

# ORIGIN AND PRESENT DAY LOCATION OF GERMAN SPEAKERS IN TEXAS: A STATISTICAL INTERPRETATION

*by Glenn G. Gilbert*

## PRESENT DAY LOCATION OF GERMAN SPEAKERS IN TEXAS

The areas in Texas shown in Jordan's map of 1970<sup>1</sup> to be predominantly ethnic German were found independently by means of demographic and linguistic studies<sup>2</sup> still to contain considerable numbers of German speakers, some representing the fifth and sixth generations in Texas (see fold-out map). Based on the United States Censuses of Population for 1850, 1860, and 1870, tabulations of the immigrants' origins within Germany indicated a strong preponderance of North and Middle Germany over South Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. This information supports the findings of various linguistic studies of German in Texas which have revealed a merger of most salient southern dialect characteristics (as well as Low German dialects) into a koiné more closely approaching the middle-northern-based standard language.

The most complete and accurate study to date of the location of rural ethnic populations in Texas is the remarkable map prepared by Terry G. Jordan (see note 1), now Chairman of the Department of Geography at Southern Methodist University. The data for this map was obtained from a variety of sources: 1) the United States Census, 2) locations of ethnic church congregations, 3) locations of ethnic clubs and brotherhoods, 4) ethnic histories of the state of Texas, 5) county and local histories, 6) counts of names on gravestones and mailboxes, and 7) informal interviews with members of ethnic minorities. In addition, hundreds of letters with sketch maps enclosed were sent to ministers and priests in folk islands and to editors of county newspapers.

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"To merit a place on the map, the population in question had to have the feeling of belonging to a particular group ('I am a German-American') and live in close enough proximity to other members of the group to result in the presence of a community, usually centered about a church or lodge hall in the case of the minorities. In areas where the population is ethnically or racially mixed, cartographic preference was given to the largest group present."<sup>3</sup>

In addition to German ethnic enclaves, Jordan's map shows areas settled predominantly by old stock Anglo-Americans (in East Texas counties, further broken down by major state of origin: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Tennessee), old stock Afro-Americans, persons of Spanish surname, American Indians, Wends (Sorbs, Lusatians), Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Italians. Missing are the Acadian ("Cajun") French in Southeast Texas. Also, there is no indication of the complicated ethnic make-up of such urban areas as Houston, San Antonio, El Paso, etc.

Jordan's decision to give cartographic preference to the largest group present, thus producing a kind of patchwork quilt, is often misleading. The landscape looks as if it were carved up into a series of juxtaposed ethnic enclaves. Percentage indications or crisscrossing lines would have been preferable for multi-ethnic areas.

The areas marked in my 1972 *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (map V is reproduced here) as still containing appreciable numbers of German speakers are in moderately close accord with Jordan's map of 1970. The *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* clearly delimits Jordan's western area, "Germans on the rim of the desert,"<sup>4</sup> and the eastern area, "Germans in the cotton kingdom."<sup>5</sup> Also in evidence is the medium sized enclave in northwest Harris County (now practically merged with the northwest suburbs of Houston) and smaller enclaves in Ft. Bend, DeWitt, and Goliad Counties. Outside of the *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* base map, Jordan shows other small German areas in Falls County, in Hamilton County, in the intersection of Runnels, Tom Green, and Concho Counties, and in smaller settlements to the north and west. The extent to which German survives in these places is unknown.

Closely associated with the Germans are speakers of Czech (mainly Moravian dialects), who are often numerous enough to exceed fifty percent of the ethnic mix and are thus assigned by Jordan to separate Czech enclaves. There are also large Wendish islands associated with the German areas, especially in Lee and Fayette Counties, and in smaller numbers in Williamson, Milam, and Nueces Counties. In a few areas Polish speakers from the once Prussian-occupied part of Poland predominate. Together with the Germans, these populations, which were dominated at the time of settlement by Germany (Prussia) and Austria, make up what could be called a central European

cultural area. Most of the Wends knew German well before leaving Europe and probably many of the Czechs ("Bohemians," "Moravians," "Austrians") were conversant in the language also.

The central area of Texas, as represented by the base map of the *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* included here, contains the oldest and often most isolated ethnic enclaves in the state. The majority of the central European enclaves to the south, north, and northwest of this area either were secondary settlements launched from the central area or were settled secondarily from the Midwest (Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and other states). A number of them also represent new immigration funneled through New Orleans or Galveston or coming by way of the northern states.

In many parts of the central area there was relatively little immigration of German speakers after the Civil War. The relative isolation and longevity of the language in this area provides a valuable opportunity to observe rapid changes in a widely spoken world language subjected to extreme social and linguistic pressures.

