

## (46)

One reason for the growth of the German immigrant population in Kansas was the push to develop railroads and railroad lands in the American West. Railroad companies promoted immigration with the establishment of branch offices in European cities offering land at reasonable prices and other assistance to those who would settle on railroad lands. C. B. Schmidt, Lawrence, was appointed a commissioner of immigration for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in 1873 and was instrumental in recruiting the Mennonite colonies that settled on railroad lands in south-central Kansas. German newspaper editors promoted immigration of their countrymen to areas served by their papers, and agents such as Schmidt used the German-language press as a recruiting tool abroad.



with a population of only 364,000, the number of newspapers had grown to eighty.<sup>2</sup> Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory* for 1871 shows that Kansas already ranked seventeenth out of the thirty-seven states in the average circulation of newspapers and journals, with an average readership which exceeded that of older and more settled rural states such as Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin.<sup>3</sup> In 1880, ranking approximately twentieth among the states in population, Kansas ranked twelfth in the number of locally produced newspapers and periodicals; by 1890 the state ranked fifth among the forty-two states, with 807 local publications (see Table 1). Only the far more urbanized states of Illinois, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania exceeded this output. This extraordinary tradition of local newspapers forms the background for this study. These papers reflected and articulated the goals and

accomplishments of the Kansans, providing a sense of cohesion, identity, and pride for the many towns established on the Kansas prairies. And an integral part of this Kansas tradition was a vigorous and diverse German-language press.

On the eve of the Civil War two immigrant populations composed almost seventy percent of the foreign-born settlers in the United States. They were the Irish, with 1.6 million

TABLE 1  
GROWTH OF KANSAS NEWSPAPERS, 1875-1890

	Number Published			
	1875	1880	1886	1890
Daily	12	14	39	47
Triweekly	2			
Semiweekly	1			1
Weekly	131	251	532	706
Biweekly	1			
Semi-monthly		2	2	6
Monthly	5	13	18	45
Bimonthly				1
Quarterly			4	1
Total	152	280	595	807

Source: Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory* for the years cited. This directory, published as a guide for advertisers, generally omits the German-language press.

2. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, Bicentennial ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), pt. 1, p. 28; William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1916), pp. 10-12.

3. *American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell and Co., 1871), p. 6.

persons, and the Germans, 1.3 million strong. Heavy German immigration followed the war, and after 1880 the Germans became, and remained, the largest segment of the foreign-born population in the nation until 1930.<sup>4</sup> Although Irish and Germans had been entering North America since colonial days, their settlement patterns differed significantly. The English-speaking Irish became concentrated in and around the eastern seaboard, by 1870 forming the major immigrant contingent in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Charleston, and Mobile, as well as in the small manufacturing cities of New England. The Germans, although well represented in these areas, made their major impact farther west. They formed the largest immigrant faction in St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Milwaukee, as well as a substantial portion of the rural population of the midwestern states.<sup>5</sup>

As they spread out across the nation, the Germans took with them a strong sense of cultural identity. German-American immigration societies, to assist new arrivals and to promote economic and cultural ties among them, were founded prior to the American Revolution and spread westward during the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The German turnvereins, musical groups, and churches similarly flourished on American soil.<sup>7</sup> Among the entrenched traditions these Germans brought with them was a strong attachment to local newspapers. Central Europe, which consisted of numerous smaller and larger states prior to German unification (1871), retained until the twentieth century an extraordinary sense of regionalism and particularism which was reflected in the nature of its press. In 1885, for a population of only 47 million, there were

3,069 newspapers in Germany, a number which increased again by one-third before World War I.<sup>8</sup> The German immigrants thus regarded local newspapers in their own language as a natural part of their community, not as a reaction to resettling abroad. They brought their appetite for newspapers with them to America where, between 1732 and 1955, they initiated over 5,000 separate publications in their native language.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, they maintained this tradition in the face of stiff competition. Between 1860 and 1900 the American press grew rapidly, from approximately 4,000 publications to over 21,000.<sup>10</sup> Carl Wittke argues in *The German-Language Press in America* that the expansion and persistence of the German papers, despite this competition, attests to their significance in maintaining the vitality of the German-American identity.<sup>11</sup> In 1900 there were 750 German-language newspapers circulating in the United States. Although they were prominent voices in several midwestern cities, most German publications circulated in small communities, arriving weekly in the mailboxes of rural America.<sup>12</sup> The Germans of Kansas, therefore, demonstrated both a continuity of tradition and the maintenance of their identity in their new homeland when they established a network of newspapers in the cities and towns of Kansas.

FROM THE OUTSET, Germans were the largest foreign-born component of the

4. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics*, pt. 1, p. 32.

5. Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 29-30.

6. Rudolf Cronau, *Denkschrift zum 150. Jahrestag der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York, 1784-1934* (New York: The German Society of New York City, 1934), pp. 23-25. The colonial German societies were founded in Philadelphia, Charleston, Baltimore, and New York. In the nineteenth century similar German societies were founded in Boston, Cincinnati, Birmingham, Hartford, New Haven, Rochester, Allentown, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul-Minneapolis, Kansas City, New Orleans, San Francisco, Portland, Spokane, and Seattle.

7. See Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis: Der Zukunft, 1874) and Otto E. Kriege, et al., *Souvenir der West Deutschen Konferenz der Bischöflichen Methodistenkirche* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1906) for studies of German-American social and cultural organizations.

8. Gerhard Muser, *Statistische Untersuchung über die Zeitungen Deutschlands, 1885-1914* (Leipzig: E. Reinicke, 1918).

9. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955*, 2d, rev. ed. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), p. 9.

