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## Article Title: German-Language Newspapers in Nebraska, 1860-1890

Full Citation: Paul Schach, "German-Language Newspapers in Nebraska, 1860-1890," *Nebraska History* 65 (1984): 84-107

URL of article: <http://www.nebraskahistory.org/publish/publicat/history/full-text/NH1984GermanNewspapers.pdf>

Date: 8/4/2010

Article Summary: Foreign language newspapers were widely overlooked in literature about early Nebraska newspapers. This article traces the development of the German-language press in Nebraska from its inception in 1860 to shortly after 1890. The role of the newspapers in attracting settlers is significant, as well as the history lessons provided to the German immigrants who became naturalized within relatively short periods of time. Also, the appearance of a page of news from the German regions of Europe provided the immigrants a connection with the culture they left behind. Finally, the early German-language press in Nebraska helped the immigrants achieve a broader sense of community and identity by addressing them as fellow German-Americans, aiding in their assimilation.

### Cataloging Information:

Names: Carl Wittke, Valentin J Peter, Howard W Caldwell, Addison E Sheldon, William H Werkmeister, Jakob Selzle Jr, Otto Kinder, Friedrich Renner, J Sterling Morton, B H Kalkmann, Friedrich Beyschlag, Thomas Morton, A T Andreas, Orsemus Hylas Irish, Vincenz Burkley, Charles Connoyer, C C Schaffer, Hertwig, Hartwig, Friedrich Haarmann, Dankwerth, Carl Reineke, Gustav Benecke, Edward Rosewater, Leopold Mader, Louis Weinstein, O S Bloque, A Sorel, Emil Bischof, Oskar Bischof, Philipp Andres, David Zweifel, Paul Weinhagen, Charles Bankes, H Consentius, Friedrich Schnake, Hermann Reinboldt, A Marschner, Arndt and Olson, Udo Brachvogel, Carl Schurz, Pulitzer, Praetorius, Ewald August Koenig, W H Mueller, Oscar Mojean, Eduard Kuster, O F Davis, F C Festner, Solomon Davidsohn, Louis P Faulhaber, Gottfried J Bluehdorn, John D Klutsch, F H Nagel, C Martinez, A von Degen, Henry Garn, G M Hein, Carl Grandpre, J P Windolph, Joachim von Durrow, M Herbert, W Breed and Son, Hugo Hoefler, Hans von Spielberg, Johannes Scherr, Charles Bankes, Herman Brummond, John Nuelfff, Eduard Sachse, J P Windolph, C T Cooper, Emmanuel Landmann, C F Bayha, L B Schonlau, O M Gentzke, Tweedale

Keywords: *Die Deutschen in Nebraska: Ein historischer Bericht* [The Germans in Nebraska: a historical report]; *Zur Erinnerung an die Gruendung, der deutschen Presse in Nebraska, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung, der Taeglichen Omaha Tribuene* [a reminiscence of the founding of the German press in Nebraska with special consideration of the daily *Omaha Tribuene*]; *Nebraska Zeitungs Gesselschaft* [Newspaper Society]; Carnegie steel mill; Homestead, Pennsylvania; Sabbatarianism; Baden uprisings; *Geschichte der deutschen Bevoelkerung und der deutschen Presse von St Louis und Umgebung*; *Rueckgang der russischen Franzosenliebe* [Decline of Russian love for the French]; *Arbeitsloehne hieben und druben* [Wages here and there]; *Deutsche-Amerikanische Geschichtsblaetter* [German-American historical notes {during the Civil War}]; *Der kleine Diktor* [the little doctor]; Burlington and Missouri Railroad; *Der Guentling des Glueckes* [fortune's favorite {a novel}]; *Washington's Reichtum* [Washington's wealth]; *Vereine*; *Vereen*; *Turnverein*; temperance; antimonopoly; coal miner; Pinkerton; Chicago strike; St Louis strike; farmer overproduction; history of Cuming County; coal mine; railroad

Names of Newspapers: *Nebraska Deutsche Zeitung*, *Lincoln Freie Presse*, *Dakota Freie Presse*, *Omaha Taegliche Tribuene*, *Nebraska Deutsche Zeitung*, *Nebraska Palladium*, *Staats Zeitung*, *Taegliche Omaha Tribuene*, *Nebraska City Press*, *Nebraska Volksblatt*, *Nebraska Staats Journal*, *Boebachter am Missouri*, *Der Beobachter am Egg Harbor River*, *Der Beobachter am Wabash*, *Der Beobachter am Mississippi*, *Pokok Zapadu [Czech]*, *Council Bluffs Post*, *Omaha Post*, *Omaha Journal*, *Omaha Telegraph*, *Omaha Post und Telegraph*, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, *Westlicher Courier*, *Nebraska Banner*, *Nebraska Vorwaerts*, *Belletristisches Journal*, *Die Chronik des Westens*, *Central Chronik*, *Das Echo*, *Milwaukee Echo*, *Daheim*, *Der Pionier*, *Der Nebraska Ansiedler*, *Mennonitische Rundschau*, *Westlicher Herold*, *Deutsche-Amerikanischer Farmer*, *National Farmer*, *Haus und Bauernfreund*, *Nebraska Staats-Anzeiger*, *Grand Island Anzeiger und Herold*, *Nebraska Staats-Tribeune*, *Welt-Blatt*, *Nebraska Volksfreund*, *Nebraska Volkks-Zeitung*, *Norfolk Demokrat*, *Norfolk Deutsche Zeitung*, *Norfolk Anzeiger*, *Arago Westlicher Beobachter*, *Grand Island Anzeiger*, *Grand Island Anzeiger und Herold*, *Nebraska Volksfreund [Hastings]*

Photographs / Images: Detail from the September 10, 1891, *Lincoln Freie Presse*

# German-Language Newspapers in Nebraska, 1860-1890

By Paul Schach

Until recently historians have tended to neglect non-English newspapers as sources of local and regional history. In a state like Nebraska, to which Czechs, Danes, Germans, and Swedes—to mention only the largest ethnic groups—have made substantial cultural and economic contributions, this neglect is almost incredible. In the *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, for example, we find one brief paragraph devoted to the state's first German weekly, the *Nebraska Deutsche Zeitung*. By contrast, territorial English-language newspapers are discussed in great detail.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, German-language newspapers published in the Great Plains states have not been given proportionate attention by press historians in comparison with German-language periodicals published elsewhere. Carl Wittke, for instance, describes at length the amusing content of the first issue of Benjamin Franklin's *Philadelphische Zeitung*, which made its appearance on May 6, 1732, expired with the second issue of June 24, and never exceeded fifty subscribers.<sup>2</sup> This pamphlet is an entertaining *curiosum*, but it has neither intrinsic nor historical significance. By contrast Wittke merely mentions in passing the *Lincoln Freie Presse*, which in 1897 claimed the second highest readership among German-language newspapers in the country and in 1905 reached a circulation of 158,549.<sup>3</sup> He devotes one sentence to the *Dakota Freie Presse*, which in 1905 had more subscribers than any English-language newspaper in South Dakota, was widely read in South America, and for some time was the only German-language newspaper available to German colonists in the Ukraine.<sup>4</sup> Wittke several times mentions, but does not discuss, the *Omaha Taegliche Tribuene*, which, under the

skillful and energetic management of Valentin J. Peter, not only survived the ravages of World War I; it increased its circulation from 11,800 in 1914 to 22,610 in 1920—this during a period when German-language dailies nationwide declined from fifty-three to twenty-six with a corresponding drop in circulation from about 800,000 to about 250,000. In view of these data, scholarly neglect of the early German press of Nebraska is all the more to be regretted.