As is well known, the United States Censuses of Population provide only scanty and uneven data on the ethnic composition and mother tongue of that part of the American population descended from Europeans. And, with the exception of the mother tongue data provided in the United States Census of 1940 (published unfortunately by state and not by county), the coverage worsened as the twentieth century progressed.<sup>6</sup> In compiling his map of 1970, Jordan remarks: "The starting point of the investigation was the United States Census. Unfortunately, while the census does provide detailed information on Negroes and persons of Spanish surname, it contains only scanty data on other groups. The most obvious fault of the census is that figures are listed by counties only for foreign-born and first generation native-born [and only in some years this much]. For this reason, older censuses proved more valuable than recent ones, especially the census of 1910, which was the first to enumerate the native-born children of immigrants on a county basis, and that for 1930."<sup>7</sup>

This gradual neglect of ethnic differentiation by county in the successive censuses reflects the crystallization of a tri-level caste system (European, Latin, African) and the generally rapid assimilation of European ethnic groups into the Anglo or white caste. A consequence of full-fledged assimilation was almost inevitably a loss of bilingualism. Where bilingualism lingers on among an ethnic population, the caste structure takes on a more complicated aspect. Up to now, the state has found it highly desirable to hasten assimilation of all Europeans, thus effecting the demise of bilingualism while maintaining or hardening the white/brown/black caste lines.<sup>8</sup> Given this tendency, it is remarkable that the German, Czech, and Polish languages have survived for five generations and more in Texas.<sup>9</sup>

ORIGIN OF THE EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN SELECTED  
COUNTIES OF THE CENTRAL AREA OF TEXAS

The following statistics were compiled from a re-examination of the individual schedules of the United States Censuses of Population for 1850, 1860, and 1870. The term "immigrant population" is defined as persons who were born in Europe or were born in the United States but were still living at home with their immigrant parent(s). (See below.) Also shown is the number of persons indicating German as their mother tongue from the United States Censuses of Population for 1940 and 1970. The counties are divided according to geographic region and are ordered from west to east and from north to south.<sup>10</sup>

The table on pages 25-27 gives information for twenty-five Texas counties with regard to:

- 1) census year
- 2) total county population
- 3) total number of blacks
- 4) total number of whites (including "Indians" and "Mexicans")
- 5) total number of European ethnic whites (excluding British Isles)
- 6) total number from unspecified areas of Germany ("unspecified Germany")
- 7) total number from North and Middle Germany
- 8) total number from South Germany, Switzerland, and Austria
- 9) total number of "other European."

These nine items are the key to the nine numbered columns in the table.

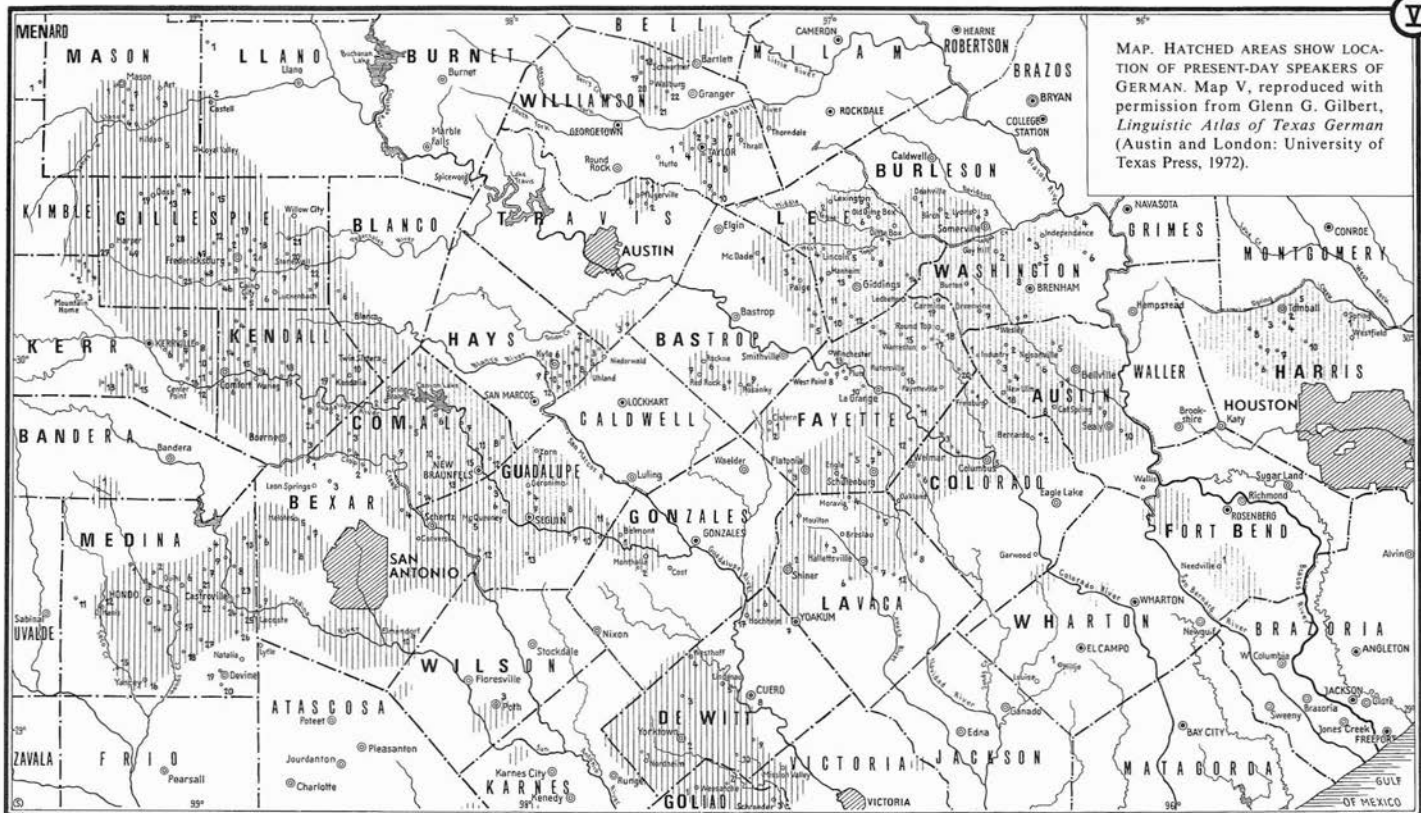
Detailed explanations of these terms and of the methods used in compiling the figures follow the table. A number of atlases and gazetteers were consulted in an effort to locate every geographic place of origin listed in the original census schedules. The most useful were:

*Diercke Weltatlas*, begründet von C. Diercke, fortgeführt von R. Dehmel (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1957). (See especially page 20, "Deutschland, Politische Gliederung.")

*Westermanns Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, herausgegeben von Hans-Erich Stier, et al. (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1956). (See especially page 128, "Revolutionen und Verfassungen im 19. Jahrhundert"; and page 129, "Deutschlands Einigung im 19. Jahrhundert," and "Entwicklung zum Bismarckreich.")

*Müllers Grosses Deutsches Ortsbuch* (Wuppertal-Barmen: Post- und Ortsbuchverlag Postmeister A. D. Friedrich Müller, 1958). (Earlier editions covering pre-World War II and I Germany generally prove more useful.)

*U. S. Board on Geographic Names*, Gazetteer no. 43, Germany—Soviet Zone and East Berlin (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office,



MAP. HATCHED AREAS SHOW LOCATION OF PRESENT-DAY SPEAKERS OF GERMAN. Map V, reproduced with permission from Glenn G. Gilbert, *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1972).

Kilometers 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80  
 Statute Miles 0 10 20 30 40 50

Land Contours: 200 600 1000 1600 2000 Feet

TABLE 1. STATISTICS ON THE ORIGIN AND LOCATION OF GERMAN SPEAKERS IN CENTRAL TEXAS

The nine numbered columns are:

1) census year	Germany ("unspecified Germany")
2) total county population	(percentage)
3) total number of blacks (percentage)	7) total number from North and Middle
4) total number of whites (including "Indians" and "Mexicans") (percentage)	Germany (percentage)
5) total number of European ethnic whites (excluding British Isles) (percentage)	8) total number from South Germany, Switzerland, and Austria (percentage)
6) total number from unspecified areas of	9) total number of "other European" (percentage)

## WESTERN AREA ("ON THE RIM OF THE DESERT")

## Upper Guadalupe Basin and Northwest

*Mason County* (formed in 1858 from Bexar and Gillespie Counties)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1860	630	24(3.8)	606(96.2)	299(47.5)	13(2.1)	240(38.1)	39(6.19)	7(1.1)
1870	678	26	650					
1940	51/5378							
1970	561/3356							

*Llano County* (formed in 1856 from Bexar District and Gillespie County)

1860	1101	54(4.9)	1047(95.1)	136(12.3)	8(.7)	115(10.4)	13(1.2)	0
1870	1379	18	1361					
1940	21/5996							
1970	497/7045							

*Gillespie County*

1850	1240	5(.4)	1235(99.6)	928(74.8)	924(74.5)	0	1(.1)	3(.2)
1860	2736	33(1.2)	2703(98.8)	2296(83.9)	0	2122(77.6)	152(5.6)	22(.8)
1870	3566	77(2.2)	3489(97.8)	3034(85.1)	10(.3)	2811(78.8)	192(5.4)	21(.6)
1940	402/10670							
1970	6002/10553							

*Kerr County* (formed in 1856 from Bexar County)

1860	634	49(7.7)	585(92.3)	287(45.3)	0	246(38.8)	32(5.0)	9(1.4)
1870	1042	90	952					
1940	48/11650							
1970	1448/19256							

*Kendall County* (formed in 1862 from Kerr and Blanco Counties)

1870	1536	101(6.6)	1435(93.4)	927(60.3)	1(.1)	763(49.7)	149(9.7)	14(.9)
1940	110/5080							
1970	1701/6964							