10. William A. Dill, *Growth of Newspapers in the United States*, Bulletin of the Department of Journalism in the University of Kansas, April, 1928 ([Lawrence]: University of Kansas, 1928), pp. 11-12.

11. Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* ([Louisville]: University of Kentucky Press, 1957).

12. Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1922), pp. 297, 318-320.

Editors of German-language newspapers, such as Edward Fleischer of the Atchison *Courier*, encouraged immigration to the state. This issue boasted that the *Courier* "has a larger circulation among the Germans living along the A. T. and S. F. R. R. than any other German paper in the United States." Note that part of the page is printed in English, part in German.



**Edward Fleischer,**  
Eigentümer u. Redacteur.

Donnerstag, den 13. Juli, 1876.

## THE Atchison Courier

Published every FRIDAY,  
Ed. Fleischer, Editor and Prop.

SUBSCRIPTION: \$2 per annum.

Office in Topeka, Kas., with the Topeka "Blade", where orders for advertisements and subscriptions may be left.

Advertisements \$12 pro inch per annum, for a shorter period extra charges.

Local notices on the third page 10 cents pro line. Editorial notices on the second page given only to Industrial Enterprises of the State of Kansas.

The "Courier" has a larger circulation among the Germans living along the A. T. and S. F. R. R. than any other German paper in the United States.

### National Republikanisches Ticket.

Für Präsident:

**Rutherford B. Hayes,**  
von Ohio.

Für Vice-Präsident:

**William A. Wheeler,**  
von New York.

FOR GOVERNOR:

**John M. Price**  
OF ATCHISON COUNTY.

The ratification meeting of the Atchison democracy reminded us of a joke of honest Abe Lincoln, when a Prussian General complimented Gen'l McClellan after one of his famous dress-parades. Yes, said Lincoln, he is hell on dress-parade, but when it comes to action, he is not worth a damn.

Why is it that Guthrie will not tell the truth and go around telling folks that he voted straight republican tickets. We advise Guthrie to be a little more truthful, the people won't stand his lies, the truth is just as cheap.

"We might say of the Courier that it is not enthusiastic for Hayes, for its editor has no hesitancy in saying that he would prefer Hayes' defeat to Guthrie's election."—Atchison Patriot.

Bless your soul, brother Paak, there is no danger of Hayes defeat or Guthrie's election. We do not deny that Guthrie's nomination would be like a

state of the next winter was compelled to repeal the obnoxious infamous law. Against the will of Hendricks this law was annulled. "Another fault of Hendricks was, that he did not want to know anything of the sound financial principles of Kerr. He helped himself, to conceal his inflation doctrine with valueless pleasure, he did not believe himself. The platform of 1874 adopted at his suggestion, was unsound." If the foregoing is an enthusiastic support we do not understand the meaning of the word, nor do we believe the foregoing to be a hearty support to the ticket. We believe we have a fair chance to find out the opinion of the German press and from our own observation we here reiterate the statement, that the German vote of this country will be very nearly a unit for

### Hays & Wheeler!

#### Des Friedens Morgenroth

Aus Europa's fernem Osten,  
Tönt schon wieder Kriegesgeschrei!  
Dah' das Schwert doch niemals ruhen  
Wozu wären Pulver, Blei?

Menschenmord, in großen Massen,  
Ist ja ein erlaubtes Spiel;  
Nur den Mörder muß man hängen,  
Der sich Einen wählt zum Ziel?

Ja, man preißt der Helben Thaten!  
Schmückt sie mit dem Lorbeerpreis;  
Dah' in Menschenblut sie waten;  
Lebend nach dem Siegerpreis!

Vaterland! wie muß Du borgen  
Oft dem frechsten Uebermuth  
Deinen Namen. Knechte sorgen  
Reichlich, dann für Opferblut!

Wenn Tyrannen Krieg beginnen,  
Sehen sie Dich auf dem Schild;  
Pflanze dann auf Deine Finnen  
Ihr und Gottes Ebenbild!

Und das Volk, das dumme eilet,  
Schlägt sich schnell für Beide tod!  
Arme Menschheit! weit noch weilet  
Deines Friedens Morgenroth!

New York.

Sigmund Kauderö.

### Die Centennial-Feier.

Philadelphia. Der 100. Jahrestag der amerikanischen Unabhängigkeit wurde heute bei Sonnenaufgang durch das Gekläte aller Glocken der Stadt und das Abfeuern einer National-Salutschüsse im Fairmount Park eingeweiht. Hieran reihte sich die große Militärparade, woran Militär-Organisationen aus West-Point, League Island, eine aus je einer Compagnie aus einem der 13 Originalstaaten gebildeten Centennial-Regiment, Abtheilungen des 7. Regiments A. G. S. A. J., der Veteran-Nationalgarde, des 22., 5., 22. und 10. Regiments A. G. S. A. J., Milizen aus Detroit in Michigan, Boston, Portsmouth in Ohio,

gen, aus allen 10 Regimen, vom besten Anblick gewährt, wie in den letzten Tagen. Bis spät in die Nacht hinein ergoß sich ein gedrängter Menschenstrom durch die hell erleuchteten Straßen und erst der naßende Morgen brachte das hässliche Element in die alten, gewohnten Gassen.

Cincinnati. Die heutige Feier war eine allgemeine und die Stadt prangte in einem Meer von Flaggen und Transparenten. Aus allen Nachbarnorten hatte sich eine große Menge Fremder eingefunden, die die große Parade in Augenschein nehmen wollten, an der sich „Centennial-Compagnien“ und „Continental“ aus den einzelnen Bundes-theiligen und die einen glänzenden Eindruck machte. Am Abend wurde ein großes Feuerwerk auf Kosten der Stadt abgebrannt.

