consideration, the German population of Oregon was actually double and triple the size indicated by the number of German-born.

Having established the prominence of the Germans among the foreign cultures in Oregon, it is now appropriate to take somewhat of an about face. The German-Oregonians were really not all that numerous. Oregon was a leading state in terms of the German element of its foreign-born population, one of twenty-seven states and territories in 1900 and still one of twelve in 1920.<sup>8</sup> But Oregon was never home for even as much as one percent of the German-American population. This is the same phenomenon that was noted in the preceding chapter's discussion of the plausibility of the German as a pioneer. It too necessitates the same comparison of the various elements of the Oregon population with those of the United States' population.

From 1850-1910 the proportion of the foreign-born to the total population was in Oregon within a percentage point or two of that of the United States. Likewise the Germans represented a comparable percentage of the total population in both Oregon and the United States. The critical comparison here is that Oregon itself never held as much as one percent of the total population of the United States during the time under consideration. (See Appendix B for a detailed comparison.)

Because the elements of Oregon's population were proportionate to those of the United States and yet few were

indeed drawn to Oregon, one could well look for similar motivations among the foreign-born and native-born. That so few felt compelled to leave or migrate beyond the Midwest, those motivations were probably rooted in Oregon. If Oregon itself was the attraction, than those individuals who responded to it, including the German-Oregonians, can be described by their common expectations as well as by their separate cultural heritages.

A consideration of the rates of growth of the various elements makes this supposition even more apparent. As one would surmise, the total population of Oregon increased at a much faster rate than that of the United States. The foreign-born element in Oregon increased at an even higher rate than the total population did until 1900, whereas the growth of the same element in the United States reflected the ebb and flow of immigration. Until 1900 the German-born population of Oregon increased even more dramatically than either the foreign-born or the total population did. (See Appendix C.) The German-Oregonians did not reflect the growth pattern of the German-Americans.

As demonstrated in the following figures, both in Oregon and the United States as a whole, the rate of growth of the German population had two peaks that coincided with the high-points of the German immigration in 1860 and 1890. However, in Oregon there were two additional peaks in 1880 and 1890. Both of these followed the pinnacles of immigration by twenty years.

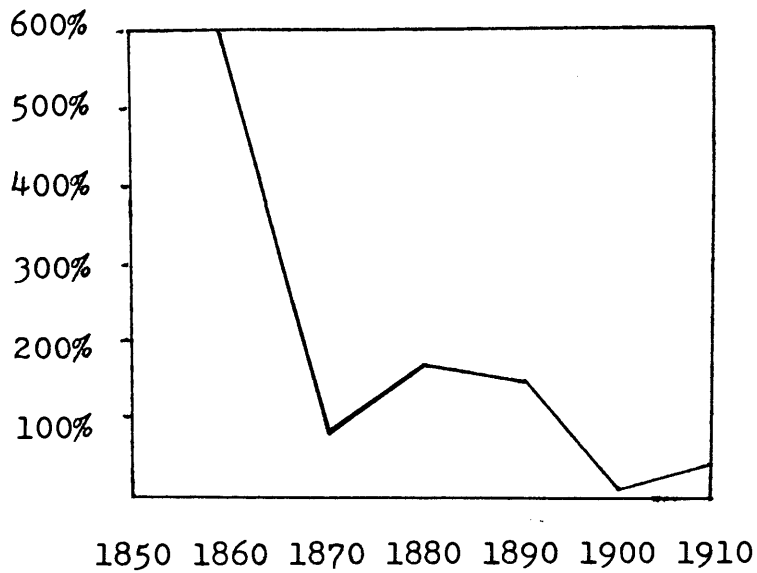
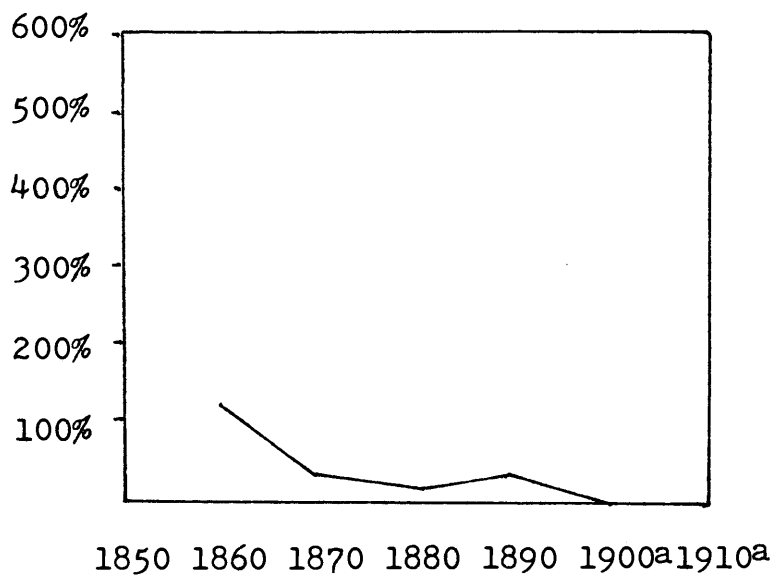
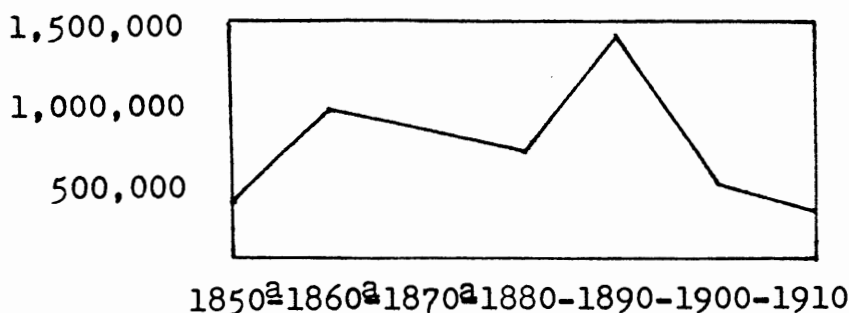


Figure 8. Growth rate of the German population in Oregon, 1850-1910.



<sup>a</sup> In 1900 the German population actually decreased by 4.16% and in 1910 by 13.41%.

Figure 9. Growth rate of the German population in the United States, 1850-1910.



Sources: Census Report, 1890, I, Pt. 1, lxxx; Census Report, 1900, I, Pt. 1, cii; Census Report, 1910, I, 789.

<sup>a</sup> Until 1868 no distinction was made between immigrants and alien passengers. However, these figures can be considered approximations of the number of immigrants. With the exception of the period of the Civil War, return passages prior to 1868 were not very numerous. (Census Report, 1880, p. 459.)

Figure 10. Number of German immigrants to the United States, 1850-1910.

The 1860 and 1890 growth peaks of the German population in Oregon appear to reflect the flow of German immigration to the United States and lead the observer to ask about the motives behind emigration. However, further investigation reveals that these common peaks are almost entirely coincidental. In fact, the mass emigration in the decades 1851-1860 and 1881-1890 may be more accurately reflected in Oregon 20 years later, in the census years 1880 and 1910, respectively. The circumstances that prompted the Germans to emigrate enmass serve to ascertain the expectations of the German immigrant in general, but specific developments in Oregon were the bait that lured Germans further westward. Indeed, the reasons for emigrating, as generally presented by scholars of German-America, are in terms of the drawing power of the United States: America was the

haven of economic opportunity and political and religious freedom.<sup>9</sup>

The need to consider the calling cards of Oregon arises from the larger question of what motivated the Germans to emigrate to America. None of the observations explains the phenomenal growth in Oregon. The slavery issue is most illustrative of this point. It is ironic that this question of oppression versus freedom coincided with the first large wave of German immigration, because that wave was largely characterized by the arrival of the political exiles of the failed Revolution of 1848. Slavery was a contradiction to their expectation of democratic freedom. The perplexity of the situation in which they found themselves was expressed by Carl Schurz, one of the most famous of the Forty-eighters, in a letter to a friend in Europe:

Here you see the principle of individual freedom carried to its ultimate consequences: voluntarily made laws treated with contempt. . . Here is a party that calls itself Democratic and is at the same time the mainstay of the institution of slavery. . . .

The democrat just arrived from Europe, who has so far lived in a world of ideas and has had no opportunity to see these ideas put into actual, sound practice will ask himself, hesitatingly, Is this, indeed a free people? Is this a real democracy? Is democracy a fact if it shelters under one cloak such conflicting principles? Is this my ideal?<sup>10</sup>

It is estimated that the political refugees like Carl Schurz numbered between four thousand and ten thousand.<sup>11</sup>

Others may have been less politically conscious. But there were also many young men who emigrated to avoid military conscription, whether or not for political reasons.



They too found themselves in a situation contrary to their expectations. If war erupted, their service in the military would be needed. However, none of the evidence regarding the German-Americans' response to the slavery issue indicates that it would have been a primary reason for the simultaneous wave of Germans into Oregon.

The Germans themselves did not own slaves even when they lived in the slave states, but they were not abolitionists. Their first concern was for the preservation of the Union. Whereas it is generally agreed that the slavery issue prompted the German immigrants, to a large extent, to switch their party alignment from the Democrats to the Republicans, any further response is not so clear. According to Hawgood, any German who fought in the Civil War on either side generally did so because it was easier than not.<sup>12</sup> But Wittke notes in a more applauding tone the participation of 177,000 Germans.<sup>13</sup> In either case, whether the Germans championed the cause or rode the wave of least resistance, neither theory suggests that the Germans would have felt compelled to move away from the hot spot. It is certainly not a factor to be excluded as a reason for some, but it was not a major impetus.

The cases of two German-Oregonians reflect this point. Johann Kaseberg had emigrated in order to avoid the military conscription, yet he later served in the Union Army, some twenty years before he migrated to Oregon.<sup>14</sup> Immigrant Gottfried Koecke wrote in his diary: "The present time is notably bad because of the problems in the South."<sup>15</sup>

That was in 1860, presumably in Iowa. Koecke arrived in Wallowa County, Oregon, in 1891.

The coincidental nature of the peaks of German immigration and of the growth pattern of the German population in Oregon is even more sharply drawn by a comparison of the latter with the total population of Oregon. Although the growth rate of the German factor was periodically substantially higher than that of the total population, the rates for both elements increased and decreased precisely during the same decades. The following diagram of the growth rate of the total population of Oregon illustrates exactly the same pattern as that of the German-Oregonians drawn in Figure 8.

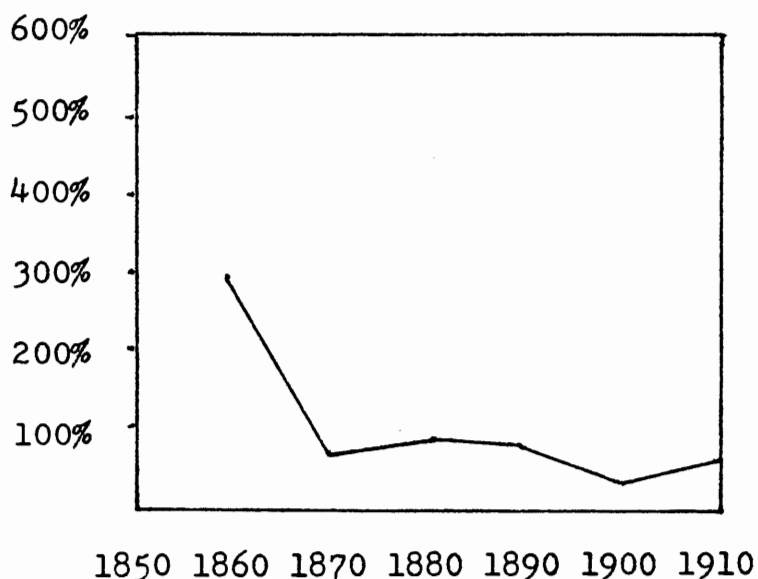


Figure 11. Growth rate of the total population of Oregon, 1850-1910.