*Comal County*

1850	1723	61(3.5)	1662(96.5)	1408(81.6)	1406(81.6)	0	0	2(.1)
1860	4030	193(3.8)	3837(95.2)	2874(71.1)	0	2785(69.1)	68(1.4)	21(.5)
1870	5283	377(7.1)	4906(92.9)	3769(71.3)	0	3309(62.6)	404(7.6)	56(1.1)
1940	252/12321							
1970	5556/24165							

*Guadalupe County*

1850	1511	340(22.5)	1171(77.5)	433(28.6)	417(27.6)	0	1(.1)	15(1.0)
1860	5444	1755(32.3)	3689(67.8)	1177(21.6)	87(1.6)	1030(18.9)	48(.9)	12(.2)
1870	7282	2534	4748					
1940	369/25596							
1970	5984/33554							

**San Antonio Area and Southwest***Bandera County* (formed in 1856 from Bexar and Uvalde Counties)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1860	399	12(3.0)	387(97.0)	99(24.8)	1(.3)	92(23.1)	0	6(1.5)
1870	649	18	631					
1940	8/4234							
1970	255/4747							

*Bexar County*

1850	6052	419(6.9)	5633(93.1)	843(13.9)	692(11.4)	12(.2)	1(.01)	138(2.3)
1860	14454	1397(9.7)	13057(90.3)	3541(24.5)	644(4.5)	1692(11.7)	506(3.5)	699(4.8)
1870	16043	2303	13739					
1970	30814/830460							

*Medina County* (Castro's Colony)

1850	909	28(3.1)	881(96.9)	642(57.8)	494(54.3)	2(.2)	28(3.1)	1(.1)*
1860	1838	106(5.8)	1732(94.2)	1088(64.9)	0	384(20.9)	151(8.2)	6(.3)
1870	2078	92(4.4)	1986(95.6)	1535(73.9)	8(.4)	550(26.5)	330(15.9)	4(.2)
1940	120/16106							
1970	1762(German), 297(French)/20249							

## EASTERN AREA ("IN THE COTTON KINGDOM")

**State Capital and Secondary Settlements***Williamson County*

1850	1568	158(10.1)	1410(89.9)	17(1.1)	3(.2)	13(.8)	0	1(.1)
1860	4529	891(19.7)	3638(80.3)	49(1.1)	4(.1)	13(.3)	0	32(.7)
1870	6368	801	5567					
1940	185/41698							
1970	2705/37305							

*Travis County*

1850	3138	802(25.6)	2336(74.4)	158(5.0)	135(4.3)	0	16(.5)	7(.2)
1860	8080	3149(39.0)	4931(61.0)	622(7.7)	163(2.0)	312(3.9)	73(.9)	74(.9)
1870	13153	4647	8506					
1970	8833/295516							

**Lower Colorado Basin and Northeast***Bastrop County*

1850	3099	919(29.7)	2180(70.3)	99(3.2)	81(2.6)	2(.1)	7(.2)	9(.3)
1860	7006	2591(37.0)	4415(63.0)	853(12.2)	753(10.7)	30(.4)	32(.5)	38(.5)
1870	12290	5233	7057					
1940	74/21610							
1970	1090/17297							

*Lee County* (formed in 1874 from Washington, Bureson, Bastrop, and Fayette Counties)

1940	222/12751							
1970	2784/8048							

*Bureson County*

1850	1713	500(29.2)	1213(70.8)	24(1.4)	16(.9)	8(.5)	0	0
1860	5683	2003(35.2)	3680(64.7)	89(1.6)	51(.9)	30(.5)	4(.1)	4(.1)
1870	8072	3021	5051					
1940	53/18334							
1970	659/9999							

*Washington County*

1850	5983	2817(47.1)	3166(52.9)	91(1.5)	79(1.3)	2(.03)	0	9(.2)
1860	15215	7944(52.2)	7271(47.8)	1429(9.4)	30(.2)	1303(8.6)	66(.4)	30(.2)
1870	23104	12241(53.0)	10863(47.0)	2953(12.8)	127(.5)	2491(10.8)	156(.7)	179(.8)
1940	277/25387							
1970	4953/18842							

\*For Medina County, column 9 ("Other European") excludes France. The figures for France are: 1850 117(12.9), 1860 547(29.8), 1870 643(30.9).



*Fayette County*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1850	3756	1016(27.1)	2740(72.9)	540(14.4)	513(13.7)	0	5(.1)	22(.6)
1860	11604	3796(32.7)	7808(67.3)	2942(25.3)	304(2.6)	2126(18.3)	257(2.2)	255(2.2)
1870	16863	5901(35.0)	10962(65.0)	5629(33.4)	24(.1)	4032(23.9)	1134(6.7)	439(2.6)
1940	466/29246							
1970	4932/17650							

*Colorado County*

1850	2257	723(32.0)	1534(68.0)	715(31.7)	711(31.5)	0	0	4(.2)
1860	7885	3559(45.1)	4326(54.9)	1707(21.6)	164(2.1)	1142(14.5)	125(1.6)	276(3.5)
1870	8326	3701	4625					
1940	179/17812							
1970	2722/17638							