San Francisco. Heute ist der letzte der Centennial-Feiertage, die am 1. Juli begannen. Gestern fand bei Presidio ein Scheingefecht statt und am Abend folgte eine große Kanonade von Fort und den Schiffen im Hafen. Heute fand eine große Parade statt, der ein Regatta am Nachmittag und ein Maskenball am Abend folgte.

Albany. Die heutige Feier war eine glänzende. Sie begann gestern um Mitternacht durch Abschießen einer Salutschüsse und das Läuten der Glocken. Bei Sonnenaufgang wurden 100 Kanonenschiffe abgefeuert und am Morgen, Mittag und Abend ertönte das Glockenspiel der St. Peterkirche. Die große Parade bestand aus 7 Divisionen und nahm das 10. und 25. Regiment, die Stadtbehörden und eine große Anzahl militärischer und bürgerlicher Associationen Theil daran. Am Nachmittag fanden Regatten statt und am Abend beschloß ein brillantes Feuerwerk die Feier.

Washington. Die heutige Feier ist keine imposante gewesen, da die meisten Prominenten nach Philadelphia abgegangen sind. Der Schützenverein hielt in seinem Park eine gut besuchte Feiersonne ab und bei der Feier in Mount Pleasant hielt das Congressmitglied Keller die Feiersonne. Bei Sonnenaufgang, am Mittag und bei Sonnenuntergang wurden je 100 Salutschüsse abgefeuert.

Baltimore. Die offizielle Feier des 100. Unabhängigkeitstages fand heute im Druid Hill Park statt. Oberst B. M. Snowden verlas die Unabhängigkeitserklärung und General Ch. C. Phelps hielt die Festrede. Auch die Priestervereine feierten den Tag in gebührender Weise und thaten sich dabei namentlich die deutschen Sangesbrüder und Schützenvereine hervor. Am Abend war die Stadt auf das Prachtvolle illuminiert.

# Der Courier.

**E. Fleisch,**

Herausgeber und Redacteur.

Dienstag, den 15. Januar, 1878.

## Agenten für den Courier,

an welche Zahlungen zu machen und die beauftragt sind, darüber Quittungen zu geben:

**Wichita** — Fritz Snitzer, Restauration, Hotel und Saloon.

**Clinton** — F. M. Steinf, Händler in Speerwaren, Eisenwaren, Eisenwaren, Werkzeugen u. s. w.; ebenso Eigentümer der Clinton-Wägenfabrik.

**Great Bend** — Jacob Kiehl, Firma Kiehl, Wägen, Speerwaren, Händler.

**Emporia** — W. G. Heilmann, Sattler und Händler in Sätteln, Pferdegeschirren, Hüten, Weisfischen u. s. w.

**Claremont** — C. J. Lutz, Großhändler in Eisenwaren, Weinen, Gläsern und Bier.

**Wichita** — August Müller, Apotheker und Händler in Medizin, Schreibmaterialien u. s. w.

**Wichita** — A. Wunderlich, Hotel, Bäcker und Fleischerei.

**Fort Scott** — W. Kistenberger, Wagenfabrikant und Schmied.

**Wichita** — R. Kemmerer, Sattler und Händler in Sätteln, Pferdegeschirren, Weisfischen, Hüten u. s. w.

**Wichita** — George Dreyer, Saloon und Biergarten.

**Wichita** — A. Hecker, Schuh- und Stiefelfabrikant.

**Wichita** — Schaefer und Lutz, Saloon und Biergarten.

**Junction City** — John Groß, Händler und Fabrikant von Wägen.

**Salina** — Oscar Grub, Apotheker und Pharmazie.

**Wichita** — Hermann Meyer, Herrenschneider und Händler mit fertigen Kleidern.

**Frederick** — Jacob Weisbach.

**Wichita** — Theodore Durr, Deputy County Clerk von Washington County.

**Wichita** — Robert Galt, Apotheker und Händler mit Medizin, Eisen, Schreibmaterialien u. s. w.

## Verhandlungen der Convention der Deutschen vom Staate Kansas zur Gründung ei- ner Deutschen Staats Emi- grations- Gesell- schaft.

Die Delegaten vom Staate Kansas versammelten sich in der Repräsentanten-Halle Mittwoch 7 Uhr Abends und wurde dieselbe von Herrn E. Fleisch zur genannten Zeit zur Ordnung gerufen der sofort den Anruf bejahnend auf Organisation einer Emigrati-

Die folgenden Herrn Delegaten wurden zu diesem Comité erwählt: D. Seig, Saline Co. J. Barthel, Douglas County und M. Colar, Ford County.

Herr Delegat P. Hilbrand ergriff das Wort, zu dem Zwecke, der Convention eine Constitution für eine Staats Emigrations-Gesellschaft vorzulegen und stellte den Antrag, daß diese Constitution paragraphenweise verlesen, besprochen und angenommen werde. Eine heftige Debatte entspann sich sodann über jenen Antrag, der zu dem Resultate führte, daß diese Convention sich als ein Comité des ganzen aufstellte welches auch geschah unter dem temp. Vorsitzer.

Folgende Paragraphen wurden verlesen: § 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, eingelesen wurden gänzlich gestrichen, andere verändert die Mehrzahl jedoch angenommen, w'e verlesen. — Es wurde sodann der Antrag gestellt, daß sich dieses Comité jetzt vertage bis 8½ Uhr Morgens — welcher Antrag angenommen wurde.

Januar den 10, 1878.

### Morgensitzung.

Das Comité des Tages wurde um 8½ Uhr Morgens zur Ordnung gerufen durch den Vorsitzer.

Delegat Thinschmidt stellte den Antrag, daß die Delegaten die ihren resp. angehörigen congressionalen Distrikte entsprechende Sitze einnehmen, Angenommen. Das Protokoll von gestern Abend verlesen und gutgeheßen.