The migratory experience of Americans, as set forth by Dorothy Johansen, could aptly describe the migratory pattern of the German-Oregonians.<sup>16</sup> Migrations of the native-born to

Oregon stemmed largely from the Midwest. From 1860-1880 Missouri and Illinois were the chief states of origin. By 1910 migrations to Oregon originated primarily in Iowa, Illinois and Missouri.<sup>17</sup> These were not, however, the states of birth of most of the migrants. Historically, greater numbers of Americans have migrated from the state of their birth to adjacent states while lesser numbers have continued to greater distances. In this regard, Johansen applies Samuel A. Stouffer's theory of contemporary migration:

the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.<sup>18</sup>

The opportunities at the far end were the pull-factors. Johansen suggests that they were far more important in the American experience than the push-factors. Furthermore, individuals who responded to the same pull-factors, especially those at the greatest distances, can be expected to have similar characteristics and differ less than those who did not respond.<sup>19</sup>

Statistically many similarities between the Germans of Oregon and the native-born are evident: the presence of the Germans in Oregon has been as consistent as the presence of the native-born; less than one percent of the German immigrants and the American population were drawn to Oregon; most of both migrated from an original stopover in the Midwest; and German-Americans and native-born Americans alike were attracted to Oregon in simultaneous movements, suggesting

pull-factors of common interest. From these observations some assumptions regarding the characteristics of the German-Oregonians can be generated. The German-Oregonians probably differed from the German Midwest settlers, as the migrant native-born Oregonians differed from those who remained in the Midwest. German-Oregonians and native-born, migrant Oregonians probably differed less than German-Americans and Midwesterners. Johansen's theory is conceivably applicable to both the Germans among the Germans and also to the Germans compared to the American migrants even though they packed along such culturally different baggage. If these assumptions are accepted, than a fairly high degree of assimilation can be expected.

An analysis of historical events in Oregon with the intent of interpreting pull-factors yields only one occurrence that the Germans and native-born Americans did not share. That was the establishment of the Aurora Colony in 1856. It was a religious communal society founded and led by Dr. William Keil, a German immigrant. In all, Keil led 5 wagon trains from his original settlement in Bethel, Missouri. By 1867 the population of the Aurora Colony reached 600. It is difficult, though, to assess the significance of this number in relationship to the German-Oregonian population that numbered between one thousand and eighteen thousand at that time. Aurora was ethnically a German community, but it appears that a large percentage of its settlers were not immigrants themselves. Likewise, the extent to which the Aurora colonists

were philosophically representative of German-Oregonians is questionable because of the very nature of their organization. Their purpose, according to colonist Jacob Miller, was to work and live communally "in order that each, with all natural wants secured by the community, 'might live nearer God.'"<sup>20</sup> They formed a separate entity not because of any inherent cultural values but because of a religious ideal which was not necessarily held in common with other Germans. The colony disintegrated formally with the death of Dr. Keil in 1877. Even the colonists themselves assessed Dr. Keil's dynamic and magnetic personality as the bond that had made their commune workable.<sup>21</sup> This, however, is not meant to undermine the contributions of Aurora, as a German element, to Oregon. They were considerable and deserve mention before discussing what attracted the Aurora colonists as well as other settlers to Oregon in the 1850's.

One might expect Aurora to have been an exclusive society, but the philosophy of helping one another was generously applied to outsiders as well. They were not social isolationists. They would put up travelers and care for the families of vagabonds, too, without expecting them to become members.<sup>22</sup>

The profitable little society was equally significant to the culture, economy and politics of the day. The Aurora bands, orchestras and choir enjoyed a wide reputation in Oregon for their excellent music. The bands performed at celebrations and political meetings and repeatedly won top

honors at the Oregon State Fair in Salem. They were even invited by Ben Holladay to accompany and perform for him and his party on a promotional tour for his Oregon Steamship Company. Not only did the Aurora musicians entertain outside of their community, but they also drew audiences to their settlement. Combined with musicianship and warm hospitality, the establishment of a restaurant, hotel and a park made for all the ingredients for Aurora to become a popular summer resort.

Economically Aurora was organized to provide for the needs of its colonists. Surplus goods from the saw mill, grist mill, gardens and tannery were sold through their general merchandise store to outsiders. The profits were then put into a general treasury to buy what they could not produce themselves. They were a thrifty people but not tight with their resources. Actually, Dr. Keil was a rather shrewd businessman. For instance, on their arrival in Aurora, the colonists had no fruit of their own so Dr. Keil bought apples from neighboring farmers. He instructed his families to save the apple parings to make vinegar which was then sold. The colonists had their apples, the larger community gained vinegar. It was a mutually beneficial relationship that contributed in a larger way to the development of the land and economy in Marion and Clackamas counties.

Even politically the Aurora colonists were not social isolationists but actively involved in the political process of Oregon. From their number came two county commissioners,

a county treasurer, a county clerk, a mayor of Salem and several members of the legislature.

The involvement of this idealistic society in the larger community of Oregon demonstrates a common bond with the native-born. Even their migratory pattern is similar. They were German immigrants or German stock born in other states, primarily Pennsylvania, who collectively migrated to Missouri and from there to Oregon. Keil's choice of Oregon, specifically the site of Aurora, was partially based on the very same reasons that probably attracted the majority of Oregonians during the first growth crest that swelled from 1850 to 1860: land. Particularly attractive was the availability of inexpensive or free, fertile land in a mild climate. Keil was also concerned with finding land that was not isolated from trade opportunities with the rest of the world.<sup>23</sup> The Willamette Valley fulfilled all of these criteria.

The natural attractiveness of the Willamette Valley and the steam transportation potential on both the waterways of the Willamette and the Columbia account for the density of the population primarily in the Valley and secondarily along the Columbia Basin. (See Appendix D for population distributions.) But an act of Congress was a major inducement to native-born and foreign-born alike to emigrate to Oregon. By 1855, the expiration date of the Oregon Donation Act of 1850, "the lands of Western Oregon, considered the only fertile lands in the region according to the practices and information of the day, had been taken up," in the view of an Oregonian

editorial in 1906.<sup>24</sup> The act granted 320 acres outright to every settler over the age of eighteen who was a citizen or declared his intention to become one before December 1, 1851, and who had occupied and cultivated his land for four consecutive years. A settler's wife was granted the same amount. From 1850-1855 a lesser amount of 160 acres was available to new settlers who were citizens and twenty-one years of age. Wives of claimants were likewise qualified for 160 acres.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, another pocket of German and native-born population appeared in the Rogue River area. This suggests that the modest gold rush of 1852 in that region attracted those of an adventurous, risk-taking nature.

A singular development, the railroad, was the major impetus for growth during the 1871-1890 decades. The facets involved in the interplay between railroad development and population growth were, however, numerous. At both ends of the track, from visions and capital to migrant response to opportunities, were both Americans and Germans. It is interesting that the pull-factor, which was largely responsible for the growth of the German-Oregonian population, was partly financed by German capital from abroad and orchestrated by the vision and genius of a German immigrant. The latter, Henry Villard, had never even been to Oregon before he stumbled into a new career as railroad entrepreneur. Thus, the contributions of Germans to the development of Oregon were both from without and within, both on a grandiose scale and subtly because of their very presence.



The saga of Henry Villard is inextricable from the history of the railroad and the development of Oregon. The impact of his achievement, as noted by Ray Allen Billington, was nothing short of phenomenal:

His genius had rescued the Northern Pacific Railroad from financial chaos and extended its tracks westward to link the Pacific seaboard with the Mississippi Valley. His vision had opened the Pacific Northwest to the world's commerce and assured it of perpetual growth and prosperity. His energy had laid the basis for the extension of the farming frontier across an unpeopled domain that dwarfed many of Europe's nations. From Minneapolis to Portland he was hailed as a savior who had opened the gates into a golden future that would everlastingly benefit the people of the Northwest and of the whole country.<sup>26</sup>

Villard had been sent to Oregon in 1874 by the German bondholders of the Oregon and California Railroad Company.<sup>27</sup> They were concerned about their investments because the Panic of 1873 had threatened the company with bankruptcy. Villard quickly saw that the plans of the railroad company to link San Francisco with Portland competed for trade with the Oregon Steamship Company, which also operated between those two ports. He therefore recommended a merger and was elected president of the new liason. Villard's modus operandi rested on acquiring and merging. By 1879 he had acquired the Oregon Steamship Navigation Company, which operated on the Columbia River. From that he organized the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company and began laying track eastward from Portland along the Columbia. In order to secure his vision of an east-west railway with Portland as the western terminus, Villard again checked the competition by acquiring control of the Northern Pacific, which

had been heading westward with plans for track on the other side of the Columbia and a terminus in Puget Sound. The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company built from Portland to Wallula Junction. The Northern Pacific laid track between Wallula Junction and Bismarc, meeting near Helena, Montana. The east-west connection was completed in 1883, just nine years after Villard had first come to investigate the situation in Oregon.

Villard's genius shone as well in his intensive promotional campaign. The success of the railroad would depend on a population to use it for personal transportation and trade. Settlers, markets and capital were the three ingredients needed for both railroad and land development. Thus immigration boards to promote settlement in new frontiers were not new. Portland had created the Board of Statistics, Immigration and Labor Exchange in 1869.<sup>28</sup> The Oregon State Board of Immigration was organized in 1874. The title of a pamphlet published by the latter clearly indicates the function of the Board: Oregon: Facts Regarding Its Climate, Soil, Mineral and Agricultural Resources, Means of Communication, Commerce and Industry, Laws, Etc., Etc. For the Use of Immigrants.<sup>29</sup> But Villard did not leave the work of promoting settlement to outsiders. He strategically placed bureaus in Portland and Boston, the port of entry and a commercial center, to disseminate information about the Oregon country. Booklets were printed in German, Norwegian and Swedish as well as in English, and notices appeared in

European newspapers. By 1883, when he was also in control of the Northern Pacific, Villard had 124 general agents placed in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland and Germany as well as 831 local agents in Great Britain.

To check the competition from promoters for California, Villard established offices in Omaha and Topeka, the two locations where he could intercept migrants headed for California. Villard's agents even moved right into the enemy's camp, California.

The activity of these agencies and agents is attested to in the yearly reports of the Committee for the Protection of the Bondholders of the Oregon and California Railroad. In 1874, their first year of operation, the Portland bureau distributed eleven thousand English booklets and one thousand German booklets. Boston issued twenty thousand booklets in English and five thousand in German. In 1882 Villard's re-organized land department of the Northern Pacific circulated 2,500,000 pieces of information.

The results are not statistically verifiable, but ample clues to the success of Villard's energetic campaign are evident. For instance, the committee reports estimated more than twelve thousand immigrants settled in Oregon in 1876 and another eighteen thousand arrived in 1877 alone. The effect was even felt by the competition in California. An article in the November 8, 1881 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle described the chagrin of the California promoters:

Those people who watch the prosperity of our state

with jealous eye have lately been surprised and chagrined to see a heavy tide of emigration diverted toward Oregon and Washington Territory. The good fortune of Oregon flows from the source of all good luck - hard indefatigable labor. It is not the blindness of the immigrants to the natural attractions of California, but the industry of Oregon agents that robs us of the laboring thousands that seek our shores. In a nook on Battery Street, made discernible by a signboard greatly disproportionate to the size of the crevice, one may obtain in a fifteen minute chat a full explanation of the fondness of immigrants for the wet slopes of the Cascade Mountains and the solitary banks of the great Columbia.<sup>30</sup>

Villard's promotional campaign went even further. The completion of the railroad was celebrated on a grandiose scale: the elite among the world's elite--government officials, commercial leaders and renowned journalists--were invited on an all-expense paid trip across the North American continent on the Northern Pacific Railway. Villard was anxious for world recognition and further financial backing because the costs of completion had far exceeded the estimates.

One of Villard's guests, Nicholaus Mohr, publisher of the Bremen Weser Zeitung, published his memoirs of that excursion. It was a gala event punctuated by parades staged in every major city along the route. Portland's extravaganza was no less impressive than those produced by the more established cities in the Midwest. Perhaps because of the youthful age of the city and its frontier location, Portland's performance was all the more astonishing. As Mohr recollected:

Portland is well on the way to occupying the dominant position on the Pacific Ocean. The incredible natural resources of Oregon find their natural center and outlet here. . . . .  
Once again we marveled at the complexity of business already in progress here--agriculture, the lumber

trade, saw mills, and furniture factories all play a major role here.<sup>31</sup>

This is certainly a visual testimonial to the statistical growth of the population.

Mohr also testified to the stature of the Germans in Oregon. German participants in the welcoming parade included the German Rifle Club, the German Mutual Aid Society, the German Gymnastic Society, the Harmony Singing Society, a troop of the Knights of Pythias of the Germania Lodge Number Twelve and representatives of German businesses such as bakers and cabinet makers. Mohr also depicted three German floats. One of them was a display of samples of every plant that grew in Oregon. Another featured Gambrinus, "Germania's most beloved offspring:"

A huge beer barrel served as the throne for the inventor of that great drink, and all around the beer barrel sat the members of a beer drinking society.<sup>32</sup>

Indicative of the German and American migrations to Oregon, of the magnitude, pattern and expectations held in common, was the float that, as Mohr recalled, depicted the emigration and reception of the Germans in Oregon:

They accompanied a float carrying the figures of Germania and Columbia. Certainly this unit was one of the finest ornaments in the procession! Eight knights high on their horses lent a wonderful foreign flavor out here in the Far West. The figures of Germania and Columbia sat hand in hand on thrones of rock--Germania sending forth her children and Columbia graciously receiving them.<sup>33</sup>

### CHAPTER III

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GERMAN-OREGONIANS AS EXPRESSED BY INDIVIDUALS

Patterns of where the German-Oregonians set up house-keeping, of the type of work they engaged in, of their entering occupations in which English was necessary and of their intermarriages with native-born Americans are all expressions of how the German-Oregonians lived as individuals. An examination of these trends serves to ascertain their motives, interests and priorities. Compared with the same patterns among native-born Oregonians, the collective way in which individual German-Oregonians lived and worked addresses the question of assimilation.