The purpose of this paper will be to trace the development of the German-language press in Nebraska from its inception in 1860 to shortly after 1890 to the extent that that is still possible at this late date. During these thirty-odd years sixty-seven German-language newspapers were founded in the state.<sup>5</sup> Most of these were weeklies of limited dissemination and brief duration, so that by 1890 only twenty-five of them still survived. A few, however, became dailies, several persisted for decades, and two of them, as we have seen, were long among the leading German-language newspapers in the country. Emphasis in this study will be on the significance of these publications for the German-speaking communities of Nebraska.

Unfortunately very few extant copies of these newspapers antedate the year 1880. This sad situation would doubtless be even worse if the important task of collecting and preserving newspapers had not been initiated by Howard W. Caldwell in 1891 and continued by Addison E. Sheldon.<sup>6</sup> Around 1935 William H. Werkmeister, then professor of philosophy at the University of Nebraska, prepared a preliminary draft for a book entitled *Die Deutschen in Nebraska: Ein historischer Bericht* (The Germans in Nebraska: a historical report).<sup>7</sup> One chapter of this manuscript bears the title "Deutsche Zeitungen in Nebraska" (German newspapers in Nebraska). For this chapter Werkmeister worked largely with primary sources, from which he quoted copiously. Some of these quotations preserve welcome information that is no longer obtainable elsewhere. His secondary sources, however, are not always identified.

In general, secondary sources are scant, inexact, and sometimes even contradictory. One such source bears the title "Zur Erinnerung an die Gruendung, der deutschen Presse in Nebraska, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung, der Taeglichen Omaha Tribuene" (a reminiscence of the founding of the Ger-

man press in Nebraska with special consideration of the daily *Omaha Tribuene*.<sup>8</sup> An earlier edition of the *Tribuene* (March 14, 1912) carried an article by Jakob Selzle Jr. and Otto Kinder entitled "Die Geschichte der deutschen Presse von Omaha" (the history of the German press of Omaha). The authors inform us that they worked almost entirely from memory. Although the latter article reads like a gossip column, and the former like a human interest story, both have preserved names, titles of publications, dates (usually approximate), and sundry observations, for which we are grateful. A pleasing exception to the general sparseness and inexactitude of secondary sources is Dr. Friedrich Renner's report on the establishment of Nebraska's first German-language newspaper. The report was delivered at a meeting of the Nebraska Historical Society on January 11, 1898.<sup>9</sup> Before discussing this unique, witty document, however, we must briefly review a few pertinent settlement statistics.

According to the first territorial census there were seventeen heads of families listed as born in Germany out of a total population of 2,732 persons in 1854.<sup>10</sup> In 1872 there were already about 55,000 speakers of German in Nebraska. According to the Tenth Census there were 31,125 German-born immigrants in the state in 1880. In 1890 the number of German-born in Nebraska had increased to 72,000. By 1900 the German element comprised one-fifth of the total population of the state. In view of the diverse national and provincial origins of these people it is obvious that the word "German" can be used only in a linguistic sense. The one thing all these "Germans" had in common was their written language, since their spoken dialects were often mutually incompatible or even incomprehensible. They were also strictly divided in regard to religion, since those who retained church affiliations were Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, and Protestants (or Evangelicals) of various other persuasions. A small number were of the Jewish faith.

How did so many Germans from so many countries happen to reach Nebraska at such an early date? In view of the fact that every territorial English newspaper was, in the words of J. Sterling Morton, "merely the advance agent of a town company," it seems reasonable to surmise that some of the earliest German papers may also have been established for a similar

purpose, that is, to publicize the possibility of acquiring federal land.<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, a German notice of land availability preceded the publication of the first German newspaper in Nebraska by seven years. The notice appeared in the *Nebraska Palladium* for August 30, 1854.<sup>12</sup> The notice, written in somewhat misspelled and slightly ungrammatical German and set in Gothic type, has the following heading: "An die Deutschen und namentlich an unsere auswanderungslustigen Landsleute!" That is, "To the Germans and especially to our compatriots (who are) eager to emigrate!" The wording clearly shows that the notice was "especially" intended for Europeans who desired to emigrate. Included in the notice are extracts from the federal law of March, 1854, that permitted individuals to make settlement on a quarter-section of unsurveyed federal land. How many copies of this issue of the *Palladium* were sent overseas will never be known.

Friedrich Renner's "Reminiscences," mentioned above, are an eye-witness account of the establishment and development of the *Nebraska Deutsche Zeitung* (German newspaper).<sup>13</sup> During the winter of 1860-61 the Nebraska Zeitungs Gesellschaft (Newspaper society) was established at Nebraska

*Friedrich Renner*



City by some twenty prominent German Americans. By March 1, 1861 one hundred shares of stock at \$5.00 per share had been subscribed, and the officers of the company were elected: B. H. Kalkmann as president, Friedrich Beyschlag as treasurer, and Dr. Renner as secretary, business manager, editor, and "factotem" (sic). On April 4, 1861 the forms of the first issue were transported by wheelbarrow from the editorial office to the print shop of the *Nebraska City News*, where the press work was done by Thomas Morton, formerly printer for the *Nebraska Palladium*.

The primary purpose of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, Renner stresses in this report, was "to circulate everywhere the glad tidings of a new extensive territory where the best land under the sun could be had for the government price of \$1.25 an acre" and where there were good opportunities for employment for those who did not wish to acquire land. To this end Renner mailed 150 copies of each issue to "Germany, Australia (sic), and the German-speaking provinces of Alsace and Lorraine" at a mailing cost of two cents per copy. Renner states that the circulation of the *Deutsche Zeitung* was "from the beginning, comparatively speaking, a very high one." Andreas adds that the paper "claimed subscribers in every township in every county in Nebraska; 100 subscribers in Germany and a goodly number in the Eastern States."<sup>14</sup>

At first the *Deutsche Zeitung* was "neutral in politics," since Renner was a Republican, whereas most of the stockholders were Democrats. When Renner became sole proprietor of the paper, however, he was free to indulge in the kind of "personal journalism" that characterized early ethnic newspapers and especially German periodicals edited by liberal 1848ers like Renner.<sup>15</sup> Renner ardently advocated the abolition of slavery, opposed prohibition, and strove for reconciliation between the North and the South after the Civil War. In his "Reminiscences" Renner emphasizes the fact that his unprofitable journalistic venture was completely altruistic since neither he nor his associates had either political ambitions or land to sell. The latter assertion was doubtless intended to counter Morton's caustic comment about the "sole purpose" of frontier journalism.