Herr Delegat D. Goetz Harvey Co. wurde zum pro. Protokollführer im Platte von Herrn J. Haug, Leavenworth County (abwesend) ernannt. Man schritt sodann zur weiteren Verlesung und Besprechung der Constitution, und wurden die übrigen Paragraphen angenommen.

Herr G. Tauber, Shawnee County, stellte den Antrag, daß sich nun das Comité des ganzen auflöse und diese Constitution mit deren Verbesserung an die Convention zur Annahme empfehle. Angenommen.

Der Bericht des Comité wurde in der Convention entgegengenommen, der Constitution verlesen und einstimmig angenommen.

Das Comité, welches die Adresse des temp. Vorsitzer an der Convention zur Prüfung übergeben wurde, brachte einen Majoritäts und Minoritäts Bericht schriftlich ein wie folgt:

Lawrence und Topeka.

Das Resultat der Abstimmung ergab Topeka 28, Lawrence 19 Stimmen, so mit wurde Topeka als den Hauptsitz der Gesellschaft gewählt.

Antrag sich bis 2 Uhr Nachmittag zu vertagen. Angenommen.

### Nachmittags Sitzung.

Die Convention wurde um 2 Uhr N. M. zur Ordnung gerufen, Protokoll von L. M. verlesen und gutgeheßen. Herr Delegat Bondi, Saline County, machte folgenden Antrag schriftlich: Beschlossen, daß wir, die Deutschen von Kansas, in Delegaten Convention versammelt, und hiermit verpflichten, von jetzt an bis zum nächsten Zusammentritt unserer Legislatur dahin zu wirken, daß dann ein Gesetz passiert würde des Inhaltes: „Wenn immer die Eltern von 3 der Kinder irgend eines Schuldistrikts dem betreffenden Schulrat irgend eines Schuldistrikts so ersuchen, die deutsche Sprache als Lehrgegenstand eingeführt werden soll.“

Beschlossen, daß wir Hr. E. Fleisch für seine Dienste als Vorsitzender dieser Convention unseren herzlichsten Dank hiermit abtatten.

Die folgende Verbesserung wurde vom Delegaten G. Tauber gemacht:

Im Jahre 1868 passierte die Legislature von Kansas ein Gesetz, bezüglich des Unterrichts in der deutschen Sprache in unseren öffentlichen Schulen, wohlweislich ertheilte die damalige Gesetzgebung dieses Privilegium, nur zum Vortheil des Allgemeinen, um der schulpflichtigen Jugend Gelegenheit zu geben, sich mit einer Sprache bekannt zu machen, die im privat, aber besonders im geschäftlichen Verkehre nur vom größtem Nutzen sein kann.

Jedoch im Jahre 1877 fand es eine wohlwollende Gesetzgebung für zweckmäßiger, trotzdem wir eine ungeheure deutsch sprechende Einwanderung nach dem Staate hatten, jenes Gesetz von 1868 zu widerrufen, und geschah es auch, durch eine Gesetzentwurf, eingebracht von dem Senator Green, von Douglas County, wodurch keine fremde Sprache als bloß die landesübliche (englische) als Lehrgegenstand vorgetragen werden darf, und wurde durch die Unterzeichnung unseres jetzigen Gov. zum Gesetze erhoben.

Wir sind nun entfernt eine schrofse oder selbst feindlich gesinnte Stellung gegenüber diesem erlassenen absonderlichen

Kansas population, totaling thirty-four percent of the foreign immigrants in the territorial census of 1860, dipping to twenty-five percent during the heavy immigration recorded in the state census of 1870 and 1880, then leveling off at approximately thirty-one percent for the 1890 and 1900 census.<sup>13</sup> The earliest German-language newspaper to serve these settlers was the *Kansas Zeitung*, founded in Atchison City, Kansas Territory, on July 22, 1857. It was followed by two other papers in the pre-Civil-War era. During the 1860s eight different short-lived German-language papers circulated in Kansas. Thereafter, despite a number of enterprises which failed, the Germans of Kansas continued to found newspapers at an astonishing rate. In the 1870s twenty German-language papers were started; nearly fifty more began publication in the 1880s and 1890s; an additional fifty-seven started up between the turn of the century and World War I. In the 1920s, despite the antagonism against German-Americans caused by the war, there were fifteen German-language publications originating in Kansas. By the mid-1950s there were still three such publications, each in operation for over fifty years. In all, for the century between 1855 and 1955, over 120 German-language publications had originated and circulated in Kansas.<sup>14</sup>

By contrast, the other foreign immigrant populations in the state were not able to establish viable native-language presses in the face of local, English-language newspaper competition. Large numbers of Swedes, Czechs, Italians, and French immigrated to Kansas in the nineteenth century, yet fewer than twenty local newspapers appeared in all their languages combined. Prior to 1900

the Swedes published six papers, the Czechs three, the French and Welsh each one. Following the turn of the century only five new non-German foreign-language newspapers were inaugurated in Kansas before World War I, produced by the Italians, Czechs, and Swedes.<sup>15</sup>

The German-language press of Kansas had two major orientations: secular and religious. Although the early press was predominantly secular, a vigorous Mennonite press in German emerged soon after these immigrants arrived in Kansas following their exit from Russia in the 1870s. The Mennonites introduced a number of religious periodicals, and by 1900 their religious press began to rival the secular papers of the central European immigrants in both numbers and persistence. It was the Mennonite religious press which was sustained after World War I. This study will focus, however, on the secular German-language papers which flourished in Kansas before the war—on their development, their persistence, and their demise.