In the consideration of assimilation, the focus of attention is necessarily on the hyphen in the term German-American. As hyphenated Americans the German-born have all too often been thought of by their American-born contemporaries as not quite American. In the early 1900's, the high degree of concentration of German-Americans in the Midwest, particularly in cities; their German-language newspapers, schools and churches; and their societies all drew attention to their being different. During this time of flag-waving Americanism and prohibition, the unfortunate corollary of being different was being not quite patriotic.

Scholars have taken positions on both sides of the hyphen.

For Hawgood, the German-born stubbornly resisted Americanization for a whole century, from 1820 to 1917, by first trying to set up little Germanies in the United States and later by trying to render America German--socially, culturally and psychologically.<sup>1</sup> Yet when Luebke weighs the evidence, he finds a particularly rapid assimilation among the German-born in general, despite their large numbers. For Luebke the strong ethnic institutions that they created were fostered and sustained by their sheer numbers rather than by any determined effort to resist assimilation.<sup>2</sup>

In the Oregon experience, the German side of the hyphen could be weighted if one looked only at the concentration of their numbers in one area and at their predominance in specific occupations. Up to forty-two percent of the German-Oregonians lived and worked in Portland alone at the turn of the century when they were also the dominant foreign-born group. One could hardly walk the streets or do business in Portland in 1900 without being aware of the German presence. Nor could one hardly buy a loaf of bread or enjoy a beer without meeting a German, because the Germans were forty percent of the bakers and seventy-seven percent of the brewers in Oregon. In reality, however, baking and brewing only occupied a minute number of the German-Oregonians. Their choices of job occupations and residence were as diverse as those of their American-born counterparts. In fact, the patterns of the population and occupation distributions among the German-born were similar to those of other Oregonians.

This similarity is not immediately evident, though, because the German-Oregonians were much more urban than the US-born Oregonians at a much earlier date. The Germans in Oregon have always resided predominantly in Multnomah County whereas the native-born population shifted to this same urban area gradually. This observation raises the question of motivation. Did the German immigrants choose urban jobs because of inherent clannishness that made them all want to live as an ethnic group? Or did they just happen to appear to be a cohesive cultural group, because most of the job opportunities for immigrants existed in the urban area? An examination of the population distribution in a wider geographical area, of the occupational distributions and of the general trends in Oregon yields some striking similarities between the German-Oregonians and the native-born. Precisely these similarities suggest that the German-born chose their places of residence and their occupations because of available opportunities. The exact extent to which they were motivated by opportunity cannot, of course, be determined. The indication is what is important, and the suggestion that as individuals they had similar motives and priorities as the American-born did.

The first similarity to be observed is in the population distribution of the native-born in Oregon as a whole. The native-born Oregonians lived primarily in the same radius as the Germans did but around a smaller nucleus. As demonstrated in the following table, the eye of both population elements



was Multnomah County, and the bulk of both was within the counties adjacent to the Willamette Valley: Multnomah, Clackamas, Marion, Linn, Benton, Polk, Yamhill and Washington.

TABLE II

THE CLUSTERING OF THE GERMAN-BORN AND NATIVE-BORN  
POPULATIONS OF OREGON, 1870-1910

	Multnomah		Willamette Cluster	
	Native-born	German-born	Native-born	German-born
1870	9.33%	34.08%	61.94%	61.33%
1880	11.97%	31.86%	51.85%	64.98%
1890	19.72%	42.86%	51.37%	72.89%
1900	21.46%	37.92%	49.26%	70.43%
1910	30.70%	45.61%	55.35%	68.64%

Based on Census Reports.

The distribution of both population elements in 1870 is most striking because of the predominance of the German-born in the urban county of Multnomah while just nine percent of the native-born were located there. Yet sixty-one percent of both groups resided in the small radius of the Willamette Valley cluster of counties. This pattern of settlement is directly related to the 1870 pattern of occupations. The vast majority of employed Germans were involved in skilled trades, services, and trade and transportation. All of these are urban occupations. Another twenty-eight percent of the German work force was involved in farming, whereas a full half of

the native-born Oregonians worked in some agricultural endeavor. There is no question that the Willamette Valley is as fertile farm land, a paradise for would-be farmers, and even then it had the additional advantages of local rail and water transportation. So it is no wonder that such a vast majority of the population of Oregon were neighbors in this one concentrated geographical area.

Whether the Germans entrenched themselves more solidly as an urban group because of clannishness or because of availability of jobs is more identifiable when the records of 1870 are compared with those of 1880. During these intervening ten years there was somewhat of a shift in the concentration of the German population of Oregon. The proportion of the German urban dwellers decreased slightly while the German population of the encompassing agricultural counties increased proportionately. The shift radiated from Multnomah County to neighboring Washington County and Clatsop County in the Northwest and also to neighboring Clackamas County and Wasco County to the East. At the same time, a much higher proportion of the German-Oregonians were now involved in agricultural pursuits. Whereas in 1870 just twenty-two percent of the German-born work force was listed under the occupational heading of agriculture, by 1880 this figure had risen to thirty-nine percent.

This shift to agricultural areas and occupations does not in itself say anything about clannishness. It could be countered that rural pockets of German-born were becoming

nuclei themselves. The counter claim, however, loses some of its feasibility when the nature of the agricultural work force is considered. Germans in agriculture were far more likely to be farmers and planters than agricultural laborers. This was also true of the native-born but not nearly to the same degree. Twenty-five percent of the native-born Oregonians involved in agriculture were laborers rather than farmers or planters, whereas the German-born equivalent constituted just fourteen percent.

In order to become a farmer or planter in the Willamette area in the 1870's, a capital outlay was requisite. As noted in the previous chapter, by 1855 all available lands in western Oregon had been taken up. From then on, newcomers would have to buy out the oldtimers. With the development of transportation systems, the land already occupied became even more valuable, more expensive. In the 1870's, the completion of the rail link between Portland and Roseburg caused farm land around Salem to spiral from seven dollars to thirty dollars an acre.<sup>3</sup> Thus the growth of the German farming community in the Willamette cluster of counties was dependent on individuals having the financial resources to establish themselves.

The concentration of the German-born in the northwest counties accompanied by the dramatic shift of the German work force into agriculture as independent farmers indicates that their choice of residence was at least as much a factor of job preference and economic feasibility as it was of ethno-

centrism. The opportunity was simply not available for them to establish farms among their own kind without having some capital resources. Nor did they appear to be inclined to take on jobs as laborers for the sake of living near other German-Oregonians. This new predominance of the German-born as independent farmers indicates that either many of them had first settled in the urban area of Portland in order to earn the capital with which they could establish farms, or the urban area served as a base from which they could familiarize themselves with the surrounding area before purchasing land. Another possibility is that the great influx of German migrants into Oregon during the 1870's may have been made-up of German-born immigrants now migrating from the Midwest with the capital to reestablish themselves already in hand.

In the ensuing years, agricultural laborers became an increasingly larger proportion of the German work force. Meanwhile the proportion of farmers and planters among both the German-born and the native-born decreased. By 1900 there was hardly any difference in the proportions of German-born and native-born Oregonians involved in agricultural pursuits either as farmers and planters or as laborers. Again the comparison between the two groups suggests a general change in economic opportunities rather than an increase in the number of German-born agricultural laborers because of an ethnic pulling power within any sort of a German agricultural community. The statistics leading to these observations

are offered in the following table.

TABLE III  
PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED GERMAN-BORN AND NATIVE-BORN  
OREGONIANS OCCUPIED IN AGRICULTURE, 1870-1910

	German-born		Native-born	
	Farmers & Planters	Laborers	Farmers & Planters	Laborers
1870	17.57%	3.42%	39.75%	13.16%
1880	30.99%	4.67%	34.61%	13.15%
1890	24.07%	6.45%	27.84%	9.98%
1900 <sup>a</sup>	22.56%	10.05%	21.36%	11.98%

<sup>a</sup> These figures represent the German stock, not just the German-born.

Based on Census Reports.

The question regarding the Germans as a cohesive cultural group cannot be answered definitively because there is a dearth of extant immigrant memoirs. All of the statistical factors indicate, however, that the clustering effect observable among the German-Oregonians was at least partially a factor of economic conditions and opportunities. It cannot be assumed from their numbers in the city that they were primarily concerned with maintaining their own cultural identity and therefore resistant to assimilation. The Germans were also not unique in their proclivity to residing in the city. The statistics of population distribution testify to an increasing importance in urban life for the native-born as well. By 1910 thirty-one percent of all American-born

Oregonians resided in Multnomah County. (See Table II.) Portland's geographic location at the confluence of two primary rivers, the Columbia and the Willamette, gave her a natural edge over other towns even before the advent of rail transportation and furthermore cinched Portland as the choice for a major rail terminus. Had other towns been so naturally blessed as points for distribution of agricultural and mining products, the population of Oregon, both foreign and native-born, would probably have concentrated in other nuclei, because the vast migration between 1880 and 1910 was to a great extent an urban movement. The completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad not only made new lands more accessible to farmers but also created commercial markets for both farming and mining products which in turn created new job opportunities in the cities in all aspects of commerce, manufacturing and services. As Johansen and Gates assess this urban movement:

. . . the cities, farms, mills, and mines all came together and each was related to the others. How intimate the relationship was it is difficult to say. Certainly the years of rapid growth were marked by speculative expansion which had little real connection with the development of regional resources, but was rather the expression of the boom spirit of the times. On the other hand, the lively growth which these communities (in the Pacific Northwest) enjoyed was part of a strong urban movement which made itself felt in every part of the country.<sup>4</sup>

Access to the eastern counties of Oregon along the Columbia River was facilitated by the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Thus the population distribution shifted somewhat in that direction.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN-BORN AND  
NATIVE-BORN POPULATION IN EASTERN,  
COLUMBIA RIVER COUNTIES, 1870-1910

	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>
German-born:	7.73%	9.99%	8.91%	9.46%	7.23%
Native-born:	7.92%	16.12%	16.55%	16.62%	12.45%

based on Census Reports.

The slightness of the shift belies the growth of the region because both population elements grew so dramatically in the state. To even maintain its share of the distribution, the growth of the actual population had to keep pace with the growth rate of Oregon. From 1870 to 1880 both elements along the Columbia River east of Multnomah County increased by more than two hundred percent, and from 1880 to 1890 they doubled in size.

The shift of the German population towards the east is much smaller than that of the native-born population, but the fluctuations and growth rates of both are parallel. This is yet another indication that the German immigrant responded to economic opportunity.

The growth of the population in eastern Oregon reflects that area's reputation for successful farming and, where the land was more arid, for cattle and sheep raising. Indeed, Johansen and Gates state that "by the end of the century Pendleton had become the chief primary market for wool in the United States."<sup>5</sup> And as can be expected, the Germans were proportionately represented among the stock-raisers,

herders and drovers.

Still another population shift among the Germans in Oregon appears to be directly related to economic interests. In 1870 an unusually high proportion of German immigrants, 7.68 percent, lived in Jackson County. This proportion decreased in 1880 to 4.52 percent, in 1890 to 2.81 percent and in 1900 to 2.72 percent.<sup>6</sup> The real German population actually increased here, but Jackson County did not remain as attractive to the Germans as it once was. If a major concern of the Germans had been ethnically oriented, the growth rate of the German population of Jackson County should have at least kept pace with that of the German element of Oregon. It seems, however, to have ebbed with the mining interests in that area. Johansen and Gates point out that by the turn of the century, Baker County had replaced southwestern Oregon as the heart of the mining industry and that as yet unrealistic appraisals of its mineral wealth created a climate of "hopeful expectancy."<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, both the sudden increase of German miners from 82 to 333 as well as the growth of the German population in Baker County in 1900 seem to reflect the renewed interest in mining and the new location of mining endeavors.