In October, 1886, Renner entered into a limited partnership with Colonel Orsemus Hylas Irish, editor of the *Nebraska City*

*Press* (formerly the *People's Press*), and the two weeklies were combined. Although several bilingual newspapers flourished briefly in Nebraska as well as in the Dakotas, this "hermaphrodite scheme" failed in Nebraska City, since both German and English readers "wanted to pay only one-half the subscription price, because they could not read the other half." After the publication of six bilingual issues the two weeklies were again separated and issued as formerly.<sup>16</sup>

In the optimistic anticipation of imminent statehood for the territory, Renner had had the masthead of his *Nebraska Deutsche Zeitung* electrotyped in three sections. At the same time a fourth section, *Staats* (State), was electrotyped so that it could replace *Deutsche* at the proper time. Because of protracted political haggling, however, it was not until July 1, 1867 that the *Deutsche Zeitung* could be renamed the *Staats Zeitung*. For over two years (1870-73) this paper was issued at both Nebraska City and Lincoln. Renner declares that this was "for the purpose of doing more effective work for the advancement of the new state, its young and flourishing capital, and, last but not least, of the great Republican party to which I have belonged from its beginning."<sup>17</sup> Renner tells us that he remained in charge of the *Staats Zeitung* until 1879, when he returned to the practice of medicine. The *Staats Zeitung* continued to be published until January 31, 1912, when the proprietor, George Mauer, requested Valentin J. Peter to take charge of it. The *Taegliche Omaha Tribuene* of June 25, 1937 confirms this merger.

According to A. T. Andreas "many worthy Germans were induced to emigrate to Otoe and other counties" through the influence of Renner's newspapers.<sup>18</sup> This sweeping assertion, of course, is as vague as Renner's declaration that the circulation of his paper was "very large . . . from the outset." We have no way of knowing how many copies of his newspaper were sold nor how many immigrants it attracted to this state. Possibly more specific information was published in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, but no copies of it have survived and only three extant issues of the *Staats Zeitung*, one of which is discussed below, antedate the year 1907.<sup>19</sup> It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that the *quality* of Renner's newspapers must have been high when we consider the character and education of the man himself.<sup>20</sup>

Friedrich Renner was born June 16, 1830 in the ancient city of Speyer in the Rhenish Palatinate. Like his father and grandfather, he became a physician. Fluent in both German and French, Renner received a sound classical education in preparation for his study of medicine, which he pursued at the universities of Wuerzburg, Munich, and Paris. Among his fellow students he frequently expounded upon the Declaration of American Independence, which he knew from memory. Since his liberal political views would have made a professional career impossible for him in the reactionary Europe of his day, he migrated to America. In May, 1856, following extensive travels abroad, Renner arrived in Nebraska City, where he practiced medicine until he established the *Deutsche Zeitung*. Renner's newspaper was the medium through which he promulgated to his fellow German Americans his own lofty social ideals. Friedrich Renner, who was active in politics and in cultural, medical, and journalistic societies, died in 1921 at the home of his son Percival at Hastings.

The *Nebraska Staats Zeitung* for July 15, 1892 (Vol. 24, No. 51), features a front-page news story that vividly describes the bloody battle between workers at the Carnegie steel mill in Homestead, Pennsylvania and armed strike breakers, referred to as "Pinkerton's Schergen und Spione" (persecutors and spies). The writer sees in this great victory of the workers, who had been tortured beyond endurance, an admonition that major social reforms were unavoidable if "this great, blessed country" was to be spared from "drifting into a violent social upheaval." The question is posed: Which (political) party can offer the best guarantee for an improvement in the lot of the workers?

The feature story, reprinted from the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, is supplemented by a brief but stern denunciation of "der blutige Thor Carnegie" (the bloody fool Carnegie), in which the \$7,000,000 annual income of the steel tycoon is contrasted with the starvation wages paid his workers.

This issue of the *Staats Zeitung* contains one of the earliest preserved protests against Sabbatarianism, which we find so frequently in the early German-American press. The United States Senate is excoriated for voting almost unanimously to deny financial support to the World's Fair in Chicago unless "sonntags geschlossen wird," that is, unless the Fair is closed to

visitors on Sunday. Also characteristic of the German-American press are news reports from the "old homeland," which embraces Austria, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Alsace and Lorraine, and dozens of provinces in the German Empire.

If we may generalize on the basis of one issue, the *Staats Zeitung* during this period was a colorful combination of information, advertising, and entertainment. As we have seen, it included local, state, national, and international news, especially from the German-speaking areas of Europe. The "Beilage," or supplement, was made up of fiction, much of it sentimental, including a serialized novel, short tales, and poems. Among the novelties is a short verse in a Low-German dialect advertising Stroemer's "Saluhn"—elsewhere in the paper spelled "Saloon"—in Talmadge. The brief tirade against the United States Senate for its puritanical Sabbatarianism reveals a major ethnocultural issue that had considerable political significance.<sup>21</sup>

Whereas we know a great deal about Nebraska's first German newspaper, we know virtually nothing about the second one, which was published in Omaha. Most of what little we do know comes from Selzle and Kinder's droll story, in which they beg indulgence for their ignorance. Early in 1865, they relate, "an unnamed sheet-metal worker changed his profession and founded an unnamed newspaper." Being a financial genius, he convinced his readers of the virtue of paying their subscriptions in advance. About three months later the unnamed editor took "French leave" with a considerable sum of money. During a picnic soon thereafter the subscribers recalled the "unfaithful journalist" and "with maledictions committed his picture (taken from a copy of his paper?) to the flames." This little anecdote is entertaining, but tells us nothing about the short-lived journal. We are tempted to suspect that it was, like contemporary English-language papers, a front for land sharks, but such speculation, of course, is futile.

Shortly afterward the printing materials of this paper were acquired by Dr. Reeder, Vincenz Burkley, and Charles Conroyer, who established the *Nebraska Volksblatt* (Nebraska people's journal), Omaha's second territorial paper in the German language. The *Volksblatt* then passed into the ownership of C. C. Schaffer, who changed the title to *Nebraska Staats*

*Journal*. Schaffer was esteemed as the "Nestor of local printers" and was connected with the German theater of Omaha both as an actor and as a producer. In 1869 the weekly was purchased by a Mr. Hertwig (also spelled Herwig and Hartwig), who appointed Friedrich Haarmann as editor. "The political position of the newspaper, which previously championed the principles of democracy, had likewise changed." By this Selzle and Kinder probably mean that the political affiliation of the weekly had shifted from Democratic to Republican. This "reversal of views," they suggest, may have resulted from the incorporation of the former territory of Nebraska into the Union. The *Staats-Journal* seems to have been discontinued shortly thereafter.