Kansas' first German-language newspaper was not the voice of an immigrant enclave. Rather, it was founded by Americans from Massachusetts who had formed an enterprising quasi-political organization known as the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Their purpose in starting the paper was to attract Germans, well-known in the East for their Free-Soil sentiments, to settle in Kansas and counteract the early surge of settlers from Missouri and other Proslavery states. In 1857, three years after the opening of the Kansas Territory, the company sent Charles F. Kob, a German-born surgeon, to Atchison City and provided him with a subsidy to start the *Kansas Zeitung*.<sup>16</sup> Kob's columns were filled with a combination of enthusiastic descriptions of the Kansas paradise and political sentiments in support of the Free-Soil cause. He assured his countrymen that with one hundred dollars, sufficient clothing, and a flint rifle, they would

13. Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *People of Kansas: A Demographic and Sociological Study* (Topeka: Kansas State Planning Board, 1936), p. 211.

14. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, pp. 151-167.

Edward Fleischer, editor of the *Atchison Courier*, promoted the establishment of a German Emigration Society for Kansas. In this issue he called for a meeting in January 1878, which was attended by representatives from all over the state. Subsequently, Fleischer visited many areas throughout Kansas and described them in his newspaper as attractive places for settlement.

15. The tabulation of the other, non-German, foreign-language newspapers of Kansas is based on information in Connelley's *History of Kansas Newspapers*.

16. See Samuel A. Johnson, "The Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Conflict," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 6, no. 1 (February, 1937), pp. 21-23, and Russell K. Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," *ibid.*, v. 4, no. 3 (August, 1935), p. 238n.





do very well in Kansas, "but even with nothing," he wrote, "you can find plenty of work, and Kansas offers definite security for the emigrant and his family."<sup>17</sup>

Despite these assurances, Kob's efforts were premature. The little paper could not flourish in the frontier hamlet of Atchison which, in the territorial census of 1855, registered only three Germans and one Swiss-German.<sup>18</sup> Relinquishing his interests in the paper in March 1858 to L. Soussman, who nursed it for another six months, Kob went to Leavenworth, where he established a land agency. In November 1858 an advertisement announcing his full-time medical practice appeared in the second issue of the new *Leavenworth Zeitung*.<sup>19</sup> This short-lived weekly was the second German-language newspaper in the territory, but it also disappeared after approximately six months.

Other attempts to establish German-language newspapers during the territorial period were equally unsuccessful.<sup>20</sup> The shifting population of the frontier and the unsettled political circumstances made it difficult to sustain and circulate a paper with such a specific audience. Yet, by 1860 there were approximately 4,500 Germans in Kansas, scattered in settlements throughout the northeast

quarter of the territory.<sup>21</sup> Their newspapers began to emerge following the Civil War, a product of their community development and a reflection of their sense of identity.

In 1865 there were almost 5,500 Germans in Kansas, with noticeable concentrations in three eastern areas: Leavenworth County, with 1,700 Germans; Douglas County, where 640 Germans clustered in settlements around Lawrence; and Atchison County, where 500 Germans settled in and around the growing commercial and railroad center at Atchison City.<sup>22</sup> Once again there were attempts to establish a German-language press, this time by resident Germans without apparent support or subsidy. In 1865 Soussman, formerly of the *Atchison Kansas Zeitung*, started the *Kansas Journal* in Leavenworth. It survived for three years before Soussman went into partnership with Louis Weil in a new but short-lived publication, the *Kansas Staats-Zeitung*, in 1869. In Atchison a weekly publication called *Die Fackel* (The torch) appeared briefly in 1866, but was soon absorbed by the *Westliches Volksblatt* of St. Joseph, Missouri. In Lawrence, another weekly, *Die Freie Presse*, was started by John Häberlein in 1868. When this paper faltered in Lawrence, Häberlein moved it to Leavenworth, where he developed it into the first persistent German-language newspaper in the state. With a daily edition for Leavenworth readers and a weekly issue circulated throughout the state, Häberlein and his sons published *Die Freie Presse* regularly for almost twenty years until its demise in 1886.<sup>23</sup>

Between 1865 and 1870 the German-speaking population in Kansas nearly tripled. Unrest in central Europe due to Bismarck's wars of unification spurred emigration. This, coupled with the end of the American Civil War and the push to develop the railroads and railroad lands of the American West, sparked the growth of Kansas. During this brief period the state's German-born population rose from

17. *Kansas Zeitung*, March 27, 1858.

18. Territory of Kansas, census of 1855, microfilm copy, archives department, Kansas State Historical Society.

19. *Leavenworth Zeitung*, November 27, 1858.

20. Records for this period are confusing. For example, neither the *Leavenworth Zeitung* nor the *Kansas Beobachter*, which it attacked editorially in November 1858, are cited in either Arndt and Olson or Connelley. Copies of the *Leavenworth* paper were discovered only in 1978 by Archivist Terry Harmon in the holdings of the Kansas State Historical Society. Harmon's research also revealed a list of territorial newspapers compiled by the *Kansas Weekly Herald* of Leavenworth on July 1, 1858. This list included a *Leavenworth Staats-Zeitung* which is nowhere else recorded.

Similarly, Arndt and Olson list an unnamed Atchison paper for 1859 and record that the *Kansas Zeitung* was published in Leavenworth from 1858 to 1868 (*German-American Newspapers*, p. 160). One extant issue of the *Kansas Zeitung* from 1863 is on microfilm in the Kansas State Historical Society. Connelley has no reference to either of these publications. Clearly, more research is needed on the press of the territorial period.

The *Germania*, Lawrence, published from 1877 to 1918, encouraged German settlement in Kansas by presenting full pages of pictures depicting Lawrence as an attractive and progressive city with substantial buildings, churches, and a university. This page arrays pictures and descriptions of the area, suggesting that Germans would find in Kansas many of the amenities of the more settled lands of the East.