The Germans were to be found in every part of the state and in diverse occupations. They flocked to the city in greater ratios than the native-born did, but as the native-born urban dwellers were increasing proportionately, so was the German activity in agriculture. As suitable opportunities

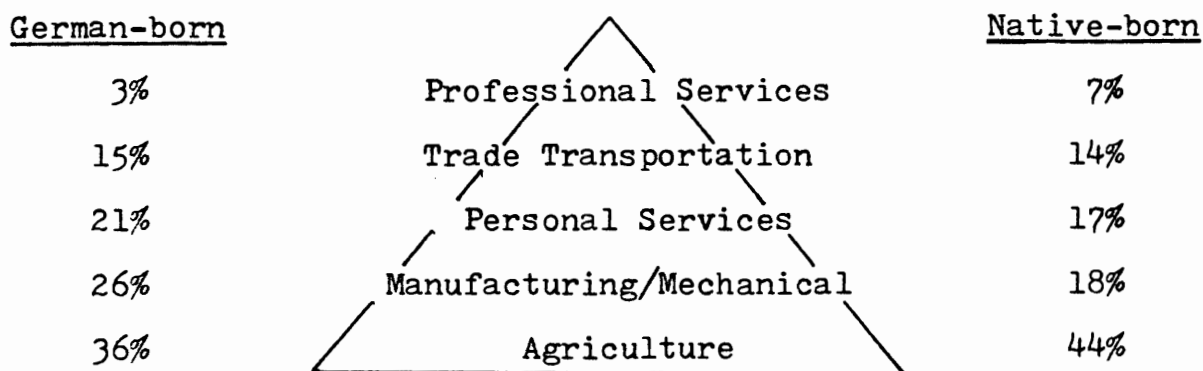


arose, the Germans seemed to take advantage of them, regardless of their geographic location. The concentration of the Germans in Multnomah County reflected the urban movement in general. At the same time that natural resources were being developed commercially, urban occupations became more numerous in trade, transportation, manufacturing and merchandizing and in all the attendant service occupations that support and maintain an urban community. The agricultural industry becomes necessarily saturated before the urban community does. The proportions of both German and native-born farmers and planters leveled off in 1890 and 1900 to the same ratio. Concurrently the sizes of the urban German and native-born population increased. The city offered jobs, and the Germans were no different than the native-born in their desire to nurture their own economic well-being.

Besides being bakers and brewers, the German-born were carpenters, butchers, boot and shoe makers, machinists, masons, blacksmiths, saw mill employees, manufacturers and officials of manufacturing firms. All of these occupations are in the category of manufacturing and mechanical industries, which was consistently the second largest occupational field after agriculture. The numbers involved in each of the specific occupations named were fairly equal. Only in 1890 and 1900 were there proportionately many more carpenters, a phenomenon that was also true for the native-born.

Between 1880 and 1900, the distribution of the employed German-born and native-born Oregonians in the various occupa-

tional categories was in the same descending order of proportion. The percentages given in figure 12 are averages from all of these years so they are not exact for any given time. They are intended only to indicate the relevant size of each classification and the similarity between both population elements.



Based on Census Reports.

Figure 12: Distributions of German-born and Native-born in Occupational Categories.

The Germans were somewhat more employed in skilled jobs that required training, less involved in agriculture and less represented in professional services which required higher education. All professional services were dominated by the native-born, but there were nevertheless a number of Germans in each of the specific occupations: doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, clergy and government officials.

It can be assumed that Germans employed in all categories could generally speak English and therefore were not limited in occupational choices because of language ability. Exact data are not available, but a justifiable inference can be made from the 1890 Census Report which tabulated how

many employees in each specific job could not speak English. Over and over again, where the number of non-English-speaking workers was high, the number of Germans in that field was low. Conversely, where the Germans were the predominant foreign-born element, the number of workers who could not speak English was low. For example, the Germans constituted twenty-nine percent of the foreign-born harness, saddle and trunk makers, but only one percent of this group could not speak English. Of the foreign-born bartenders, forty-three percent were German-born and only four percent could not speak English. Of the foreign-born fishermen and oystermen, the Germans were a minute three percent; seventeen percent did not speak English. The Swedes and Norwegians, who made up twenty-six percent of the foreign-born fishermen, can be contrasted with the Germans. In a few occupations, the Swedes and Norwegians dominated in a disproportionate way because they were one of the smaller foreign-born elements. In these jobs as laborers, sawmill workers and fishermen, there was a high proportion of non-English speakers. By comparison it would seem that the German-born were well assimilated in terms of their inclination to learn English. As seen by the example of the harness, saddle and trunk makers, the job performance itself did not necessarily require English.

As a whole, persons of German extract, employed and otherwise, could speak English. According to the census of 1900, only three percent of all Oregonians of German parentage ten years old and older could not speak English.

Language ability as an element of assimilation is even more descriptive of the German-born when they are compared with the Italians. Twenty-four percent of the population having Italian parentage could not speak English. Such a large difference in ratios indicates even more conclusively a strong desire on the part of the German-Oregonians to adapt to their adopted culture.

The inclination to learn English as a practical thing to do is, of course, all that statistics can indicate. The attitudes among the German-born were probably more mixed. The few self-expressions regarding their attitudes speak to both sides. In the Kaseberg family record, Johann Kaseberg is reported to have spoken both English and German with his wife but only English with their children,

deliberately not teaching them his native language. Since he spoke and understood German and English, his German-speaking pioneer neighbors relied heavily upon him for assistance in business transactions, especially the Guinther family on Gordon Ridge nearby. It particularly disturbed Mr. Guinther that John Kaseberg was not teaching the German language to his children.

Even in the early years of their marriage, when the children were small and they lived in Venice, Illinois, the big brothers balked at taking baby Lizzie for a walk, the reason being that "she's all da time talking da Dutch." John Kaseberg was emphatic about not duplicating German life and language in America.<sup>8</sup>

Even at that, Mr. Guinther's regret may have been because of a sense of loss for the children rather than solely because of a stubborn resistance on his part.

Deutschtum seems to reflect more of this sense of pride in maintaining cultural roots when it refers to the immigrant's

relationship to language:

Even though Mr. Broetje is a loyal American citizen and has given the best of himself to his adopted fatherland, he and his descendants have preserved their German ways, even the third generation speaks only German in the house.<sup>9</sup>

Deutschtum is quick to assert the Americanism of Mr. Broetje and gives no indication that the Broetje family did not speak English or resisted speaking English. The description has the flavor of pride in maintaining the "best" of two worlds.

All of the patterns discussed so far--residence, occupations and inclination to learn English--are factors in cultural assimilation or acculturation. This is the process whereby an immigrant adopts the style and manners of his new society. It is distinguished by social scientists from structural assimilation which is the process of an immigrant's relating to the native-born in his new country as intimate friends. Social scientists such as S.N. Eisenstadt and Milton Gordon theorize that structural assimilation is not likely to occur; Andrew Greeley suggests that there simply are not enough data available yet to make a valid determination.<sup>10</sup>

Intercultural marriages are an aspect of structural assimilation. In the case of the Germans in Oregon, the tendency to intermarry is not clear. Part of the problem in identifying intermarriages stems from the type of statistical data that is available. Also problematic is clarifying whether the native-born spouses of German immigrants

were themselves German-stock or not.

An estimation of the tendency to intermarry can be made from the Census Reports of 1890 and 1900. They tabulated the number of native-born offspring of mixed parentage where one parent was native-born and one was foreign-born. Data were given for specific immigrant groups. Caution must be exercised, however, in interpreting numbers of intermarriages from numbers of offspring. One group could conceivably have been more prolific than the other. Still another problem arises from using the offspring of foreign parents as a control group for comparison with the offspring of mixed parentage. The only figures available for the number of children of foreign parentage are for those born on American soil. It is impossible to know if these offspring represent complete families or if they were the last of the lot, the others having been born abroad. If the latter were the case, the control group would be much larger than it appears statistically.

With these precautions in mind, I have determined the ratio of native-born children of mixed parentage to native-born children having both parents foreign. I did so for each of several immigrant groups because (1) it was necessary to establish some sort of proportion within each immigrant group because of the vast differences in their relative sizes; and (2) a meaningful theory regarding proclivity to intermarriage, or structural assimilation, can only be proposed when the proportions within an immigrant group are

compared with those of like groups.

The proportions of native-born offspring of mixed parentage to native-born offspring of foreign parentage were five to ten percent greater on the state level than in the city of Portland. This seems to suggest that for most immigrants, the greater the opportunity to socialize with members of one's ethnic group, the more likely one was to marry within that group. Comparing the relative sizes of each foreign-born element, and therefore the relative opportunity to intermingle, the Germans stood right in the middle as regards the inclination to intermarry with native-born. A comparison of the Germans with the Italians helps to establish this point. If intermarriages were only a factor of opportunity, the Italians would have been expected to marry outside of their ethnic group far more than the Germans because there were so few of them (only one thousand in 1900). Yet the proportion of their offspring of mixed parentage was far less than that of any other European group. The Italians remained unassimilated in this regard, whereas by comparison the Germans demonstrated a fairly high degree of structural assimilation.

However, it must also be remembered that the German population in Oregon continually renewed itself so that with each passing generation there was an increasingly larger number of first generation native-born. If the German immigrants married native-born of German parentage, they really were not reaching outside of their own ethnic group. In the

few records of German immigrants and the biographical sketches found in Deutschtum, most German immigrant men mentioned were married to women of German stock. This was even the case of immigrant men who had emigrated as children and had grown up in the United States. These examples obscure the statistical indication of assimilation and weaken the comparison with the more obviously cohesive Italians. At best it can be said that the German-born were not as clannish as some ethnic groups, but probably married within their ethnic group when social interaction with their own kind made that a possibility.

The evidence of structural assimilation of the German-Oregonians is inconclusive. Yet the lack of clarity is in itself congruent with observations of their cultural assimilation. In their lives and occupations they exhibited the same motives and responses to opportunities that native-born Oregonians did. Even to the extent that they might have retained their identity as Germans by marrying their own kind, by speaking German among themselves and by the many social institutions that they founded, they were committed to their adopted homeland. Along with every boastful description of the Germans in Oregon, Deutschtum is quick to point out their loyalty and equal pride in being American. They came to America for freedom of opportunity. In their pursuit of opportunity, they were American, and the consideration of achieving their goals in a free enterprise outweighed any tendency that might have existed toward clannish-



ness. They were German-Americans in a sense that put equal weight on both sides of the hyphen. They could not identify themselves with the Germans in their homeland anymore than they could with native-born Americans. Their pride was in being German-Americans, as is most interestingly indicated in the following excerpt from Deutschtum:

The German farmers have also remained sociable. When they gather in front of the church following Sunday worship, they make engagements for the rest of the day. In neighbors visiting each other, it often occurs that ten or more families visit a farm at the same time. In a like situation, a German housewife would throw her hands up in the air and not know where to begin. But the German-American farmer's wife never loses her poise.<sup>11</sup>

The words of immigrant Louis Scholl draw a sharp contrast between German and American life that makes America seem like a paradise. Following his return from a visit to his native country in 1909, sixty years after his emigration, Scholl's impressions were reported in a newspaper article:

The rich of the kaiser's realm live in magnificent castles and seek recreation in their wonderfully beautiful grounds, but the peasant class is poor, very poor. Their methods of tilling the soil are crude and they are hum-drumming along in the same rut of hard work and ignorance that kept their noses to the grindstone 60 years ago. The so-called farms from which they are forced to eke out an existence are but little more than comparable with our back-yard garden patches. To the burghers, America is almost an unknown country and they listened with an air of incredibility to my tales of our fertile fields and productive orchards. When I attempted to talk of 65 bushels to an acre my auditors refused to believe it. . . .

As a lazy husband's paradise I know of no place in Christendom that can head off Germany, for over there all the heavier burdens of life seem to fall upon the women's shoulders. While riding between

Mannheim and Heidelberg, on one of their abominable electric cars, which, by the way, was slower than any train that ever crawled through Arkansas, I saw a woman hitched to a plow alongside a lumbering old ox and her little son following behind in the furrow. Before my amazement at this novel sight had subsided my son, Carl called my attention to a field on the other side of the track in which two women were yoked together pulling a plow [sic].<sup>12</sup>

These caustic observations could have been made by a native-born American. Of further interest are Scholl's comments about the treatment of women. His affinity to America, or his assimilation, went beyond economic considerations. In at least this one moral issue, Scholl could not identify with the native Germans. He and his fellow immigrants were German-Americans.

## CHAPTER IV

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GERMAN-OREGONIANS AS EXPRESSED THROUGH THEIR INSTITUTIONS

Interest in the German-Americans as assimilated or non-assimilated in the fabric of American society would probably not be so great if they had not banded together in so many societies and churches of their own. In addition, their large numbers and their German-language press, which the census of 1880 reported as being all out of proportion to the size of their population, made them a highly visible ethnic group. More than their being the bakers and brewers, their institutions gave them the appearance of clannishness, of being more German than American. However, appearances can be deceiving. The responses of the Germans in Oregon to their press and their organizations show, as their individual lives did, that they perceived themselves as German-Americans with equal weight placed on each side of the hyphen.