*Austin County*

1850	3841	1555(40.5)	2286(59.5)	926(24.1)	894(23.3)	11(.3)	7(.2)	14(.4)
1860	10139	3914(38.6)	6225(61.4)	3141(31.0)	2752(27.1)	51(.5)	71(.7)	267(2.6)
1870	15087	6574(43.6)	8513(56.4)	4697(31.1)	16(.1)	3374(22.4)	1143(7.6)	164(1.1)
1940	236/17384							
1970	3078/13831							

**Lower Guadalupe Basin and South***Gonzales County*

1850	1492	601(40.3)	891(59.7)	26(1.7)	26(1.7)	0	0	0
1860	8059	3168(39.3)	4891(60.7)	177(2.2)	3(.03)	107(1.3)	45(.6)	22(.3)
1870	8951	3670	5281					
1940	79/26075							
1970	923/16375							

*Lavaca County*

1850	1571	432(27.5)	1139(72.5)	38(2.4)	22(1.4)	6(.4)	0	10(.6)
1860	5945	1707(28.7)	4238(71.3)	316(5.3)	0	276(4.6)	30(.5)	10(.2)
1870	9168	2707	6461					
1940	213/25485							
1970	2746/17903							

*DeWitt County*

1850	1716	568(33.1)	1148(66.9)	229(13.3)	228(13.3)	1(.1)	0	0
1860	5108	1643(32.2)	3465(67.3)	1159(22.7)	2(.03)	950(18.6)	120(2.3)	87(1.7)
1870	6443	1757	4686					
1940	270/24935							
1970	3185/18660							

*Goliad County*

1850	648	213(32.9)	435(67.1)	13(2.0)	13(2.0)	0	0	0
1860	3384	843(24.9)	2541(75.1)	268(7.7)	29(.9)	158(4.7)	48(1.4)	33(1.0)
1870	3628	876(24.1)	2752(75.9)	324(8.9)	27(.7)	202(5.6)	43(1.2)	52(1.4)
1940	56/8798							
1970	796/4717							

**East of the Brazos River***Grimes County*

1850	4008	1682(42.0)	2326(58.0)	104(2.6)	102(2.5)	1(.02)	0	1(.02)
1860	10307	5469(53.1)	4838(46.9)	231(2.2)	0	160(1.6)	51(.5)	20(.2)
1870	13218	7921	5297					
1970	654/11855							

*Harris County*

1850	4668	912(19.5)	3756(80.5)	1197(25.6)	1066(22.8)	14(.3)	5(.1)	112(2.4)
1860	9070	2053(22.6)	7017(77.4)	2190(24.1)	767(8.5)	936(10.3)	229(2.5)	258(2.8)
1870	17375	6509	10866					
1970	36883/1741908							



1959); and Gazetteer no. 47 (2 vols.), Germany—Federal Republic and West Berlin (1960).

All figures in parentheses indicate *percentages* of the total population, rounded to the nearest tenth. In the data for 1940 and 1970, the number preceding the diagonal slash represents German mother-tongue claimants; the number following the slash is the total population.

Note that German as a mother tongue was vastly under-reported in 1940, and, conversely, was very much inflated in 1970.<sup>11</sup>

#### EXPLANATION OF THE TABLES

##### **Geographic division of the Central Area**

The counties are divided into a western area, settled chiefly by the efforts of the *Adelsverein*,<sup>12</sup> and an eastern and northern area which was largely settled by other colonists. Most of the counties are within the old settlement area, although some, e.g., Williamson, received most of their ethnic settlers after the Civil War, and others, such as Grimes and Goliad, were only peripheral to the main areas of ethnic settlement. In the continuous enclave running southeast to northwest adjacent to the Guadalupe River, an arbitrary cut-off has been made between Guadalupe and Gonzales Counties, Guadalupe being placed with the western counties and Gonzales (as well as DeWitt and Goliad) with those in the east. The decision to cut at this point is based more on the ecology of the region than on its settlement history. Later cultural and economic ties bound Guadalupe more closely to Comal and the west, whereas the tiny German-speaking area in Gonzales gradually disintegrated.

Travis and Williamson Counties were placed with the eastern area because of their economic base and non-*Verein* settlement. In the west only Medina was not settled directly or indirectly through the *Verein*. For Medina, separate figures are given for "France." This rubric included mainly German speaking Alsatians but, apparently, also a number of French speakers from western Alsace. Medina County is exceptional in many respects—history of settlement, ecology, dialectology, and multilingual, multicultural human environment.

##### **Compilation of population figures**

The population tables represent a summary and interpretation of the raw census data. The original hand-count of census data was made as follows: Each immigrant is assigned to his place of origin by comparing the census information with appropriate atlases and gazetteers. Children born in Texas of immigrant parents are assigned to the place of origin of their parents as long as both parents came from the same place. If the parents were of different European origins, or came from different provinces of Germany, or if one parent was European and the other American, children were assigned to "hyphenated" categories. If children listed under adults have different sur-

names, such dependents at age ten or older are listed under their own birth-places. In the case of dependents with the same surname continuing to live at home, such persons are listed with the origin of their parents as long as they continue to live at home.