In 1870 the *Beobachter am Missouri* (Observer on the Missouri) was established in Omaha by Dankwerth and Carl Reineke, with Gustav Benecke from Berlin as editor. Among earlier papers bearing this kind of title were *Der Beobachter am Egg Harbor River* (New Jersey), *Der Beobachter am Wabash* (Lafayette, Indiana), and *Der Beobachter am Mississippi* (Davenport, Iowa). Benecke later became a municipal judge, and Selzle and Kinder report that in his court the German language was used exclusively, "since judge, plaintiffs, defendants, lawyers, and witnesses made use only of their German mother-tongue."

In 1873 the *Beobachter am Missouri* passed into the hands of the Bohemian Edward Rosewater, known as the "newspaper king," for he also edited the Czech *Pokok Zapadu* (Progress of the West) and the *Omaha Bee*, which he had founded. Selzle and Kinder inform us that Rosewater "exerted an effective influence on municipal and political events," but again they tell us nothing specific about the events themselves or the nature of Rosewater's influence on them. Other sources suggest that he was an energetic, controversial character.<sup>22</sup> When the burden of managing three papers in three languages became too heavy for him, Rosewater in 1874 discontinued the publication of the *Beobachter am Missouri*.

Editors as well as papers were highly mobile. Leopold Mader, who had had to flee Germany because of his participation in the uprisings in Baden (1848-1849), established the *Council Bluffs Post* in 1869. When he moved to Omaha, he changed the title accordingly. Mader, who was rumored to

have been a priest in Germany, was an excellent journalist, but his irrepressible sense of humor rubbed off onto his treatment of the news—local, national, and international. Consequently, Louis Weinstein had to be appointed local editor.

At this point another journalistic amateur enters the story of the German press in Omaha. A self-styled architect, O. S. Bloque, "whose true name was as unknown as his handwriting was illegible," acquired the materials of the defunct *Beobachter* and established the *Nebraska Freie Zeitung*. Bloque soon tired of journalism, however, and left for Salt Lake City "on a business trip," never to return. The weekly limped along for two weeks under the editorship of Professor Decker and expired, fittingly enough, with the thirteenth issue.

Meanwhile the *Omaha Post* had passed into the ownership of Dr. A. Sorel, who "despite his French name was a genuine German and wielded a sharp pen, which at times was not even disinclined to sarcasm." He carried on "violent polemics" in both prose and verse, but what controversial issues he assailed or espoused remain unrevealed. In the absence of news, Sorel "suitably reimbursed" his readers with witty aphorisms.

Another short-lived paper was the *Omaha Journal*, which was established by Emil Bischof and his son Oskar, who had previously founded German newspapers in Chicago and in Burlington, Iowa. Selzle and Kinder characterize the *Omaha Journal* as "a well edited daily and the first attempt in this direction." Although the *Journal* was well received by the public and energetically supported by the business community, the paper expired with the death of the elder Bischof. The demise of the *Journal* left the *Post* as the sole German newspaper in Omaha. Following Sorel's death the weekly was acquired by Philipp Andres and David Zweifel. Under the energetic editorship of Andres the *Post* thrived for some time.

The next German paper to come into existence was the *Omaha Telegraph*. This weekly, which was owned and published by a school teacher named Paul Weinhagen, was well edited and exemplary in regard to typography. The *Telegraph* survived for three years, but its name lived on somewhat longer.

The durable *Omaha Post* again underwent a change in ownership. The new proprietor was Charles Bankes, who also

acquired the printing materials of the defunct *Beobachter* and *Telegraph* and lengthened the name of the paper to *Omaha Post und Telegraph*. The paper was published as a triweekly and for some time as a daily. During this period there were also a weekly and a Sunday edition. Bankes was a member of the City Council and a political leader of the third ward. Among the many editors who followed, two deserve special mention. H. Consentius contributed articles on agriculture and animal husbandry. Friedrich Schnake, the second "Nestor of the local journalists," was connected with several newspapers. His "Geschichte der deutschen Bevoelkerung und der deutschen Presse von St. Louis und Umgebung" (History of the German population and the German press of Saint Louis and environs) appeared in 14 installments (1871-1874) in *Der Deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati). From 1880 to 1884 the *Omaha Post und Telegraph* was Republican; from 1885 to 1887, Democratic. The last owner and editor of this paper was Hermann Reinboldt, who was later to become very wealthy as a "potash magnate" in World War I.

"In 1887 the Republicans founded the *Westlicher Courier* with A. Marschner, relative of the composer of like name, as business manager and Udo Brachvogel, poet and bel esprit, as editor. Within a few months, however, the journal expired." This statement from the *Tribuene* is quoted in part by Arndt and Olson, but they also cite other, contradictory sources. From these sources they conclude that the *Westlicher Courier* (1887-1890) was a continuation from *Die Omaha Post* and that it, in turn, was continued by the *Nebraska Banner* (1891-1893). Presumably the paper was renamed the *Nebraska Vorwaerts* in 1894 and ceased publication in 1898. One of the editors, the "poet and bel esprit" Udo Brachvogel, had worked with Praetorius, Carl Schurz, and Pulitzer on the *St. Louis Welt-Post*. As associate editor of the *Belletristisches Journal* in New York, Brachvogel was well known for his ballads and his translations of English and French prose and verse. He had also published a brief study of the German press in America before coming to Omaha.<sup>23</sup>

The earliest extant issue of the *Nebraska Banner* dates from June 1, 1892, (Vol. 5, No. 34). On page 2 the publisher and editor, F. Schnake, holds forth in sonorous sentences on the problems of and opportunities for obtaining a divorce in

various parts of the country. The major articles are "Rueckgang der russischen Franzosenliebe" (Decline of Russian love for the French) and "Arbeitsloehne hieben und drueben" (Wages here and there, that is, in America and in the German-speaking countries). Page five is dominated by an installment of "Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblaetter" (German-American historical notes), this one about events during the Civil War. Page six is completely filled with "Deutsche Nachrichten" (German news) and page seven with an installment of *Der kleine Doktor* (the little doctor), a novel by Ewald August Koenig. Page eight presents an assortment of ads, jokes, "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten" (short city news items), and a women's column "Beim Schalchen Kaffee" (over a cup of coffee). The subtitle of the column is "Leiden und Freuden der Hausfrauen" (sorrows and joys of housewives).

Several additional papers of short duration were published in Omaha during this period of time. Among them were one or two Catholic journals. Selzle and Kinder mention *Die Chronik des Westens*, which was published by W. H. Mueller. This may have been identical with, or antecedent to, the *Central Chronik*, a Democratic weekly that existed from about 1884 to about 1902.<sup>24</sup> Of even shorter duration were *Das Echo*, published in 1882 by the Reverend Dahlmann and subsequently merged with the *Milwaukee Echo*, and *Daheim* (At home) published about 1879 by Oscar Mojean and Eduard Kuster.