A German-language press first appeared in Oregon in 1866 with the publication of the weekly Oregon Pioneer.<sup>1</sup> In 1868 it was replaced by another weekly titled Oregon Deutsche Zeitung. It is estimated to have had a circulation of 800 in 1870. Two more weekly German language newspapers were begun in the 1870's; one, however, was very short-lived. Four weeklies and one daily were published in the 1880's, three weeklies and two dailies in the 1890's and three weeklies in the early part of 1900. Two of the weeklies had a combined

circulation of six thousand in 1890, that of the daily was just five hundred. It is safe to say that in 1890 most Germans read the weekly German newspapers. If each subscription belonged to a different individual, than one out of every two Germans bought a weekly, and one out of every twenty-five bought a daily paper in German.

Nevertheless, the German press does not seem to have been as flourishing of a business as it was competitive. In all, there were nine German-language newspapers published in Oregon between 1866 and 1904: Oregon Pioneer, Oregon Deutsche Zeitung, Oregon Patriot, Oregon Staats-Zeitung (its name varies), Freie Presse, Nachrichten für den Nordwesten, Tageblatt, Oregon Deutsche Zeitung and Deutsches Echo. Some of them were suspended after only a few years of publication, some were absorbed by others. Given this track record, it is difficult to say that the German-language press in Oregon went underground as a result of World War I anti-German hysteria. The Nachrichten für den Nordwesten survived with its regional readership and was published for fifty-four years, until 1941. In fact, its circulation increased from 5,450 in 1915 to 14,000 in 1918. Anti-German sentiment may have had its effect on one newspaper, though. A second Oregon Deutsche Zeitung was published in both English and German in 1917 and changed its name to the Portland American shortly before ceasing publication in that same year.

In addition to the secular German-language press in Oregon, there was a religious one. The Reformed Church put out Pacific Volksbote (estimated 1891-1895). Der Armen Seelen Freund

(1888-1954) and St. Josephs-Blatt (1887-1954) were publications of the Roman Catholic Church. The German Lutherans had the Gemeindeblatt für Lutheraner in Idaho, Oregon und Wahington, published in Seattle, Washington.

The German-language press was undoubtedly important in helping the immigrants in their transition to American life. Handlin believes that it actually helped in the assimilation process in that it was an educational as well as a stabilizing force.<sup>2</sup> This is, of course, assimilation on an adjustment level and does not speak to assimilation in terms of identifying with the host culture.

Another transitional aid for the German immigrants was ethnic social organization. Numerous German clubs were founded in Oregon only to flourish and disintegrate much like the German-language press did. The very formation of the clubs gives the appearance of clannishness, but the causes and timing of their diminishing popularity suggests that the organizations served a limited purpose of adjustment by offering social interaction.

The German-Oregonians were highly organized as an ethnic group. As early as 1857 a number of Germans banded together in the first Portland Gymnastics Society.<sup>3</sup> For lack of participation, it folded in 1871 but was immediately reorganized under broader aspects as the Portland Social Gymnastics Society. The latter precluded a rash of German associations in the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's: the General German Aid Society (1871), followed by its affiliate, the German Women's Aid Society (1886);

the Independent German School and its committee (1870); the Harmony Society (1870); the Portland Arion (1886), a singing society that through a merger with the singing section of the Gymnastic Society became the Arion-Philharmonie (1914); the Order of the Sons of Hermann in Oregon (1889) and its sister organization (1897); the German Military Society, composed of former German soldiers (1894); and the Association of German Veterans of the North Pacific States, for veterans of German wars (1900). The list was even lengthier in that the Sons of Hermann established nine different lodges throughout the state, and the affiliated women's group founded five separate lodges. In addition to these social clubs, there were three German Catholic service organizations. Associations were also founded based on regional emigrations: the Portland Swabian Aid Society (1891) and the Bavarian Society (1911). Between 1905 and 1915 at least nine more local societies sprang up in various Oregon towns. This period also saw the formation of the German Federation (1914); the Association of German-speaking Pastors of Oregon (1916); the Aid Society of the German-Austrian-Hungarian Red Cross (1914); and the umbrella organization of them all, the State Association of German-speaking Societies of Oregon (1908). The record attests to forty-one organizations having been established by Germans for Germans between 1857 and 1916.

Such organizations were a prominent feature of German-American society in all of the states where Germans resided. Many of the state societies had regional and national affil-

iations. The gymnastic and singing societies held competitions both regionally and nationally. Portland's Germans participated in both and apparently made a good showing as the men and women gymnasts won first place as a society in the 1911 regionals and the second place society prize in the 1913 national contest. The singing society participated in music festivals in Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The Germans were not unusual among immigrant groups in their inclination to organize along ethnic lines or in the purposes of their societies. The goals of all immigrant group societies were twofold: self-help and preservation of their own cultures.<sup>4</sup>

The concepts of helping one another in need, cultivating German sociability and preserving German customs and language stand out as the common goals of the various German organizations in Oregon. There was a broad spectrum of social activities to achieve these goals. The societies held dances, picnics, literary readings, musical and dramatic presentations and forums for the free exchange of opinions. Representative of the philosophy of all of the German organizations is the statement of purpose of the German Society in Macksburg:

The society aims at the improvement and refinement of the common culture, the cultivation and preservation of the German language and customs. It stands by the side of arriving countrymen in word and deed, provided that this is desired. Literary and social entertainment and information are to be cultivated. Countrymen of German heart and soul shall be more closely united together for the well-being of all that is German in Macksburg and the surrounding area.<sup>5</sup>

Helping one another had several implications. For most

of the socially oriented clubs, it was generally a financial assistance as needs arose and means permitted. In some cases, the financial aid was a form of insurance for the group members. The Gymnastic Society had a substantial sick fund that amounted to \$9,000.00 in 1918.<sup>6</sup> The Sons and Daughters of Hermann paid out \$134,564.65 in health and death benefits to members and their beneficiaries between 1892 and 1917.<sup>7</sup> The funds were established with membership dues.

The General German Aid Society was founded, as its name implies, specifically to give aid. It operated in a systematic, business-like way, helping the needy and managing the affairs of the Altenheim, which it built in 1911. Between monthly meetings of the board of directors, where business affairs were conducted, an administrative council provided for the needs of both newly arrived immigrants and domiciled German-born. They gave money for rent, medical bills, food, shoes for children and even bus fare to those who could not afford to get work. In the depressed economy of the early 1900's, the Aid Society was particularly hard pressed to fill all the needs that were brought to its attention. In February of 1914, unemployed German-speaking men were provided with 1437 meal tickets and 333 lodging tickets for the Portland Commons. Daily requests numbered fifty to sixty-five. In March of 1915, 690 lodging tickets and 220 meal tickets for the Portland Commons were disbursed before the council had to put a lid on what it doled out. But the Society's help was not limited to financial aid. It seems that the council and



directors made an effort to take care of whatever types of problems that they could feasibly resolve. Job leads were at times given to the unemployed. When the treasury ran low because of the numerous requests, the Society advertized in both German and English-language newspapers for any and all kinds of work. There was even a case of interceding with an employer for a man who had been blinded on the job. That these were assistance efforts on a large scale was acknowledged by the non-German community of Portland. Referrals were made by non-members as well as members of the Aid Society, by the Charity Association, the Oregon State Immigration Association and the District Attorney. In 1916 the Chamber of Commerce even invited the Aid Society to work jointly with the same on providing assistance to the poor.

All of the objectives and activities of the German organizations that have been discussed thus far were directed into the German community. Two organizations reached outwardly. The German Federation was formed for the purpose of political influence in matters of interest to the German-born. The State Association of German-speaking Societies was an affiliate of the German-American National Federation and adopted accordingly the statutes of that association. The fundamental objectives of the state and national associations were (1) to effect the recognition and appreciation of the German-American contributions to the development of the United States; (2) to foster interest in the history of German-Americanism; (3) to strive for and support the intro-

duction, maintenance and promotion of German-language instruction, gymnastics and swimming in the public schools; (4) to oppose laws that impeded immigration as well as naturalization and limited personal freedom unnecessarily and (5) to work for the preservation of friendly relationships between the United States and all German-speaking countries.

All of these organized efforts undoubtedly helped the immigrants adjust to American life. An interesting question, though, is if this sort of adjustment facilitator aided or hindered assimilation. The crux of the problem may well lie in the philosophical basis of the organizations. A social structure in which immigrants are culturally and linguistically comfortable provides them with a basis for emotional adjustment to strange surroundings. Such an adjustment is a necessary prelude to acculturation and assimilation, but at the same time, the adjustment can stop short of assimilation and foster clannishness. If the immigrant functions socially and emotionally in his own cultural network, he may well become adjusted but not assimilated. A further consideration is the reason behind the efforts to preserve cultural heritage and language. Was the motivation a sense of loss and need or an inherent feeling of superiority? This is the basic issue on which scholars such as Luebke and Hawgood disagree.

Adding to the dilemma is a lack of concurrence about the meaning of assimilation. As a term it can be described and types of assimilation such as acculturation and structural

assimilation can be sorted, but the concept is qualitative and really can not be measured. Thus what for one is a rapid assimilation, is for another a stubborn resistance.

Observations of the interactions of the German-Oregonians with their societies offer some interesting insights into how they perceived themselves and the role of their organizations. They were not as purposefully cohesive as the sheer number of their societies and their stated desires to preserve the German culture, customs and language indicate. They saw differences among themselves, their interest in the societies often waned, and many participated only for the social functions. As Luebke says, a few were "Soul Germans" who viewed German culture as the ideal culture, but many more were "Stomach Germans" whose attachment to German culture was materialistic and emotional, often limited to an appreciation for German food and drink.<sup>8</sup>

Most of the German societies were founded along interest lines and even regional differences. Although the stated purposes were held in common, they organized as singers, gymnasts, soldiers, veterans, Bavarians and Swabians. Even the Austrians and Swiss had their share of societies. Only the less populated areas had German societies in general. In this sense, they organized according to their individual interests rather than as a unified cultural group. They also had diverse attitudes towards one another that were rooted in interest or regional differences. Deutschtum reports that the very small School Society was often criticized and ridi-

culed. The descriptions in Deutschtum of the Bavarian and Swabian societies are very interesting indications of how the Germans viewed themselves along regional lines. The "other" Germans considered the Bavarians first and foremost lusty beer drinkers:

Even the Bavarians have their society in Portland. As early as 30 years ago, such a club existed here, but Gambrinus had probably become negligent in the selection of his workers, who produce the noble barley-water. The quality of the beer doubtlessly sank, for after some years the society dissolved.<sup>9</sup>

To be sure, this is a tongue in cheek description, but the author probably could not resist the comparison. Regarding the Swabian Society, the author was just as inclined to resort to regional differences:

During its almost 27 year existence, it has undertaken its task steadfastly with the unobtrusive thoroughness that is characteristic of the Swabians. . .<sup>10</sup>

Another observation that contrasts the attitude of German individuals with the number and purpose of the organizations is the level of participation. At least eight of the societies founded in Portland folded in a short time for lack of interest. The same fate befell the Independent German School, which was established in 1870 as an alternative to what was considered an inferior education in the Portland public schools.

The impulse that sparked the German school experience was part of a national trend. Across the nation German-American parents were dissatisfied with the American educational system. In the same year that the Portland German

School was opened, the German-American Teachers' Federation was formed to introduce German pedagogy in American schools.<sup>11</sup> The spirit of pedagogical superiority was high, and the German School in Portland, which opened with a modest enrollment of thirteen, soon boasted of its own schoolhouse on its own property as well as an enrollment that reached eighty. However, this enthusiasm was short-lived. In 1895 the school had to close for lack of participation. A partial reason for its demise may have been competition from the church schools of the German Missouri Lutheran Synod. The Germans, though, had extremely diverse religious affiliations, and only the Missouri Lutherans were noted for operating their own exclusively German schools. The majority of German children attended either Catholic schools, only one of which was German, or public schools.