21. J. Neale Carman, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas, I: Historical Atlas and Statistics* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1962), p. 4. See, also, J. Neale Carman, "Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas, 1854-1861," in *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial*, University of Kansas Social Science Studies (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1954), pp. 164-195.

22. Carman, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 5-7.

23. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, pp. 152, 159-160.





Separated from their homelands, German settlers in Kansas sought to identify with their new country while continuing to preserve their own language and culture. Their newspapers played a vital role in fostering a distinctively German-American tradition. Some German-Russian immigrants who came in the 1870s were Roman Catholic. Their communities in Ellis, Russell, and Rush counties reflected the names of the Volga River country of their homeland and were marked by spired churches which could be seen for miles. This family of German immigrants had settled in Liebenthal, Rush County.

approximately 5,500 to over 14,500. Two-thirds of these settlers remained in the eastern counties.<sup>24</sup> Then, in the mid-seventies, Mennonites and Volga Germans, whose ancestors had left central Europe for Russia during the eighteenth century, emigrated to Kansas.<sup>25</sup> Whereas the central European immigrants had tended to relocate in Kansas as individuals or small groups within larger communities, these German-speaking Russians traveled as congregations and town groups to start colonies on the Kansas prairies. The Mennonites, many of whom had prospered through the Crimean grain trade in Russia, purchased railroad lands in the fertile hills of east central Marion, McPherson, and Harvey counties. The Volga Germans, a less affluent Catholic and Lu-

theran population from the rural villages of the Volga basin, homesteaded the open plains lands of Russell and Ellis counties. Although born in Russia, these immigrants had retained their German heritage and language, but their eighteenth-century characteristics tended to separate these settlers from the central European immigrants. With these two new sources of immigration, however, the state's German-speaking component jumped by 1880 to 38,500, and the majority of this population was now located beyond the eastern counties in the agricultural interior west of Topeka.<sup>26</sup>

These settlement trends were reflected in the extension of the German-language newspapers across the state. In 1870 there is evidence of only one paper, Häberlein's *Freie Presse*, in Leavenworth. By 1880 there were fifteen papers published in eleven locations: small towns like Atwood, Great Bend, Halstead, Kinsley, Marysville, and Newton joined the growing cities of Topeka, Wichita, Atchi-

24. Carman, *Historical Atlas*, p. 9.

25. See Norman E. Saul, "The Arrival of the Germans from Russia: A Centennial Perspective," *American Historical Society of Germans from Russia Work Paper No. 21* (Fall, 1976), pp. 4-11, and "The Migration of the Russian-Germans to Kansas," *American Historical Society of Germans from Russia Work Paper No. 16* (December, 1974), pp. 1-15, reprinted from *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 40, no. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 38-62.

26. Carman, *Historical Atlas*, p. 9.

son, Leavenworth, and Lawrence as publication centers.<sup>27</sup>

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS performed three major functions. The first was to promote settlement by countrymen in the area served by the newspaper. As this proved to be successful, the paper then also served as a voice within the German-American community to support social and cultural identity and to promote issues of interest to the group. Finally, the press performed the dual function of keeping settlers in touch with both their past and present homelands. To survive, the immigrant papers did not require an exclusively German settlement. They frequently coexisted easily with the English-language newspapers of the town, and occasionally they even contained articles or advertisements in English. They relied on circulation by mail or on railroad delivery to readers outside the town in which they were published. On the other hand, a high mortality rate among these papers indicates that they could not survive simply on the basis of publishing in German. To be truly persistent, the immigrant paper had to reach beyond the medium of language to help identify and build the German-American character of the community. As long as the press acted to protect that sense of uniqueness and the cohesion which language and common heritage conferred, it, in turn, would hold and attract readers and prosper within the greater community.<sup>28</sup>

As we have seen, Kansas' first German-language newspaper, the Atchison *Kansas Zeitung* (1857-1858), was the result of American, not German, initiative. The German population was too small and diffuse to sustain it, despite active efforts by the editor to attract German immigrants and to speak for their community.<sup>29</sup> But in the 1870s, with John Häberlein's *Freie Presse* (1868-1886) leading the way, German newspapers blossomed across the state. Typically, these papers promoted immigration and settlement, editorially

focusing on the particular advantages of Kansas for German immigrants. Edward Fleischer, editor of the Atchison *Courier* (1876-1879), epitomized this tone in an editorial written in 1877:

... in this state you will find everywhere Germans who operate industrial establishments and who are always the first to lend a helping hand to any public endeavor. Is it any wonder, my friends, that cultured Americans make every effort to maintain good relations with Germans, and that citizens of every state seek to continue German immigration?—You, my friends, have the obligation to set a good example as Germans, and to influence those Germans who are seeking a new homeland. Haven't you the right to be proud of Kansas in just the same way you are proud of your birthplace?<sup>30</sup>

The *Germania* of Lawrence (1877-1918) employed a more subtle and charming way to attract Germans, presenting full pages of pictures to portray Lawrence as an attractive and progressive city, with substantial buildings, churches, and a university. Considerable practical and financial information was provided in the accompanying text, and other county settlements were mentioned as well. Particular attention was paid to educational facilities. This was a special effort to demonstrate the attractiveness of the area and to show that it could provide Germans with many of the amenities found in the more settled lands of the East.<sup>31</sup>

There was a clear relationship between the expansion of railroads in the 1870s and the growth of both the English- and the German-language press in Kansas. The railroads, which were granted lands from the public domain to sell as a means of financing new lines across the state, worked to attract immigrants as both buyers of land and customers of railroad services. They appointed agents to travel abroad and recruit immigrant settlers. For example, C. B. Schmidt of Lawrence was appointed commissioner of immigration for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in 1873 and was instrumental in recruiting the Mennonite colonies to settle railroad lands in south-central Kansas.<sup>32</sup> Agents such as Schmidt used the German-language press as a recruiting tool

27. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, pp. 153ff.