In 1874 *Der Pionier* (the pioneer) was published by O. F. Davis, who was land commissioner of the Union Pacific Railroad. Although we know nothing more about this periodical, these few facts tell us a great deal. 1874 marks the beginning of the massive migration of Germans from Russia to the United States and especially to the Great Plains. Through their agents in this country and abroad the Union Pacific and the Burlington and Missouri railroads attracted large numbers of these immigrants to Nebraska, where they settled on the vast landgrants given to the railroads by the federal government. Clearly *Der Pionier* must have shared the initial purpose of Friedrich Renner's *Deutsche Zeitung*, although it could scarcely have been as altruistic as the first German paper in Nebraska, since the two railroads, unlike Renner, had a great deal of land to sell, in fact, somewhat over 7,200,000 acres.<sup>25</sup>

Of the many German newspapers established in Omaha

before 1890 only one, the *Tribuene*, was a lasting success, although on several occasions during its early history it seemed to be on the verge of suffering the same fate as the others. During the summer of 1883 the veteran journalist Friedrich Schnake and F. C. Festner came to the conclusion that a German daily would be profitable if well edited. On August 1, the *Nebraska Tribuene* came into being with Festner as publisher and Schnake as editor. Like Udo Brachvogel, Schnake had been associated with Carl Schurz and Praetorius in Saint Louis before coming to Omaha. Evidently Schnake was an influential journalist. "His discussions of local political questions caused a great stir, and the opinions expressed in the *Tribuene* carried great weight." Again Selzle and Kinder keep us in the dark about the political issues, the editorial discussions of which agitated and impressed the readers of the *Tribuene*.

Upon the death of Festner in 1890 the *Tribuene* became the property of a stock company. Unfortunately the business manager, Solomon Davidsohn, was impractical and inefficient. "The good man," Selzle and Kinder tell us, "suffered from megalomania and sought to emulate Pulitzer, and yet he had nothing in common with that great newspaper publisher except the red bandana handkerchief." Festner's son Julius and the latter's wife Bertha had to take over the management of the paper. Because of the great popularity of Julius and Bertha Festner, circulation and advertising improved and the paper prospered. Eventually the *Tribuene* was acquired by Valentin J. Peter and under his strong leadership became one of the major German dailies in the United States.

Although the *Lincoln Freie Presse* rated Lincoln as the second most German city in Nebraska in 1893, the number of German newspapers established there in the period under discussion is not very large.<sup>26</sup> As we have seen, Friedrich Renner issued his *Nebraska Staats Zeitung* from both Lincoln and Nebraska City for several years. A Democratic weekly, *Post und Demokrat*, was published for a brief time by Louis P. Faulhaber (1884-85). *Der Nebraska Ansiedler* (The Nebraska settler) was edited at Lincoln but issued by the Mennonite Publishing Company of Elkhart, Indiana. According to Arndt and Olson this monthly publication began in June, 1878, and ended its independent existence in April, 1880, after which it was merged with the *Mennonitische Rundschau* (Mennonite

review). Since financial support came from the Burlington and Missouri Railroad, it is reasonable to conclude that the *Ansiedler*, like *Der Pionier*, advertised and promoted the sale of railroad land.

The *Lincoln Freie Presse* was founded as a Democratic weekly on August 8, 1884, but it was politically independent from 1886 until November 25, 1924, when it was merged with *Westlicher Herald* (Winona, Minnesota) and moved to Winona. As already mentioned, the *Freie Presse* reached a peak circulation of 158,594 in 1905. The *Freie Presse* was first edited and published by Gottfried J. Bluehdorn (1884-85), who was followed as editor by John D. Klutsch (1885-1894), and F. H. Nagel (1887-1901).

The oldest issue preserved in entirety is that of September 10, 1891 (Vol. 7, No. 52). The annual subscription rate, which included the weekly supplement *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Farmer*, was \$2.00 within the United States and \$3.00 delivered to European countries. The first page contains an "Allgemeine Rundschau" (general review) of the news. The second page is devoted to news items from German-speaking cities, provinces, and countries in Europe. The third installment of the novel *Der Guenstling des Glueckes* (fortune's favorite) by C. Martinez fills the seven columns of the third page. Page four consists of a miscellany of articles including "Washington's Reichtum" (Washington's wealth), "Die 'Krise' im Turnerbund" (the "crisis" in the gymnasts' association), and "Laendereien fur Ansiedler" (lands for settlers), which calls attention to former Indian lands available for homesteading in Oklahoma. "Der Triumph unserer Schweine" (the triumph of our swine) must have brought joy to the hearts of at least a few farmers: American hogs, barred for some time from Berlin, were again to be permitted to pass through the Brandenburg Gate. Pages five, six, and eight are devoted largely to advertising. Page seven bears the heading "Inlaendisches," that is, "inland" news.

Probably the most significant advertisement in this issue is the announcement in Low German of the "Groter Eroeffnungs-Ball von der Plattdutsche Unnerstuetzungs-Vereen" (grand opening ball of the Low-German Aid Society). The social life of urban German Americans, especially, centered around their *Vereine*, which were social, cultural,

# Freie Presse.



Jahrgang 7.

Lincoln, Nebraska, Donnerstag, 10. September 1891.

No. 52

## Allgemeine Rundschau.

Das deutsche Volk hat seinen Nationaltag, den zweiten September — den es, nach Nolte, unrichtig an Stelle des eigentlichen Schlachttages erkoren —, in wenig freudiger Stimmung verbracht. Wohl ist die Erinnerung an die Vergangenheit nicht „müde glänzend und erbebend gewesen“ als in früheren Jahren, aber die Gegenwart hat schwere wirtschaftliche Sorgen gebracht, und die Zukunft droht mit noch schwererer politischer Bedrängnis. Das Gefühl der Sicherheit, welches eine unbesiegbare Armee, eine siegreiche diplomatische Föhrung und die Festigkeit von Bundesrath gegenuber der Feindschaft der Gegner Jahre hindurch gegeben, ist erloschen. Der Deutsche fürchtet zwar noch immer nicht seine Gegner, aber er ist mit bangter Vorsorgnis erfüllt von der Nothwendigkeit neuer, noch weit schwererer Ausrüstung. Die russisch-preussische Fehde hat den gallischen Chauvinismus zur gefährlichen Flamme an, die wiederum den vormaligen Großen wahn naht. Schon erhebt selbst ein Jola von der Seine den Ruf, daß die Zeit der Renance gekommen, und ein russischer Politikhalter findet es nicht einmal mehr der Mühe werth, sich auch nur

würden von der Corvette „Saiba“ in dieser Richtung selbst Nachforschungen gespielen, welche sich bis zu den Fallanden-Inseln erstreckten.

Einem diesfälligen Berichte des genannten Kommandanten der „Saiba“ ist nun hierüber das Folgende zu entnehmen:

In Punta-Arenas, der russisch ausstehenden holländischen Kolonie an der Nordküste der Magelhaens-Strasse, waren es in erster Linie der Gouverneur der Provinz Magelhaens, General Samuel Baudouin, und dessen Adjutant, Oberlieutenant Doktor der Philosophie Don Roberto Eduardo Reels, der Botaniker Don und Marine-Ingenieur Don Pedro Garcia, dann der englische Konsul Rudolph Stubbs, von welchen der Kommandant der „Saiba“ über die angelegten Versuche behufs Aufindung des verschollenen Schiffes und über alle eingehenden Nachrichten in Kenntniss gesetzt wurde; ferner wurden bei den Eingeborenen von mehreren Küstenfahrzeu- gen, Cooten und Schiffsteuere-Untersuchungen eingezogen; alle Auslagen und Nachrichten fügten sich nur an Vermuthungen und konnten über das Schicksal des genannten Schiffes keinen positiven Aufschluß geben.