Under each county, entries are listed in descending order, according to the number of settlers from each entry. When there are the same number of settlers from two or more different categories, the entries are listed in alphabetical order. This applies to the hyphenated categories also, with the added rule that the compound is arranged so that a German city is placed before a German province, a German province before German-speaking countries, German-speaking countries before other European countries, all of which have precedence over an American state. If the hyphenated compound consists of two entries of the same kind, e.g., two German provinces, they are arranged in alphabetical order.

To illustrate this kind of tabulation, two examples are given:

1) Gillespie County, 1860: unspecified Prussia 615, Nassau 540, Hanover 286, Saxony 89, Brunswick 78, Württemberg 78, Hesse 73, Baden 17, Denmark 17, Bavaria 13, Mecklenburg 6, Belgium 3, Bremen 3, Austria 2, France 2, Waldeck 2, Holstein 1; Nassau-unspecified Prussia 63, Hanover-unspecified Prussia 56, Brunswick-Hanover 31, Hesse-unspecified Prussia 28, Nassau-unspecified Prussia 28, Hanover-Nassau 24, Brunswick-Nassau 23, Saxony-unspecified Prussia 22, Hesse-Nassau 19, Nassau-Württemberg 18, Württemberg-unspecified Prussia 16, Hanover-Saxony 13, Brunswick-unspecified Prussia 12, Brunswick-Hesse 10, Bavaria-Nassau 9, Hesse-Saxony 9, Bremen-Hanover 8, Hanover-Denmark 8, Bavaria-unspecified Prussia 7, Baden-Hanover 6, Baden-Saxony 6, Hanover-Hesse 6, Baden-Nassau 5, Hanover-Württemberg 5, Bavaria-Nassau 4, Bremen-Hesse 4, Hesse-Waldeck 4, Hesse-Württemberg 4, Nassau-Arkansas 4, Nassau-England 4, Belgium-Saxony 3, unspecified Prussia-Austria 3, Mecklenburg-Denmark 2, Mecklenburg-unspecified Prussia 2, Nassau-Mexico 2, Brunswick-Saxony 1, Nassau-Texas 1, Saxony-Württemberg 1.

2) Medina County, 1860: France 540, Hanover 148, unspecified Prussia 50, Württemberg 42, Hesse-Cassel 40, Saxony 34, Bavaria 31, Switzerland 18, Hesse-Darmstadt 16, Baden 12, Saxe-Weimar 12, Brunswick 9, Denmark 5, Saxe-Coburg 3, Hungary 1, Lippe 1, Lippe Detmold 1, Lose Messinger (?) 1, Nassau 1, Oldenburg 1, Rudolstadt 1; Baden-France 23, unspecified Prussia-France 19, Saxony-unspecified Prussia 10, Oldenburg-France 6; Bavaria-France 5, Saxe Coburg-France 5, Württemberg-Switzerland 5, Baden-Hanover 4, Baden-Württemberg 4, Bavaria-Hesse Darmstadt 4, France-Hungary 4, Hanover-Hesse Cassel 4, France-North Carolina 3, Hanover-Württemberg 3, Hesse Cassel-unspecified Prussia 3, Hesse Cassel-Württemberg 3, Hesse Darmstadt-Switzerland 3, Bavaria-unspecified Prussia 2, Brunswick-France 2, Hanover-Hesse Darmstadt 2, Hesse Cassel-

Saxe Weimar 2, Saxony-Switzerland 2, Bavaria-Switzerland 1, Hanover-France 1, Hesse Cassel-France 1, Hesse Darmstadt-Saxe Weimar 1, Nassau-France 1.

Such listings as these were then further condensed as follows: Figures for total population, blacks, and total whites were taken directly from the census. The category "European ethnic whites" includes the sum of all non-German (non-Swiss, non-Austrian) Europeans, with English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish excluded. Most of them are from France, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden. In the case of hyphenated entries, if one term is a European ethnic white, the entry is included there. An exception is when the other term is a North/Middle German or a South German (Switzerland, Austria), in which case the entry is included there. For example, Denmark-Texas and Sweden-France are included among "European ethnic whites," whereas Denmark-Mecklenburg is assigned to "North & Middle Germany" and France-Baden to "South Germany, Switzerland, Austria."

The category "unspecified Germany" is used when the census is not more specific or when an obvious or suspected German place name cannot be located in an atlas or gazetteer. Also included are all hyphenated entries involving unspecified Germany, except where the other term is a locatable place in Germany (or Switzerland, or Austria), in which case the item is assigned there. For example, unspecified Germany-Texas and unspecified Germany-Denmark would be included with "unspecified Germany," but unspecified Germany-unspecified Prussia would be assigned to "North & Middle Germany" and unspecified Germany-Bavaria to "South Germany, Switzerland, Austria."