28. Witke, *German-Language Press*, pp. 2-6; Park, *Immigrant Press*, pp. 49-88.

29. See Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison, 1854-1859: Development of an Ethnic Community," *Kansas History, A Journal of the Central Plains*, Topeka, v. 2, no. 3 (Autumn, 1979), pp. 146-156.

30. Atchison *Courier*, October 4, 1877.

31. *Germania*, Lawrence, January 8, 1880.

32. Carl B. Schmidt, "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1905-1906*, Topeka, v. 9 (1906), pp. 485-497.

abroad, and editors such as Edward Fleischer used this relationship to advantage. Fleischer emphasized his access to railroads in order to attract readers and advertisers. He developed a network of subscription outlets among German retailers in nineteen towns across the whole eastern portion of the state and pledged to serve more Germans along the Santa Fe than any other paper. Fleischer also promoted the establishment of a German Emigration Society for Kansas, calling a formal meeting in January 1878 which was attended by representatives from all over the state.<sup>33</sup> Subsequently, Fleischer visited numerous areas throughout Kansas and wrote them up in his paper as attractive places for settlement.

AS GERMANS began to move into the state, their local newspapers began to play a vital role in efforts to develop and sustain a distinctively German-American presence. There was a definite sense of separation from the central European homeland and a strong sense of self-identification as Americans who preserved German culture and language in the new homeland. This is reflected clearly in the way references to Germany were handled by these papers. Although there were frequent, lengthy articles about central European affairs, the long distance and weekly format precluded close coverage of the news from abroad. Typically, therefore, the papers presented a full page of formatted short articles from each of the major German states such as Prussia, Hanover, and Bavaria. No effort was made to keep readers informed of current events or developments in those states; instead, the tone was almost gossipy, presuming a familiarity with affairs of the homeland. For example, the lead item in one report from the Grand Duchy of Hesse read:

Bensheim. A certain major industrialist is seeking as son-in-law an individual with technical ability who will be able to develop the concession for a gas plant in our city; he is willing to invest 150,000 to 200,000 Marks in the project.<sup>34</sup>

Along with this news digest, the "boiler plate" provided advertisements and sometimes serialized fiction. This distinctive format appears in many of the German-language papers

of Kansas, and was probably available on a syndicated basis from news services in the East.

By contrast, the German-American papers paid close attention to national events in the United States and to local items of interest to the German population. For example, the *Marysville Post* (1881-1901) gave first-page precedence on August 20, 1881, to the daily bulletins describing the condition of President Garfield, lingering in life despite an assassin's bullet. Then, in order, the major articles discussed an increase in commodity prices, the interstate turnverein competition in Missouri, the docket for the next district court session, a speech by an Iowa schoolteacher on the importance of preserving the German language among German-Americans, and political intrigue in the Prussian government. This paper, clearly, placed its emphasis on American citizenship and events, together with German-American cultural concerns. These priorities were echoed constantly by other German-language papers across the state.

There was no apparent movement among the Kansas Germans to develop an ethnic voting block out of their numbers. They joined existing American political parties and, on the whole, the German-language press took a moderate stance on political issues. As had been the custom in Germany, most papers identified themselves as non-partisan in the hope of securing as many readers as possible. Nonetheless, eleven papers came out in support of the Republican party, and seven for the Democratic party. The *German-American Advocate* of Hays (1882-1886) supported the Farmers' Alliance during the 1880s and regularly attacked the railroad monopoly. Similarly, in 1890 the Fort Scott *Herold* (1890) militated against prohibitionists in both par-

German-language newspapers provided their readers with a link to their central European homelands. But the long distance from Europe and the weekly format of most of the papers precluded close coverage of news from abroad. Instead, the papers published full pages of boiler plate material available on a syndicated basis from news services in the East. This page from the Lawrence *Germania* is typical of the boiler plate material which included advertisements and fiction, along with short features from such German states as Prussia, Hanover, and Bavaria.

33. Atchison *Courier*, January 15, 1878.

34. *Germania*, August 12, 1880.







ties.<sup>35</sup> In a rare English-language editorial the Atchison *Courier* asserted the political independence of German-American voters:

The German Americans are independent, they vote not for the party but for men as well as principle and if a candidate on the ticket of the republican party is dishonest, the German Republicans will not vote for him no more than the German Democrats will vote for a dishonest Democrat. If a German is on the ticket of one or the other party they will naturally [*sic*] support without distinction of the party the German just as well as the Americans prefer [*sic*] an American to a German and vote for him in preference to a German even if he is on the right ticket.<sup>36</sup>

The *Courier's* statement reveals the underlying current of cultural tension which tended to characterize relations between the American-born and the German immigrant populations of the state. As early as 1857 a correspondent from the frontier settlement of Alma, west of Topeka, wrote to the *Kansas Zeitung*:

The settlement has grown considerably this season and consists, now as before, with two exceptions, entirely of Germans. For the local Americans this is obviously "too much dutch." Otherwise we have an excellent relationship with our Yankee neighbors in Wabaunsa [*sic*] and Mission Creek, which is not surprising, because 80 to 100 who are unified and voters are not to be taken lightly.<sup>37</sup>

Nothing caused such lasting controversy between "Yankees" and German-Americans as their differing attitudes toward alcohol. Whereas the Yankees tended to favor Sunday laws and temperance, the Germans saw nothing wrong with taking beer or wine with meals or in leisure hours and resented the American moralizing which restricted them. In Atchison and Leavenworth the German papers led the struggle in 1858 to have these statutes re-

pealed or revised; in Atchison a German petition for Sunday hours successfully passed the town council.