Ich heftig und andauernde Stürme aus Südwest wütheten und daß stets mehrere Segelschiffe in offener See gesehen wurden, welche sich in der Nähe der felsigen, mit unzähligen kleinen Inseln und Riffen umgebenen Küsten augenscheinlich in sehr gefährlicher Position befanden. Die Nationalität derselben konnte wegen zu großer Entfernung nur in den seltensten Fällen festgestellt werden, ebensowenig als eine Hilfsaction eingeleitet werden konnte.

Alljährlich scheitern hier, besonders im Westen von Cap Horn, viele Schiffe. Die Naturwuth tritt meist weit entfernt von der Küste ein, ohne daß sich Jemand retten könnte. Die sogenannten Rettungsstationen, welche mit den Missions-Stationen identisch sind, kommen deshalb auch selten in die Lage, seine Hilfe zu leisten, besitzen auch keine ausreichenden Mittel hierzu.

Tezen Hauptaufgabe besteht vielmehr darin, Leute, die sich von einem Wrack selbst gerettet haben, aufzunehmen und nach Punta-Arenas zu dirigiren. Die eingeborenen Indianer, welche nach den letzten Berichten des Konsuls Dr. Bridge vollkommen verlässig geworden sind, unterstützen die Missions-Stationen.

## Achtung!

Neue Waaren in großer Auswahl! Unser Vorrath ist jetzt vollständig in jedem Departement. Die Auswahl von

## Ellen - Waaren

läßt nichts zu wünschen übrig. Alle neuesten Muster, die im Markt geboten werden, können wir zu den billigsten Preisen vorseigen. Schöne Auswahl von

## Damen-Shawls und Jersey's, Hüten und Kappen.

Besonders machen wir auf unser Assortement von

## Schuhen und Stiefeln

aufmerksam. Kommt und überzeugt euch selbst von der Qualität und dem Preis.

## FRED. SCHMIDT.

119 D Str., gegenüber der Post-Office, Lincoln, Nebr.

## Besucht

## Unser Gröffnungs - Verkauf.

Im vollen Gange in allen Sorten von

## Ellen-Waaren

Teppichen, Groceries und Schuhen.

Detail from the September 10, 1891, Lincoln Freie Presse.

musical, mutual aid, and gymnastic societies. In a later issue of the *Freie Presse* we find an announcement of the activities of two musical organizations, a gymnastic society, and the Low-German *Vereen* mentioned above.<sup>27</sup> In the course of time, German newspapers throughout the country came to depend more and more upon these societies for their readership. Consequently, especially in the final days of their existence, German newspapers devoted "a major part of their space to chronicling the social activities of the local German community."<sup>28</sup> But that time lay far in the future for the *Freie Presse*, which for over five decades was to play an active and influential role in the cultural and political life of its many readers. As much as that story needs to be told, however, it lies beyond the limits of this survey.

As mentioned above, a supplement to the *Freie Presse* was the biweekly *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Farmer*, which began publication in February, 1888. Widely read, this journal covered a broad field of agriculture. From 1888 until 1896 this supplement was edited by A. von Degen. The place of publication was usually given as Lincoln and Chicago, but for a while also as New York. It finally merged with *National Farmer, Haus und Bauernfreund* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin). None of the early issues are available for study.

The *Nebraska Staats-Anzeiger* was a Republican weekly from 1881 until 1892 and a politically unaffiliated paper from 1893 until March, 1901, when it united with the *Grand Island Anzeiger und Herold* to form the *Grand Island Anzeiger und Herold*. The earliest issue to be preserved in entirety is that of August 20, 1885 (Vol. 6, No. 13).

The first page of this issue contains several interesting news items. One of them deals critically with Russian aggression against Germans in the Baltic provinces and another one with British criticism of German colonial policies. A third article explains the importance of rotating clover with wheat and other small grains. The lead article is entitled "Der Praesident und die Landraeuber" (the president and the land robbers), according to which 15,000,000 acres had been stolen from the public domain in Nebraska by cattle barons. Named among the worst offenders were the Arkansas Land and Cattle Company and the Prairie Cattle Company of Colorado, each of which was accused of illegally fencing 1,000,000 acres of

Nebraska public lands. Many foreigners, chiefly Englishmen, were involved. Homesteaders were driven off their lands and sometimes murdered by the "Vieh-Paschas" (cattle pashas), as the big cattlemen were called. The president (Theodore Roosevelt) is praised for his efforts to enforce the law against the theft of public lands.

Page two consists largely of news items, most of them brief, from various German provinces and other German-speaking areas of Europe. It also includes a rather technical article by Hans von Spielberg, "Die Kriegskunst Napoleons. Kriegsgeschichtliche Studie" (The military science of Napoleon. A study in the history of warfare).

The most remarkable item in this issue is an installment from *Die Nihilisten* by Johannes Scherr. Published in Leipzig in 1885, this analysis of current events in Russia was reprinted and then reissued in a revised edition the same year. And in the same year also the book was reprinted in New York and published serially in Lincoln in the *Nebraska Staats-Anzeiger*. No doubt the recent influx of thousands of Germans who had fled Russia to preserve their language and religion as well as to escape long years of military service stimulated interest in *Die Nihilisten*.

Norfolk had three early German weeklies of short duration. In 1882 Charles Bankes founded newspapers in Falls City and in Norfolk, but their titles are not known. According to Selzle and Kinder they were both discontinued six months after being established. The *Norfolk Demokrat* (1884) and *Norfolk Deutsche Zeitung* (1879-80) are known by name only. Despite its limited circulation the *Norfolk Anzeiger* lasted somewhat longer (1886-1908). This weekly (Democratic, 1889-1891; Independent Democratic, 1891-1908) was edited and published by Hermann Brummond (1886-1896), who was succeeded by John Nuelff (1897-1906). To the best of my knowledge no copies of the early Norfolk papers have survived.<sup>29</sup>

Among Nebraska-German papers established before 1890 are the Arago *Westlicher Beobachter*, a weekly edited and published by Eduard Sachse from 1867 to about 1869; the *Grand Island Anzeiger*, an independent weekly edited and published by J. P. Windolph from 1889 to 1892; and the *Grand Island Anzeiger und Herold*, 1880-1918. Like so many other German weeklies this one underwent mergers, name

changes, and changes in political affiliation. First known as *Der Herold*, it absorbed the Lincoln *Nebraska Staats-Anzeiger* in 1901 (see above) and the following year was combined with the *Grand Island Anzeiger* to form the *Grand Island Anzeiger und Herold*, which ceased publication in 1918. From a peak circulation of 3,800 in 1905, it dropped to 1,300 in 1918. It was published and edited by Henry Garn from 1880 until 1889 and by G. M. Hein from 1890 to 1892. Two additional Grand Island papers are the *Nebraska Tribuene* (1879), which became the *Nebraska Staats-Tribuene* in 1880 and ceased publication shortly thereafter, and the semi-monthly *Welt-Blatt* (world blade), that appeared from 1888 until 1890. The *Tribuene* was a Republican weekly, edited by Carl Grandpre. The *Welt-Blatt*, published and edited by G. M. Hein (who later became editor of the Grand Island *Herold*) was a biweekly intended for speakers of Low German.<sup>30</sup>