Whatever interest the German community had in preserving its culture and language among its youth was neither of a resistant nature nor isolationism in principle. The opportunity for their children to learn German in the public high schools was sufficient. It is most interesting and indicative of the German-Oregonian attitude toward Americanization that their children were fully assimilated in American schools long before the outside pressures associated with anti-German sentiments during World War I could have coerced such an assimilation. What A.M. Skibinski wrote of the Poles is an apt description of the Germans as well:

The immigrant generation is happy to see their youth

absorb Polish along with American culture and take pride in the homeland of their forefathers, thus assured of their becoming better and more contented citizens of America.<sup>12</sup>

The local German societies did not fare so well either. Deutschtum blames prohibition as the culprit. Six of the nine local societies are said to have lost substantial numbers of members when the state went dry. It seems that the societies flourished as long as they appealed to the "Stomach Germans." Those of the weaker German spirit were chastized by Deutschtum, the apparent voice of the "Soul Germans." The Germans of Cornelius did not escape this scorn:

Then the year 1915 drew to a close and with it even Gambrinus turned his back on Oregon in a contemptuous way. For many he had been the leader at the society gatherings and picnics, and now, it must unfortunately be said, more than half of the members deserted the society. They seem to think, "Where Gambrinus is not present, I do not want to be either."<sup>13</sup>

Many festive occasions were shared by the German Society of Oregon City with the societies of Portland at Schnoerr's Park, the meeting place of the former. But then came prohibition:

Thanks to the raging of the reform fools who are responsible for prohibition, the visits essentially stopped. Unfortunately it must be said, that prohibition places the very existence of the German societies in jeopardy. Along with that comes the aversion of the sons and daughters born here of German parents to using the mother tongue. The consequence is, that it is hardly possible anymore to procure the necessary growth of the organizations, since the emigration from Germany has dropped off heavily and soon might stop altogether. The question now is: how can we maintain our societies, our Germanism? When Oregon City became "dry," our society lost members immediately and the loss increased grievously as soon as prohibition swung its

whip over the whole state. Presumably the same situation has occurred among the other societies as well.<sup>14</sup>

Those who fell by the wayside were clearly not committed to upholding their Germanism in any ideological way. For them, the societies served as convenient and pleasant sociable hosts.

As a whole, the Germans were a divided group. The staunch "Soul Germans" considered the dissidents a horrible disgrace:

It is an outrage, that many German-Americans can only be fettered to a society by a beer keg.<sup>15</sup>

Yet even these steadfast Germans showed mixed attitudes. They recognized bad elements among their own kind, although these were all too numerous among the Americans. It was the good German customs, though, that were to be upheld. In the end, a good German-American supported and lived by the best of both cultures:

Strong-minded men endure loyally. . . in order to hold high German-American principles, which are holding fast to everything about the German people that is good and praiseworthy, but at the same time assimilating that which appears great and admirable in Americanism.<sup>16</sup>

That the priority in the German-Oregonian mentality was not exclusively Germanism is also evidenced by the manner in which the General German Aid Society functioned. The minutes of the monthly board of directors meetings show that practicality was a primary concern. The society was able to disburse aid to the needy and operate the Altenheim by conducting its affairs in a businesslike manner. In time it

owned considerable pieces of property which were presumably donated by friends of the Society, or given in exchange for acceptance into the Altenheim. The downtown property was rented to stores and a hotel; lots with houses were likewise rented out. The financial report of January, 1915 listed total property value at \$139,100.00. The properties and the bonds and mortgages that were held added up to a substantial business enterprise. Thus it is not surprising that all of the board decisions regarding the collection and disbursements of monies from rentals and interest reflect a concern for sound management principles rather than cultural considerations. For instance, a load of firewood for the Altenheim was purchased from a native-born rather than a German because it was cheaper. Financial aid to the American Physician's Association for hospital equipment in war-torn Germany, Austria and Hungary was denied because the coffers were considered to be too low. Likewise requests from Reed College to participate in a folk festival, from the Aid Society of the German-Austrian-Hungarian Red Cross to set up a bazaar booth and from the State Association to participate in the publication of Deutschtum were all turned down. These were all social or cultural events and tasks that were not part of the philosophy of the General German Aid Society. Although the directors were of a mind to give a rousing cheer to the Kaiser on his birthday, they administrated their affairs solely within the parameters of their mission.

Yet another interesting testimony to the organizational



pattern of the German-Oregonians is seen in their churches. Deutschtum accounts for sixty-four German-immigrant congregations that were still holding services in German in 1918. As in the case of their secular organizations, the numerous German congregations attest to an ethnic closeness as well as to differences in values. Part of the reason that there were so many German congregations is that the Germans belonged to a variety of religious affiliations. The German protestant churches mentioned above represented nine different synods. What the protestant Germans held in common was their language and a generalized religious commitment. They were, however, quite separative in the form of religion that they chose. On the other hand, the Catholic Germans were more motivated by Catholicism rather than by their nationality. Several Catholic churches were served by immigrant priests and held worship services in German, but only one Catholic congregation was founded exclusively for the Germans. The German congregations were a convenience and afforded comfortable worship opportunities. As such, they filled a vital role in the adjustment process and should not be seen as reflections of German clannishness.

In all of the organized efforts of the German-Oregonians--the German-language press, the social and aid societies, and the immigrant churches--there was a sense of loosely defined Germanism. Other than language and customs, it was a feeling that was present in individuals to varying degrees. Most of all, it was an emotional bond to the cul-

tural environment of their childhood. It was not inconsistent with cherishing Americanism, too. Probably most descriptive of their dualism is, strangely enough, the motto of the Association of German Veterans:

Love to the land, where my cradle stood;  
Loyalty to the land, where I found refuge.<sup>17</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY

The intent of ethnic studies is twofold: to describe the characteristic features of specific immigrant groups and to determine the relationship of particular ethnic groups to the whole of American society. The two aspects are inextricably interwoven. Descriptions of what immigrants did where and how lack the vitality of a human element when such characteristics are not seen in interrelationships with other peoples. Obviously, relationships cannot possibly be inferred without some knowledge about the particulars of the groups involved.

The descriptive features of ethnic groups can be ascertained through the examination of statistics and institutional records. Patterns of migration, residence, occupation and ethnic organization are derived from these resources. Because this type of information can be measured and verified, the resulting descriptive conclusions can be asserted with a good degree of certainty.

Determining interrelationships is, on the other hand, an interpretative activity that is particularly problematic in ethnic studies. Conclusions regarding the relationship of an ethnic group to the host society are based on assimilation, but definitions of assimilation have not been applied systematically.

Interpretations of the degree of assimilation of an ethnic group are generally based on one of three definitions. Some scholars judge an ethnic group to be assimilated by evidence of adaptation or adjustment in practical ways. The criteria of this type of assessment are the collective ability of the immigrants to find jobs, learn English and function with the native-born where they have contact. The second definition of assimilation is the adaptation or assimilation of the manners, styles and values of the host society. It is observed by comparing immigrants' responses to their adopted environment with the responses of the native-born. A mirror-like image is then a sign of assimilation. Thirdly, assimilation is interpreted as the disappearance of the visibility of an ethnic group as it becomes amalgamated into the fiber of the host society. This latter type of assimilation is observed by counting the numbers and kinds of ethnic organizations as well as the responses that are predominantly common among members of the ethnic group. Commonage is then clannishness.

Actually each of these definitions is a level in the process of assimilation. Adjustment or acceptance must precede imitation, and imitation is a necessary precedent to a psychological and emotional immersion. That each level is seen by different scholars as extensive enough to qualify as assimilation demonstrates that there is a total lack of concurrence on the definition, and it is indicative of the qualitative nature of the term. Assessing assimilation

has been an interpretive activity based on what individuals believe can reasonably be expected from immigrants. Some would see the ability of immigrants to uproot their lives and function in a new culture as a remarkable accomplishment in itself. Others seem to expect assimilation on the highest level, which is analogous to thinking that an individual can detach himself from all of the emotions and experiences from the first part of his life.

Throughout my thesis I have continually alluded to factors of assimilation--the historical roots of the Germans in Oregon, the pull-factors that attracted the Germans and native-born alike to Oregon, and patterns of settlement and occupations that show very little difference between those of German and those of native birth. When all of these factors are assessed, it is clear that the German-Oregonians assimilated rapidly and thoroughly by adjusting to and adopting the cultural values found in Oregon.

Structural assimilation of the Germans in Oregon is more difficult to state emphatically because there are too many contradictory observations that lead to both a positive and a negative statement. Today people of German parentage often say that they never learned German in the home because their folks said they were Americans now. But there are also stories of German grandmothers who acted as if they never understood a word of English when the grandchildren really knew differently. These are attitudes that are difficult to interpret and impossible to measure. Such recollections and

encounters also stand in the way when one tries to weigh the statistical and sociological evidence for one side or the other. Obviously there were German-Oregonians on both sides of the fence, those who made every attempt to become American in every sense of the word and those who thought of themselves mostly as German. Most of them were probably fence-sitters, though: German-Oregonians. They were assimilated in that they neither resisted Americanization nor renounced their own ethnic heritage.

The duality of the identity of German-Oregonians collectively is most clearly seen in their numerous ethnic affiliations and in their less than committed attachment to those organizations. They were on the whole merely enterprising people who took advantage of social opportunities made possible by the size of their population. Had they been inherently clannish, the German-language press would have survived at least until World War I and their social clubs would have continued to flourish despite prohibition.

The key to understanding this ethnic group lies in the hyphen. They were not Germans in Oregon but German-Oregonians.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

1 Als Bettler sind wir nicht gekommen  
Aus unserm deutschen Vaterland,  
Wir hatten vieles mitgenommen,  
Was hier noch fremd und unbekannt.  
Und als man schuf aus finstern Wäldern  
Aus öder, düst'rer Wüstenei  
Den schönsten Kranz von bunten Feldern,  
Da waren Deutsche auch dabei!

Gar Manches, was in früh'ren Zeiten  
Ihr kaufen musstet überm Meer,  
Das halfen wir euch selbst bereiten,  
Wir stellten manche Werkstatt her.  
O, wagt es nicht, dies zu vergessen,  
Sagt nicht, dass diesem nicht so sei,  
Es künden's tausend Feueressen. . .  
Da waren Deutsche auch dabei!

Und was die Kunst und Wissenschaften  
Euch heut verleih'n an Kraft und Stärk',  
Es bleibt der Ruhm am Deutschen haften,  
Das meiste ist der Deutschen Werk.  
Und wenn in vollen Tönen klinget  
Ans Herz des Liedes Melodei,  
Ich glaub', von dem, was ihr da singet,  
Ist vieles Deutsche auch dabei!

Drum steh'n wir stolz auf diesem Grunde,  
Den uns're Kraft in Obhut nahm,  
Was wär's mit eurem Staatenbunde,  
Wenn nie ein Deutscher zu euch kam?  
Wie in des Bürgerkrieges Tagen,  
So schon beim ersten Freiheitsschrei,  
Wir dürfen's unbescholten sagen:  
Da waren Deutsche auch dabei!

Staatsverband Deutschsprechender Vereine von Oregon, Oregon  
und sein Deutschtum; eine Geschichte des Staates, dessen  
deutscher Pioniere und ihrer Nachkommen (Portland: Keystone  
Druckerei, 1920), p. vii; hereafter cited as Deutschtum.

The poem is printed in Deutschtum anonymously. However, the

poet is identified as Konrad Krez in Don Heinrich Tolzmann, German-Americana: A Bibliography (New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1975), p. xi.

2 Zweifellos wurde er auch von den Ansichten Martin Behaims beeinflusst.

Deutschtum, p. 8.

3 Somit haben wir zum grossen Teil Astor zu verdanken, dass Oregon, Washington und Idaho heute amerikanischer Besitz sind.

Deutschtum, p. 30.

4 Treue Männer, welche die glänzende Zukunft Oregons voraussahen, hatten sich jedoch in Washington verbunden.

Deutschtum, p. 38.

5 Deutschtum, p. 39.

6 Auf allen Expeditionen nahm Fremont Deutsche als Begleiter mit, die er wegen ihrer Tüchtigkeit und Verlässlichkeit sehr schätzte.

Deutschtum, p. 39.

7 Carl Preuss stellte eine Karte der erforschten Landesteile her und veröffentlichte ferner einen Führer für Auswanderer. Im Jahre 1848 wurden im Auftrage des Senats 20,000 Kopien dieser Landkarte von Oregon und Kalifornien, gedrückt, die in den folgenden Jahren tausenden von Auswandern den trostlosen unwirtlichen Weg nach den Gestaden des Stillen Meeres zeigten. . . . Ein ungenannter Historiker sagt von Carl Preuss: "Sein Name ist unzertrennbar mit der Eröffnung und Entwicklung von mehr als der Hälfte des jetzigen Flächeninhalts der Vereinigten Staaten verbunden.

Deutschtum, p. 39.

8 Im Auftrage des Königs von Preussen überreichte Alexander von Humboldt im Jahre 1850 Fremont die grosse goldene Medaille für Fortschritt in der Wissenschaft. Auf die Empfehlungen Humboldts, der ein grosser Verehrer Fremonts war, und Professor Karl Ritters wurde Fremont als Ehrenmitglied in die geographische Gesellschaft in Berlin aufgenommen.



Ein Beweis, dass auch der König von Preussen, ebenso wie die amerikanischen Historiker, es verstand, die Verdienste seiner deutschen Landsleute zu ignorieren.

Deutschtum, p. 42.

9 . . . es brachten aber fast alle ihre Familien mit, die bei vielen gross waren und viele der heute führenden Männer unseres Staates, die amerikanische Namen tragen, haben als Mütter die Töchter jener heroischen deutschen Pioniere.