"North & Middle Germany" includes all locatable places in Germany (including unspecified Prussia) not in Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria. It also includes all hyphenated entries with North or Middle German places as one term, except where the other term is a South German (Switzerland, Austria) place, in which case fifty percent of such entries were assigned to "North & Middle Germany" and fifty percent to "South Germany, Switzerland, Austria." For example, if there were ten hyphenated entries unspecified Prussia-Bavaria, five would be assigned to the north and five to the south.

"South Germany, Switzerland, Austria" are grouped together following the same procedure. It is assumed that most of the Swiss and Austrian entries were German speaking (there is no evidence to the contrary and the numbers involved are small). It is very likely that many of the "French" entries were German speaking Alsatians and that some of the Bohemian, Moravian, and Polish entries were likewise ethnic Germans. Nevertheless, because we have no information in the census on the native language of these persons, they are placed into the category of "Other European." None of the categories is numerous except for the "French" in Medina County, where a separate listing is given.

This method of presenting the data highlights the ethnic populations from Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, and sets them apart from other Europeans. Evidently, instructions to census takers concerning enumeration of place of origin for the foreign born differed greatly from decade to decade. In 1850 "unspecified Germany" was the rule. In 1860 and 1870 a careful breakdown into province of origin (e.g., Prussia, Hanover, Holstein, Baden, Bavaria) was often provided, although certain enumerators were much more careful and exact than others. The difficulties that non-German enumerators had with the German language and with German place names is illustrated by the following examples of orthographic variants that were compiled in the course of the work: Byren (Bayern, Bavaria), Brunschwig (Braunschweig, Brunswick), Hessia or Hessian (Hessen, Hesse), Kuhr Hesse or Coe Hesse or Cur Hesse (Kurahessen, Electoral Hesse), Morovia (Mähren, Moravia), Nasovia (Nassau), Altenburg (Oldenburg most likely; probably not Altenburg in Upper Saxony), Over Slasing (probably Oberschlesien, Upper Silesia), Preußen or Breusan or Breußen (Preußen, Prussia), Salesia (Schlesien, Silesia), Wirttemberg or Wuttemberg (Württemberg), constant interchange of -burg and -berg (when these were distinguished at all in the handwriting), and many others.

The Censuses of 1860 and 1870 proved especially fruitful. In 1860 such provinces as Schleswig, Holstein, Lauenburg, Mecklenburg, Hamburg, Bremen, Oldenburg, Hanover, Brunswick, Lippe, Anhalt, Electoral Hesse, Thuringia, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxony, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfurt am Main were still separate from Prussia and were required, at least in many counties, to be enumerated separately. Also, all of the South German states were kept separate. In 1870, Oldenburg, Hamburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Lippe, Anhalt, Thuringia, Saxony, Saxe-Meiningen, and Hesse had still not been incorporated into Prussia and were thus listed separately. Unfortunately only a sampling of counties for 1870 is entered in the tabulations; our resources did not go beyond this.<sup>13</sup>

In 1880, because of the unification of Germany under Prussia in 1871, the census again simply entered "Germany," with only Switzerland and Austria being given separate entries. It was the disunity in 1860 and 1870 and the instructions to the enumerators to list "country" of origin which have yielded this important information on the exact origins of the immigrants. We may thus better estimate the types and relative strengths of the dialects which were present during the initial formation of the Texas German koiné.

The entry "Prussia" is of course of little help in distinguishing eastern from western Germany. It is probable, though, that the great majority of these entries in 1860 indicated settlers from the Prussian Rhine Province and Westphalia. Also, there is no evidence that there were settlers from the Prussian province of Hohenzollern in the extreme southwest. In 1870 "Prussia" was practically synonymous with "non-South German" although

many of the settlers may have stated their old "country" of birth before it was incorporated into Prussia in 1866. Unspecified Prussia obscures the distinction between North and Middle Germany. Because of this, the tables have been formulated so as to emphasize first the North/Middle vs. South German division, which the census clearly distinguishes, and secondly speakers of German vs. Europeans of non-German mother tongue. A finer distinction between settlers speaking Low German dialects and Middle German dialects is provided by the census for certain counties (cf. the first-stage tabulations for Gillespie and Medina Counties given above) and could be supplemented from other sources, e.g., ships' lists, parish records, gravestones, local histories, and personal interviews.

The German mother tongue figures were obtained by a special count of the 1940 census of population. The number of people in the central area of Texas who still use German in at least one societal domain<sup>14</sup> is obviously much higher than the number who indicated that German was their "mother tongue." The difficulty seems to lie either in the census's definition of "mother tongue" or in the respondents' hesitation to be associated with Germany in the politically sensitive year of 1940, or in a combination of the two. The figures are of value in indicating the sheer presence and perhaps cohesiveness of settlement of German speakers, a situation which probably holds for other ethnic groups as well.