The earliest extant paper of this group is the *Grand Island Anzeiger* for September 18, 1891 (Vol. 3, No. 1). Page two features an article on the "Enthuellung des heiligen Rocks" (unveiling of the holy cloak) at Trier in Germany. Students of German literature will immediately recall the legendary epic *Orendel*, the composition of which may have been inspired by an unveiling of the cloak at Trier during the Middle Ages. On page four the editor, J. P. Windolph, urges his readers to stimulate the economy of Nebraska by supporting local merchants and not to waste money by sending it east. Page five is made up of local news and advertisements. Pages six and seven are occupied with German news and an installment of the novel *Auf Befehl seiner Hoheit* (by command of his Highness) by Joachim von Durrow. Page eight contains a novella by M. Herbert entitled "Die Flucht des Engels" (the flight of the Angel). The following issue (September 25) contains discussions of large-scale emigration from Canada to the United States, crop failure in Russia, and the resultant hardships in that country.

Hastings was the home of the *Nebraska Volksfreund*, an independent weekly edited and published by W. Breed and Son from 1883 to 1889. After a hiatus of about three years it was published by W. Breed and edited by Hugo Hoefler from August 3, 1892 until March 3, 1899. Schuyler also had a German paper, the *Nebraska Volks-Zeitung*, from about 1886 un-

til about 1889. No more is known about it than that it was edited and published by C. T. Cooper.<sup>31</sup>

The area around Sutton was settled by Germans from Johannestal, Rohrbach, and Worms in the vicinity of Odessa in 1873-74.<sup>32</sup> This settlement also served as a temporary home for Volga Germans seeking work on the Burlington Railroad and in the beet fields. From 1883 to 1885 Sutton boasted a weekly paper, the *Freie Presse*, that was founded by Emmanuel Landmann from Scotland in the Dakota Territory. It is believed that it was absorbed by the *Nebraska Volksfreund* in Hastings.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to the bilingual *Progress* already mentioned, West Point had two German weeklies, the *Nebraska Staats-Zeitung* and the *Nebraska Volksblatt*. Little is known of the *Staats-Zeitung* except that it was edited and published by C. F. Bayha from 1877 to 1879 and that it had a circulation of 400 in 1878. The *Volksblatt*, which Arndt and Olson, following Andreas, regarded as a continuation of a Nebraska City paper, was published from January 1, 1879 until December 29, 1916. This weekly was edited by L. B. Schonlau from 1879 until 1884 and by O. M. Gentzke from 1885 until 1903. It was Democratic from the beginning until 1901, and in 1890 had 1040 subscribers.<sup>34</sup> At this time Cuming County was the most German region and West Point the "most German city of any importance in the state."<sup>35</sup> A fairly complete run of the *Volksblatt* from January 15, 1886 until December 29, 1916 has been preserved.<sup>36</sup>

Two significant advertisements on the first page of the issue for June 11, 1886 (Vol. 7, No. 23) call attention to an evening of dramatic and musical presentations and to the "Stiftungsfest"—that is, an anniversary celebration—of the local *Turnverein* or gymnastic association. As already noted, the relationship between German newspapers and German social and cultural organizations was very close. Both encouraged the retention of the German language and thus mutually strengthened each other. Two issues (Nos. 8 and 9) of the *Volksblatt* for this year carried prominent advertisements of a masked ball sponsored by the *Turnverein*, and a long article in the issue of April 30 strongly advocated gymnastics for girls. Advertisements for dramatic and musical presentations were frequently reinforced by blurbs in the "Lokal-Notizen" on

page eight. The *Volksblatt* is a rich source of information about the cultural, political, and social life of West Point and environs around the turn of the century.

Like nearly all German newspapers in America the *Volksblatt* strongly opposed prohibition as an encroachment on personal liberty. Even articles with headings like "Die Deutschen in Iowa" (April 23) or "Tekumseh in Aufruhr" (Tecumseh in an uproar—July 23) are diatribes against "Temperenzler" ("temperance" advocates). The uproar in Tecumseh was caused by an ordinance passed by the city council limiting possession of beer, wine, or spirits to one gallon per household. The former article castigates the prohibitionists for declaring that the Germans of Iowa favored prohibition, whereas only 2,000 or less than ten percent of the German voters in that state supported antialcoholic legislation. How successful the *Volksblatt* was in this matter can be seen from the fact that in 1890 the prohibition amendment "garnered a total of four votes in the five southwestern precincts of the county."<sup>37</sup>

The editor of the *Volksblatt*, M. O. Gentzke, was deeply concerned about the encroachment on public lands by ranching, lumbering, and mining interests and by foreign "landed aristocracy." According to an article of July 30 the Scottish Marquis Tweedale had acquired estates in this country with a combined area more extensive than that of Rhode Island. On the other hand, Gentzke clearly enjoyed reporting on the first page of the issue for July 9 that the federal government had succeeded in recovering 7,000,000 acres of landgrants from southern railroad companies that had failed to lay the specified amount of track. He also challenged the federal government to curb the power of the railroads since states like Nebraska were too weak to do so. Antimonopolistic articles continued to be published in the *Volksblatt* throughout the entire period under discussion.

The brutal treatment of working people and the illegal use of armed private police by large corporations to harass workers also aroused the editor's indignation. In the issue of August 13 he expressed deep concern for coal miners, and the issue of October 26 carried an indignant denunciation of the indiscriminate killing of innocent bystanders by Pinkerton's "mercenaries" in connection with strikes in Chicago and Saint Louis.

Despite the large amount of space devoted to German and international news, the primary concern of the *Volksblatt* was with national, state, and local issues. On September 24, for example, the paper carried a warning to farmers in this region against overproduction of grain and other agricultural commodities. In the issue of December 3 we find the first installment of a history of Cuming County and a report on the establishment of a local farmers' organization ("farmer verein"). The issues of December 10 and 24 castigate coalmine and railroad owners for collusion to raise prices of coal and transportation at the expense of farmers and businessmen in the Great Plains area. All in all, the *Nebraska Volksblatt* in 1886 can be characterized as a progressive American newspaper written in the German language with a broader and more intimate coverage of European news than was to be found in English-language papers.

We have briefly sampled extant copies of German newspapers published in Nebraska during the period 1860 to 1890 (or, more precisely, 1861 to 1892) and have surveyed the sparse and sometimes contradictory literature about them. What conclusions does this material permit us to draw regarding the importance of these periodicals to their readers, German-speaking immigrants from various European countries?