Deutschtum, p. 45.

10 Es ist unmöglich, die Namen aller Deutschen festzustellen, die gegen die Rothäute ihr Leben aufs Spiel setzten und denen wir es zum grossen Teil zu verdanken haben, dass wir heute in Ruhe und Frieden unserer Beschäftigung nachgehen können. Die ansehnliche Zahl deutscher Indianerkrieger auf der nachfolgenden unvollständigen Liste zeigt wiederum, dass der Deutsche seinen Mann stellt, wenn es gilt, sein Leben für das Gemeinwohl zu wagen, und welcher hervorragenden Anteil er an der gefährvollen und schweren Pionierarbeit in Oregon genommen hat. Die Liste ist deshalb ansehnlich, weil Oregon damals nur wenige tausend Einwohner zählte.

Deutschtum, p. 69.

11 All references to Handlin's theories are to Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959), pp. 43-46.

12 All references to Hawgood's studies of the German immigrant are to John Hawgood, The Tragedy of German-America (New York: Arno Press; The New York Times, 1970), pp. 23-32. The German immigrant as follower of the frontier is also noted by A. B. Faust, The German Element in the United States of America, with Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social and Educational Influences, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (New York: n.p., 1927).

13 Hawgood, p. 81, notes that the German Belt was defined

by A. B. Faust and stretched east-west from New York to Kansas City and beyond, and north-south from Lake Superior to the borders of Arkansas and Tennessee.

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted here that the 1880 census reported 11,495 more German-born residents in the United States for the year 1850 than the actual 1850 census tallied. (U.S. Census Report: 1850, p. xxxvi; U.S. Census Report: 1880, p. 460.) The later report is considered more accurate because it reflects additional information, particularly from rural areas, that often did not reach the census office in time to be included in the report for the appropriate year. Unfortunately, later reports only summarize new findings from earlier census-taking on the national level. Although we have no updated report on the population characteristics of Oregon in 1850, it is probably safe to assume that some of those additional 11,495 German-born were among the Oregonians.

## CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> Du schreibst mir von Büchern über Indianer wen Du hierher kommst dan wirst Du auf der Reise schon Indianer genug zu sehen kriegen und wirst sie sehen wie sie aussehen die Eisenbahn geht durch Gegenden durch wo noch sehr viele Indianer sind und über den Amerikanischen Krieg kannst Du hier Geschichten genug lesen wen Du hier bist die Hauptsache ist dass du English lernst damit wen du hier bist schon etwas English verstehst da lerne man tüchtig [sic]

Albert Ruppell, Letter to Heinrich Ruppell, 7 February 1884, Heinrich Ruppell Papers, MS, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>2</sup> In order to emigrate, a German had to obtain a

document releasing him from his German citizenship. The release was only valid for six months if the person did not leave the federal German territory or acquire citizenship in another country.

3 Du schreibst mir das die reise wohl sehr fririg ist die ist nicht so gefährlich wie du glaubst sei nur nicht bange es ist nicht so schlimm wie du wohl glaubst Ich schicke dir jetzt die Reise karte dan fährst du von Münden nach Bremen in Bremen kannst du ja Heinrich Weiss aufsuchen wen du zeit hast fahre früh genug von Münden ab dan kannst du einen Tag in Bremen sein von da geht es nah Bremerhafen in Bremen gehe nach den Auswanderen Comtoir von da wirst du weiter befördert deine Kleider pakke in einen kleinen starken Koffer mit guten Schloss es muss gut stark sein und schreibe auf dem Koffer mit farbe H. Rüppell Portland Oregon und dan kaufe eine grosse wollene dekke wo du dich mit zudeken kanst auf den Schiff und auf der Eisenbahn einen Strosak kaufen in Bremerhafen ([written in the margin] den Strohsak lasse auf den Schiffe liegen den brauchst du auf der Eisenbahn nicht) und kaufe dir etwas getronetes Obst Pflaumen sind die besten auf den Schiffe bekommst du genug zu essen auf der Eisenbahn muss du dich selber beköstigen wenn du nach Newyork kommst den kommst in eine grosse Halla die heisst--Castle Garden da fragen sie dich wie du heisst dan sagst du heisst dan sagst du wolltest nach Portland Oregon sie sollten dir bescheiden wo die Eisenbahn ist da sind Agenten die bringen dich nach der Eisenbahn in Bremen kaufe dir einen geräuherten Schinken den hebe auf bis du in Amerika auf der Eisenbahn bist auf der Eisenbahn kaufe dir dan und wan eine Tasse Kaffe und dir Brod eine Hand Tasche muss du die Lebensmittel rein paken kannst auf der Eisenbahn kannst du Brod kaufen wenn du was braucst du kommst nicht über Sanfrancisco du fährst mit der Northern Pacific Eisenbahn derekt nach Portland. . . . ich schicke dir 10 <sup>00</sup> Dollars damit du etwas Reise geld hast sei Vorsichtig mit den Gelde da mit dir nichts gestohlen wird muss Niemad zeigen da du Geld hast sei Vorsichtig auf den Schiff und auf der Eisenbahn damit du nicht zu schaden kommst und Verliere die Reise Karte nich las dir inwendig in die Weste auf der Brust eine Tasche machen wo du deine Werth sachen drin hasst und knöpfe die immer wieder zu damit du nichts verlierst ziehe dich gut warm an damit du dich nich Erkältest bis du die Reise gewöhnt bist [sic]

Albert Rüppell, Letter to Heinrich Rüppell, 20 April 1884.

4 Sherry Woods Kaseberg, Kaseberg Cousins: Germany--Missouri--Washington--Oregon; a Family Record (Wasco, Oregon: n.p., 1975), n. pag.

5 For the migration routes of individual German immigrants, see Deutschtum; the Germans in Oregon manuscript collection of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon; and U.S. Attorney, Portland, Oregon, Records: 1896-1926, Box 7, TS, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

6 Addie Dyal, "The Good Ship Amulet from Germany," Beaver Briefs, 10, No. 2 (1978), 23 and No. 3 (1978), 49.

7 The figures given in the Census Reports for 1890, 1900 and 1910 are for whites only, excluding the Chinese and Japanese. A comparison of the foreign stock at these census years to earlier years is therefore somewhat inaccurate. It is probably not a significant problem, though, because the Chinese and Japanese population actually declined during the latter years.

8 Hawgood, pp. 82-83.

9 For discussions of the trends and motives of emigration, see Handlin, pp. 25-26; Hawgood, pp. 21, 75; and Carl Wittke, The Germans in America: A Students' Guide to Localized History (New York: Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1967), pp.6-7.

10 Handlin, pp. 109-10.

11 Hawgood, p. 3.

12 Hawgood, p. 51.

13 Wittke, p. 21.

14 Kaseberg, n. pag.

15 [D]ie jetzige [Zeit] ist wegen den südlichen Wirren auffallend schlecht.

Gottfried Koecke, Record Book, MS, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

16 Dorothy Johansen, "A Working Hypothesis for the Study of Migrations," Pacific Historical Review, 36 (1967), 1-12.

17 Johansen, p. 3.

18 Johansen, p. 5.

19 Migrants whose communities of origin differ in certain respects but who have the same or similar community of destination will be expected to differ less from each other than those who, having the same community of origin but different destinations, differ from one another. In effect, I am suggesting that, in the American experience, the push-factors in migration theory are less important than the pull-factors; that different communities of destination draw different types of migrants and that in the building of differentiated communities economic and environmental factors are less important than individual psychological factors.

Johansen, pp. 4-5.

20 Horace Lyman, "The Aurora Community," Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, 2 (1901), 86.

21 Jacob Miller and Martin Giesey in Lyman, pp. 87, 92.

22 Facts about Aurora's contributions to the cultural, economic and political development of Oregon are from Robert J. Hendricks, Bethel and Aurora; An Experiment in Communism as Practical Christianity With Some Account of Past and Present Ventures in Collective Living (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1933).

23 Lyman, p. 80.

24 Harvey Scott, Editorial, Oregonian, 7 October 1906, as cited in Dorothy Johansen and Charles Gates, Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 292.

25 Johansen and Gates, p. 291.

26 Ray Allen Billington, ed., Excursion through America (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons, 1973), p. xxv.

27 All references to Villard as a railroad entrepreneur are from Billington, pp. xxviii-xxxi.

28 All references to the various immigration commissions and bureaus are from James Blaine Hedges, Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest (New Haven: Yale, 1930), pp. 112-31.

29 This pamphlet is in the collection of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

30 Hedges, p. 125.

31 Johann Nicholas Richard Mohr, trans. LaVern J. Rippley, ed. Ray Allen Billington (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons, 1973), pp. 193, 196.

32 Mohr, p. 197.

33 Mohr, p. 197.

### CHAPTER III

1 Hawgood, p. 53.

2 Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 1974),

p. xiv.

3 Johansen and Gates, p. 375.

4 Johansen and Gates, p. 395.

5 Johansen and Gates, p. 388.

6 The figures for 1880-1900 include Klamath and Lake counties in order to maintain an accurate comparison. Before the census of 1880, Klamath and Lake were both part of Jackson County.

7 Johansen and Gates, p. 497.

8 Kaseberg, n. pag.

9 Obwohl Herr Broetje ein treuer amerikanischer Bürger ist und das beste was in ihm ist, seinem adoptierten Vaterlande gegeben hat, so haben er und auch seine Nachkommen doch ihre deutsche Eigenart bewahrt, selbst von der dritten Generation wird im Hause nur deutsch gesprochen.

Deutschtum, p. 254.

10 Andrew M. Greeley, Why Can't They Be Like Us?

(New York: E. P. Dutton, 1971), p. 24.

11 Auch gesellig sind die deutschen Landwirte geblieben. Wenn sie Sonntags nach dem Gottesdienst sich vor der Kirche versammeln, so treffen sie Verabredungen für den Rest des Tages [sic]. Man besucht die Nachbarn, wobei es sich oft ereignet, dass zehn und mehr Familien auf einer Farm sich zum Besuch einfinden. Da würde eine deutsche Hausfrau die Hände über dem Kopfe zusammenschlagen und nicht wissen, was anzufangen. Aber die deutschamerikanische Landwirtsfrau lässt sich nicht aus dem Gleichgewicht bringen.

Deutschtum, p. 103.

12 "Louis Scholl SR., Talks About His Latest Trip to Fatherland," Walla Walla, 18 April 1909, photocopy in Louis Scholl Papers, 1852-1909, Oregon Historical Society, Portland,

Oregon.

#### CHAPTER IV

1 The titles, dates and circulation of German-language newspapers and periodicals are from Karl John Richard Arndt and May E. Olson, German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955 (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961), pp. 498-501.

2 Wittke, p. 16.

3 Information on German social organizations in Oregon is from Deutschtum, pp. 168-221.

4 Handlin, pp. 77, 88.

5 Der Verein bezweckt die Verfeinerung und Vervollkommnung der allgemeinen Bildung, Pflege und Erhaltung der deutschen Sprache und Sitten. Ankommenden Landsleuten steht er mit Rat und Tat zur Seite, falls die gewünscht wird. Literarische und gesellschaftliche Unterhaltung und Belehrung soll gepflegt werden. Landsleute, mit deutschem Gemüt und deutschem Sinn, sollen untereinander enger verbunden werden, zum Wohle des Gesamt-Deutschtums von Macksburg und Umgebung.

Deutschtum, p. 210.

6 Deutschtum, p. 170.

7 Deutschtum, p. 187.

8 Luebke, pp. 27, 44.

9 Auch die Bayern haben in Portland ihren Verein. Schon vor etwa 30 Jahren bestand hier einmal ein solcher, aber wahrscheinlich war Gambrinus in der Wahl seiner Arbeiter, die den edlen Gerstensaft erzeugen, nachlässig geworden, die Qualität des Bieres sank wohl herab, denn nach einer Reihe von Jahren löste der Verein sich wieder auf.

Deutschtum, p. 194.

10 Während seines nun fast 27jährigen Bestehens hat er sich seiner Aufgabe stets mit der den Schwaben



eigenen unaufdringlichen Gründlichkeit unterzogen. . . .

Deutschtum, p. 193.

11 Wittke, p. 17.

12 A. M. Skibinski, "Polish Language Supplementary Schools," in Poles of Chicago, 1837-1937 (Chicago: n.p., 1937), pp. 134-35, as quoted in Handlin, p. 90.

13 Dann neigte sich das Jahr 1915 seinem Ende zu und mit ihm drehte auch Gambrinus schnöder Weise Oregon seinen Rücken. Für viele war er bei Vereinsversammlungen und "Picknicks" die Hauptperson gewesen, und jetzt, muss es leider gesagt werden, fielen über die Hälfte der Mitglieder vom Verein ab. "Wo Gambrinus nicht ist, da will ich auch nicht sein," scheinen sie zu denken.