#### THE FORMATION OF THE TEXAS GERMAN KOINÉ ON A MIDDLE AND NORTH GERMAN BASE

The *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* showed that South German dialectal forms were comparatively rare in the central area of Texas, with the exception of the strongly Alsatian area in Medina County. The population data for the formative years of settlement in Texas confirm these findings. Southern dialect speakers outnumbered Middle and Northern dialect speakers in Medina County in 1850 by 3 to 0, in 1860 by 38 to 21, and in 1870 by 47 to 26 (the numbers represent the percentage of each group in the total population of the county). There was also a preponderance or parity of South German speakers in Travis 1850 (1 to 0), Austin 1860 (1 to 1), and Gonzales 1860 (1 to 1), but the actual numbers involved were small. Everywhere else the South German speakers were greatly outnumbered by Middle and North Germans, ranging from 8 to 22 (Austin 1870) and 3 to 10 (Harris 1860) to 5 to 79 (Gillespie 1870) and 1 to 69 (Comal 1860). Thus the immigration data confirm what linguistic evidence had already indicated: Texas German is formed from a Middle-Northern base, which in the course of time assimilated the minority South German dialects and suppressed the somewhat more strongly represented Low German dialects.

## NOTES

An earlier draft of this paper was submitted for the files of the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center, University of Texas at El Paso (El Paso, Texas 79999). This material, which will be included in *Problems in Applied Educational Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Glenn Gilbert and Jacob Ornstein (The Hague: Mouton, forthcoming), is reproduced with the permission of the Center, the Spencer Foundation of Chicago, and Mouton Publishers. The paper supplements the text and maps of the previously published sociolinguistic description of Texas German (Glenn G. Gilbert, *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* [University of Texas Press, Austin; and Elwert Verlag, Marburg, Germany, 1972], hereafter cited as *LATG*). It is clear that with the extensive amount of data on this type of German now at hand, large scale efforts at language maintenance through education and "attitude engineering" would be feasible. It is very unlikely, however, that the state would undertake a linguistic resuscitation of German—or of any other "ethnic" language—unless it were absolutely forced to do so by heavy internal or external pressure. (See my comments below about the hardening of the white/brown/black caste lines in Texas.)

1. Terry G. Jordan, *Map of Population Origins in Rural Texas*, Map Supplement No. 13, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 60, No. 2 (1970). See also Jordan's article in this volume.

2. See Glenn G. Gilbert, review of *Das Nationalitätenrecht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, by Heinz Kloss (Vienna and Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller Verlag, 1963), *Language* 45 (1969): 218-224; Gilbert, "The Retention of Languages, Other Than Amerind, in the Southwest" (to appear in the Proceedings of the Conference on Language Variety and Its Implications for American Cultural Pluralism, held at the University of Chicago, April 7-9, 1977); United States Censuses of Population for the years 1910-1970 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.); and Dorothy Waggoner, "NCES' Survey of Languages," *Linguistic Reporter* 19, No. 3 (December 1976): 5 and 8.

3. Jordan, *Map of Population Origins*.

4. Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), pp. 118-191.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-117.

6. The populations surveyed for mother tongue by the United States Censuses were:

1910 and 1920	foreign born and foreign stock (G1 and G2)
1930	foreign born (G1)
1940	all persons (figures <i>not</i> broken down by county)
1950	foreign born (G1)
1960	foreign born (G1)
1970	all persons (figures broken down by county; 15% sample)

For 1970, the data on mother tongue were derived from a 15% sample that answered question 17: "What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child?" Instructions to the census enumerators read: "If more than one language other than English was spoken, mark the principal language . . ." (U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics. Final Report PC(1)-C45 Texas. App-6-7*). Note the "magnification effect" inherent in this procedure. There is no indication of the *current degree of fluency* of the individuals reporting a non-English mother tongue. Nevertheless, the mother tongue data from 1970 is by far the best ever provided by a U.S. Census.

Sophisticated mother tongue statistics from the mid-1970s are being compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics. These are not yet available (see Waggoner, "NCES' Survey of Languages").



7. Jordan, *Map of Population Origins*.

8. See Kloss, *Das Nationalitätenrecht*.

9. See Gilbert, review of Kloss, and Gilbert, "Retention of Languages"; these contain calculations of retention indices.

10. See Gilbert, *LATG* map V; and Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil*.

11. At least from the standpoint of current fluency. See Roger M. Thompson, "Mexican-American Language Loyalty and the Validity of the 1970 Census," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2 (1974): 7-18; and Gilbert, "Retention of Languages."

12. See Rudolph Leopold Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1930), pp. 66 ff. (This was reprinted in 1964; no place or publisher is indicated.)

13. The counties for which 1870 figures are available are: Gillespie, Kendall, Comal, Medina, Washington, Fayette, Austin, and Goliad.

14. I am using the term domain as it was defined by Joshua Fishman in *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1971).