In the first place several of these journals—notably Friedrich Renner's weekly, *Der Pionier*, and *Der Nebraska Ansiedler* (later *Mennonitische Rundschau*)—were instrumental in bringing immigrants to Nebraska and helping them establish homes here. Although we have no means of assessing the effectiveness of German newspapers in attracting settlers, early historians of Nebraska were inclined to rate them highly in this category.

For the bewildered German newcomers the newspaper in the only language most of them could read was the best source of information about this strange land of freedom and free land for white people, but limited freedom and opportunities for blacks and native American Indians. Almost every issue studied, for example, contains brief history lessons—local, state, and national—as well as important information for farmers on what to plant and when and how. The fact that a very large percentage of German immigrants became

naturalized within a short period of time can be attributed in great part to the exhortations of newspaper editors.

Since almost every issue examined in this study devoted at least one full page to news from the German regions of Europe and another to fiction—usually sentimental fiction—it is obvious that one essential function of the Nebraska German press was to provide what Wittke aptly terms “an emotional compensation” for the culture the immigrants left behind them. Or, in the more rationalistic words of Carl Schurz, the purpose of this aspect of German journalism was to keep readers of German in America informed about cultural developments in Europe.<sup>38</sup>

And finally, the early German-language press in Nebraska, as elsewhere in the United States and Canada, helped German-speaking immigrants gradually to achieve a broader sense of community and identity during the trying years of cultural transition. Whereas German churches, parochial schools, and even some of the *Vereine* to a certain extent had a divisive influence on these people of diverse national origins, religions, and dialects, the editors of most German newspapers addressed them not as Catholics, or Luxembourgers, or Holsteiners but simply as fellow German-Americans. And this heightened sense of ethnic cohesion and identity had significant implications for the political activity of this otherwise heterogeneous element of American society as well as for its eventual complete assimilation into that society.<sup>39</sup>

## NOTES

1. See J. Sterling Morton, Albert Watkins, and George Miller, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, Nebr.: Jacob North and Co., 1907), Vol. 2, 349. The 42-page chapter is entitled “Nebraska Territorial Press.”

2. See Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 13-14.

3. See Wittke, 263; the *Lincoln Freie Presse* for November 11, 1897 (Vol. 14, No. 2), preserved on microfilm at the Nebraska State Historical Society; *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955*, ed. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), 287; and Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory* (New York: George P. Rowell and Co., 1906), 1330.

4. See Wittke, 196; La Vern J. Rippley, “A History of the *Dakota Freie Presse*,” *North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from Russia Heritage Review*, Vol. 7 (1973), 10, 15; “The *Dakota Freie Presse*: Its Brightest and its Darkest Hour,” *Heritage Review*, Vol. 9 (1974), 16; and Anton H. Richter, “‘Gebt ihr den Vorzug’: The German-Language Press of North and South Dakota,” *South Dakota History*, Vol. 10 (1980), 197.

5. See Arndt-Olson, 281-298.
6. See "Nebraska Newspapers," *Nebraska History*, Vol. 15 (April-June, 1934), 67-75.
7. This manuscript is found in the Werkmeister Collection housed in the Nebraska State Historical Society.
8. Unless otherwise indicated, newspapers referred to are available on microfilm at the Nebraska State Historical Society.
9. See F. Renner, "Reminiscences of Territorial Days," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 5 (1902), 60-68.
10. For a concise statement on early German immigration and settlement see Frederick C. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), 16-32. See also James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 173.
11. J. Sterling Morton, "Territorial Journalism," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 2nd series, Vol. 5 (1902), 24. See also D. W. Carpenter, "Pioneer Journalism," *ibid.*, 48-50.
12. *Nebraska Palladium*, July 15, 1854-April 11, 1855 is available on microfilm at the Nebraska State Historical Society. Large portions of the German notice, however, can best be read in the Werkmeister manuscript since the microfilm is almost illegible in spots.
13. The following paragraphs are based primarily on Renner's "Reminiscences."
14. Andreas, II, 1211.
15. See Wittke, 2, 4, 75-102.
16. For bilingual papers in the Dakotas see Anton J. Richter, 193. For Nebraska, Arndt and Olson (pp. 281-298) list the *Demokrat-Anzeiger* (Fairbury), the *Janzen Anzeiger*, the *Maple Valley Times* and *World News* (both published at Leigh), the *Omaha Zither-Journal*, the *Steinauer Star*, the *Sterling Sun*, and the *Sutton News*.
17. Quoted from the *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, Vol. 2, 351, note 4. The source of the quotation is not given.
18. A. T. Andreas, Vol. II, 1211.
19. According to Arndt and Olson, issues of the *Deutsche Zeitung* for April 8 and 22, 1887, are found in the *Internationales Zeitungsmuseum* in Aachen, Germany.
20. The following biographical sketch is based on the *Illustrated History*, Vol. 2, 350, note 4, and on Andreas, Vol. 2, 1228 and *passim* (see Index).
21. On Sabbatarianism as a political issue see Frederick C. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics*, 5, 43, 66, 115, 138, 140. See also Wittke, 134, 157, 183.
22. See Betty Levitov, "Jews: The Exodus People," in *Broken Hoops and Plains People*, ed. Paul A. Olson et al. (Lincoln: Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, 1976), 294-297 and the literature cited there.
23. See Edmund E. Miller, "Das New Yorker Belletristische Journal 1851-1911," *The American-German Review* Vol. 8 (December, 1941), 24-27, and Udo Brachvogel, "Die Deutsche Presse in den Vereinigten Staaten," in *Amerika*, ed. Armin Tenner (Berlin and New York, 1884), 165-183.
24. See Arndt and Olson, 293.
25. See James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska*, 163-165.
26. See the issue of March 30 and Arndt and Olson, 286-288.
27. Issue of December 29, 1893, briefly summarized by Werkmeister, 8.
28. Wittke, 281. For an extreme example of this see Rippley, *The German-Americans*, 221.
29. See Arndt and Olson, 289.
30. On these papers see Arndt and Olson, 282-298.
31. See Arndt and Olson, 296.
32. On the early history of Sutton see James Ruben Griess, *The German-Russians: Those Who Came to Sutton* (Hastings, Nebr.: n.p., 1968).

33. On the *Sutton Freie Presse* see Richard Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, trans. La Vern J. Rippley and Armand Bauer (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), 23-24, 92, and the notes by Theodore C. Wenzlaff.

34. See Arndt and Olson, 297.

35. Luebke, 108.

36. The papers are housed in the office of the West Point *Neu s*. They can also be read on microfilm at the Nebraska State Historical Society.

37. Luebke, 110.

38. For Schurz's views about the functions of the German-American press see Wittke, 7, and Rippley, *The German-Americans*, 162-163.

39. See Luebke, 179-185.

The author gratefully acknowledges research support for his study of ethnic languages and literatures on the Great Plains from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Nebraska Commission for the Humanities, the University of Nebraska Research Council, and the Center for Great Plains Studies.