Deutschtum, pp. 208-09.

14 Dank dem Wüten der Reformnarren, die für Prohibition verantwortlich sind, liessen die Besuche wesentlich nach. Die Prohibition stellt eben die Existenz der deutschen Vereine, leider sei es gesagt, in Frage. Dazu kommt die Abneigung vieler hier geborenen Söhne und Töchter deutscher Eltern, sich der Muttersprache zu bedienen. Die Folge ist, dass es kaum noch möglich ist, den deutschen Vereinen den nötigen Zuwachs zuzuführen, da auch die Einwanderung aus Deutschland stark nachgelassen hat und vielleicht ganz aufhören wird. Die Frage ist nun: wie können wir unsere Vereine, unser Deutschtum erhalten? Als Oregon City "trocken" wurde, verlor unser Verein sofort Mitglieder und der Verlust mehrte sich empfindlich, sobald die Prohibition ihre Fuchtel über den ganzen Staat schwang. Vermutlich ist derselbe Zustand wohl auch bei anderen Vereinen eingetreten.

Deutschtum, p. 213.

15 Es ist eine Schmach, dass viele Deutsch-Amerikaner nur durch ein Bierfass an einen Verein gefesselt werden können.

Deutschtum, p. 215.

16 Starke Geister halten aber treu aus . . . . um deutsch-amerikanische Prinzipien hoch zu halten, die eben bedeuten, an allem was am deutschen Volk gut und lobenswert ist, festzuhalten, aber auch gleich-

zeitig das in sich aufzunehmen, was am Amerikanertum  
gross und bewundernswert erscheint.

Deuschtum, pp. 213-214.

17 Liebe dem Land, wo meine Wiege stand;  
Treue dem Land, wo ich Zuflucht fand.

Deuschtum, p. 195.

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APPENDIX A

POPULATION OF OREGON AND UNITED STATES BY BIRTH, 1850-1910

	<u>Oregon</u>			
	<u>German-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>	<u>Native-born</u>	<u>Total</u>
1850	156	1,159	12,135	13,294
1860	1,061	5,122	47,343	52,465
1870	1,875	11,600	79,323	90,923
1880	5,034	30,503	144,265	174,768
1890	12,475	57,317	260,387	317,704
1900	13,292	65,748	347,788	413,536
1910	17,957	103,001	559,629	672,765
	<u>United States</u>			
	<u>German-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>	<u>Native-born</u>	<u>Total</u>
1850	583,774	2,244,602	20,947,274	23,191,876
1860	1,276,075	4,138,697	27,304,624	31,443,321
1870	1,690,533	5,567,229	32,991,142	38,558,371
1880	1,966,742	6,679,943	43,475,840	50,155,783
1890	2,784,894	9,308,104	53,761,652	63,069,756
1900	2,669,164	10,356,644	65,843,302	76,184,578
1910	2,311,237	13,515,886	78,456,380	91,972,266

The figures given in Appendix A, which are also used for the calculations in Appendixes B and C, are based on the census reports, but they are not necessarily from the report for the corresponding year. Especially at the national level, the census reports review the findings of earlier decades. The later figures are generally higher than the earlier ones. When other factors were not involved, the larger numbers were cited here, because they probably reflected returns that came in too late to be included in the original reports. They are therefore likely to be more accurate.

Other decisions regarding which figures to cite or calculate had to be made, because the census definitions of the various classifications changed over the decades. Until 1870 those classified as German-born included the Austrians. In 1910 that classification was enlarged to include Germans born in Poland. As a result of the latter change, there is an especially large discrepancy in the 1900 and the 1910 reports for the census year 1900. The criterion used in this case was to cite figures that described a consistent group in order to establish a comparison. Solely for the sake of consistency, the statistics from 1870 and 1880 were used for the German-born in 1850 and 1860, because the former distinguished the Germans from the Austrians. Likewise, the Germans born in Poland were not considered by using the smaller 1900 figure for 1900 and by subtracting the Polish-speaking Germans from the 1910 figure.

By 1910 the census officials were more interested in



race than nationality. In that report there were fewer descriptive tables by birth than there had been in earlier decades. Also, the foreign-born and the native-born in Oregon as well as the foreign-born in the United States were only tabulated for whites, thereby excluding the Chinese, Japanese and Negroes for the first time.

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF POPULATION ELEMENTS IN OREGON AND THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1910

	<u>Foreign-born</u>		<u>German-born</u>		<u>% of Total U.S. Population in Oregon</u>
	<u>% of Total Population of Oregon</u>	<u>% of Total Population of U.S.</u>	<u>% of Total Population of Oregon</u>	<u>% of Total U.S. Population in Oregon</u>	
1850	8.71	9.68	1.17	2.52	.06
1860	9.76	13.16	2.02	4.14	.17
1870	12.75 <sup>a</sup>	14.44	2.06	4.38	.26
1880	17.45 <sup>a</sup>	13.32	2.88	3.92	.35
1890	18.27 <sup>a</sup>	14.76	3.98	4.42	.50
1900	15.90	13.59	3.21	3.50	.54
1910	15.30 <sup>b</sup>	14.70	3.45	2.51	.73

<sup>a</sup> The 1870-1890 increases reflect the growth of the Chinese population in Oregon. This was primarily a West Coast phenomenon.

<sup>b</sup> This figure excludes the Chinese, Japanese and Negroes.

APPENDIX C

GROWTH RATES OF POPULATION ELEMENTS IN OREGON AND THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1910

Oregon

	<u>German-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>	<u>Native-born</u>	<u>Total</u>
1850-1860	580.13%	401.17%	290.14%	294.65%
1860-1870	76.72%	126.47%	67.54%	73.30%
1870-1880	168.48%	162.48%	81.87%	92.22%
1880-1890	147.81%	87.91%	80.49%	79.53%
1890-1900	6.55%	14.71%	33.57%	30.16%
1900-1910	35.10%	56.66%	60.91%	62.69%

United States

	<u>German-born</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>	<u>Native-born</u>	<u>Total</u>
1850-1860	118.59%	84.38%	30.35%	35.58%
1860-1870	32.48%	34.52%	20.83%	22.63%
1870-1880	16.34%	19.99%	31.78%	30.08%
1880-1890	41.60%	39.34%	23.66%	25.75%
1890-1900	-4.16%	11.26%	22.47%	20.79%
1900-1910	-13.41%	30.50%	19.16%	20.72%

APPENDIX D

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN OREGON,  
BY BIRTH AND COUNTY

<u>County</u>	<u>1870</u>		
	<u>% of German-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Foreign-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Native-born in Oregon</u>
Baker	3.60	9.02	1.94
Benton	3.30	2.09	4.80
Clackamas	5.92	4.80	6.02
Clatsop	3.30	2.61	1.05
Columbia	1.06	1.02	.82
Coos	3.46	3.35	1.39
Curry	.42	.67	.47
Douglas	2.50	3.29	6.29
Grant	4.42	10.77	1.10
Jackson	7.68	9.11	4.12
Josephine	2.02	3.33	.90
Lane	2.34	1.16	6.96
Linn	3.94	2.09	9.38
Marion	10.29	7.89	10.02
Multnomah	34.08	26.59	9.33
Polk	1.12	1.10	5.06
Tillamook	.05	.24	.42
Umatilla	1.81	1.93	2.98
Union	1.60	1.84	2.58

<u>County</u>	<u>% of German-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Foreign-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Native-born in Oregon</u>
Wasco	4.32	3.25	2.36
Washington	1.54	1.92	4.47
Yamhill	1.12	1.84	5.31
		<u>1880</u>	
Baker	2.56	4.29	2.29
Benton	2.13	1.69	4.08
Clackamas	9.99	4.58	5.45
Clatsop	6.14	14.69	1.90
Columbia	.93	.24	1.16
Coos	2.24	.38	2.72
Curry	.46	.59	.71
Douglas	2.74	2.35	6.15
Grant	2.01	4.23	2.09
Jackson	3.73	3.06	5.01
Josephine	.93	1.68	1.37
Lake	.79	.75	1.78
Lane	2.15	1.29	6.25
Linn	4.25	2.36	8.29
Marion	8.58	6.55	8.72
Multnomah	31.86	26.03	11.97
Polk	.77	1.57	4.24
Tillamook	.34	.37	.59
Umatilla	2.90	2.70	6.09
Union	1.19	1.95	4.20

<u>County</u>	<u>% of German-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Foreign-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Native-born in Oregon</u>
Wasco	5.90	8.88	5.83
Washington	5.48	3.88	4.09
Yamhill	1.91	2.34	5.01
		<u>1890</u>	
Baker	1.66	2.01	2.18
Benton	1.57	1.44	3.05
Clackamas	8.29	4.86	4.85
Clatsop	3.19	8.81	1.94
Columbia	1.45	2.02	1.57
Coos	1.28	2.88	2.82
Crook	.31	.33	1.19
Curry	.24	.47	.56
Douglas	1.72	1.72	4.24
Gilliam	.31	.58	1.28
Grant	.75	1.36	1.68
Harney	.42	.39	.91
Jackson	1.98	1.82	4.06
Josephine	.84	.84	1.71
Klamath	.51	.29	.89
Lake	.32	.33	.94
Lane	2.65	1.80	5.52
Linn	3.01	2.00	5.90
Malheur	.27	.52	.90
Marion	7.09	6.08	7.58

<u>County</u>	<u>% of German-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Foreign-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Native-born in Oregon</u>
Morrow	.27	.54	1.52
Multnomah	42.86	42.43	19.72
Polk	.75	1.33	2.77
Sherman	.38	.38	.61
Tillamook	.90	.79	.97
Umatilla	2.74	2.75	4.60
Union	1.69	2.09	4.23
Wallowa	.19	.23	1.38
Wasco	3.32	2.91	2.93
Washington	7.88	4.37	3.69
Yamhill	1.13	1.62	3.81

1900

Baker	2.79	3.38	3.85
Benton	1.13	.71	1.79
Clackamas	9.66	5.02	4.70
Clatsop	2.89	7.89	2.18
Columbia	1.30	1.71	1.47
Coos	1.04	2.25	2.54
Crook	.31	.30	1.08
Curry	.26	.32	.48
Douglas	2.23	1.55	3.99
Gilliam	.18	.42	.84
Grant	.94	1.07	1.51
Harney	.34	.32	.69

<u>County</u>	<u>% of German-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Foreign-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Native-born in Oregon</u>
Jackson	1.82	1.42	3.67
Josephine	1.13	.85	2.00
Klamath	.62	.32	1.08
Lake	.28	.24	.77
Lane	2.03	1.99	5.26
Lincoln	.54	.63	.91
Linn	3.26	2.10	4.95
Malheur	.24	.67	1.08
Marion	8.83	6.10	6.82
Morrow	.34	.50	1.10
Multnomah	37.92	43.41	21.46
Polk	.93	1.26	2.62
Sherman	.65	.49	.91
Tillamook	1.18	1.97	1.10
Umatilla	3.44	2.84	4.75
Union	1.75	2.13	4.22
Wallowa	.32	.27	1.54
Wasco	2.78	2.84	3.26
Washington	7.00	4.07	3.39
Wheeler	.20	.22	.66
Yamhill	1.70	1.74	3.53
		<u>1910</u>	
Baker	1.62	1.80	2.88
Benton	1.09	.68	1.80



<u>County</u>	<u>% of German-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Foreign-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Native-born in Oregon</u>
Clackamas	8.09	4.71	4.51
Clatsop	2.41	5.83	1.70
Columbia	1.11	2.36	1.46
Coos	1.57	2.34	2.77
Crook	.65	.77	1.46
Curry	.16	.19	.31
Douglas	1.83	1.36	3.26
Gilliam	.18	.37	.60
Grant	.37	.49	.91
Harney	.47	.34	.66
Hood River	.76	.99	1.17
Jackson	1.94	1.87	4.28
Josephine	.81	.67	1.60
Klamath	1.05	.87	1.38
Lake	.45	.52	.73
Lane	2.22	2.95	5.55
Lincoln	.55	.64	.81
Linn	2.55	1.63	3.79
Malheur	.45	1.01	1.34
Marion	8.21	5.03	6.09
Morrow	.25	.42	.71
Multnomah	45.61	46.50	30.70
Polk	1.14	1.01	2.25
Sherman	.51	.87	.60
Tillamook	.71	1.12	.92

<u>County</u>	<u>% of German-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Foreign-born in Oregon</u>	<u>% of Native-born in Oregon</u>
Umatilla	2.16	1.56	3.18
Union	1.00	1.22	2.67
Wallowa	.43	.35	1.45
Wasco	1.93	4.19	2.07
Washington	5.64	3.73	3.19
Wheeler	.12	.12	.43
Yamhill	1.95	1.48	3.53