In the 1880s the friction was still there, appearing in an interesting variation in Hays. There, Charles Miller ran a bilingual paper, the *German-American Advocate*, of which the first two pages were in English and the last two were in German. The news items in each section, though not identical, were similar, and advertisements for both German-American and Yankee merchants appeared in both languages. In November 1882 Miller published a warning on page one for his American readers: "We hear that a new saloon is to be built soon on the old Krueger corner. May the gods forbid." However, on page four, his German readers received an entirely different message: "A reliable source tells us that a new tavern will be opened here soon. Let's hope that we can get a big glass of beer (a schooner) at half price." Clearly, editor Miller had no scruples about appealing to the special interests of both his constituencies.<sup>38</sup>

Bilingual publications were rare, however, and generally short-lived in Kansas. Records indicate only eleven publications with a regular or intermittent bilingual format. The Atchison *Kansas Staats-Anzeiger* (1881-1882), the Marion *Central Kansas Telegraph* (1880-1881), the Canada *Arcade* (1886-1887), and the Burrton *Anzeiger* (1892) each survived only about one year. The *German-American Advocate* (1882-1886), the Hays *Free Press* (1882-1890), the Hillsboro *Herald* (1886-1890), and the Leavenworth *Advertiser* (1899-1908) were slightly more successful, but did not persist. Only three papers which appeared in a bilingual format managed to sustain publication: the Hillsboro *Journal* (1902-1953) and *Der Wahrheitsfreund* (1915-1947), both Mennonite publications, and the *Coopers International Journal* (1890-1918) published by the labor union in Kansas City, which ultimately converted to the English language.<sup>39</sup>

35. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, pp. 151ff, identifies partisan affiliations.

36. Atchison *Courier*, November 2, 1876.

37. *Kansas Zeitung*, December 30, 1857.

In addition to boiler plate and local items of interest to German subscribers, German-American newspapers in Kansas paid close attention to news of national events in the United States. The front page of the Marysville *Post*, August 20, 1881, illustrates the range of interests of German readers who also identified with the concerns of their adopted country. This issue gave first-page precedence to telegraph bulletins on the condition of President Garfield, who lingered for eleven weeks after being felled by an assassin's bullet.

38. *German-American Advocate*, Hays, November 15, 1882.

39. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, and Connelley, *History of Kansas Newspapers*, identify bilingual publications. The *Kansas Staats-Anzeiger* was published between 1879 and 1915 in the German language; it was associated briefly with the English-language daily, the Atchison *Journal*, from 1881 to 1882.





THE FAILURE of the bilingual mode reinforces the conclusion that the German-Americans preferred to maintain separate papers and readership. But on numerous occasions specific articles, usually with a strong political message directed at the non-German community, were printed in English by the German papers. This practice increased markedly during the period leading up to the United States' entry into World War I. German-American editors generally supported the German cause rather than that of the European allies and tried to convince other Americans of the peaceful nature of Germans at home and abroad. In September 1914 the *Wichita Herold* (1885-1922), the cornerstone of John Hoenscheidt's eleven-paper chain of German-language newspapers, published in English a major editorial entitled "Let's Have Fair Play," which read in part:

About one-fourth of the American people came from Germany or are of German descent. Most of those who came here years ago have since become American citizens, and according to the United States census, a greater percentage of Germans has acquired citizenship than any other foreign nationality.

Could anyone justly complain about their German fellow citizens of being peace disturbers? Can it be said that the Germans here, in celebrating their "Turnerfest" or "Saengerfest" indulge in fights or scrapping? And the German in this country, as a rule, are [*sic*] not different from the Germans living in Europe.<sup>40</sup>

After the first year of the war, however, British propaganda about alleged German atrocities had clearly swayed Americans, and anti-German sentiment was rising. At Christmastime 1915 the *Neue Kansas Staats-Zeitung* of Kansas City (1894-1916) reacted in anguish and outrage to the demand by a Topeka paper that loyal Americans refuse to buy German toys for their children. The paper replied in a prominent, English-language editorial:

... only an inhuman brute and monster would lend himself to assist in planting the seed of hate in the innocent hearts of American children against a country which has never done them a wrong. . . . German emigrants have brought to American little children the Christmas tree. Germany has given them the thousand and one little playthings that fill their innocent little hearts with joy; it has given them the kindergarten, the thousand little fables, stories and songs in translation they enjoy so immensely. . . . Not satisfied with poisoning the minds of the public with damnable lies against Germany, even the children are now being taught also this hate.<sup>41</sup>

But the German-American papers could not stem the inevitable tide of anti-German feeling generated by the war. Those who spoke German were considered disloyal and dangerous, and even the pacifist German Mennonites were subjected to insult and violence in Kansas because they refused to buy war bonds or enter military service.<sup>42</sup> Early in 1918 the *Wichita Herold* announced to its readers that all German-born aliens had to register and obtain special identity papers. By the end of the year most of the German-American newspapers of Kansas ceased publication. They did not attempt to convert to standard English-language editions; they simply closed down.

Of the German-language publications which survived the hostility of the war era in Kansas, ten were Mennonite. Sustained by a German scripture and tradition which was reinforced by a religious lifestyle and one hundred years of practiced cultural autonomy in imperial Russia, the Mennonite sects sustained publications which circulated in Kansas and in Mennonite communities and missions across the world. This particularist and secular press had developed apart from the other German-language papers in Kansas, although it demonstrated some of the characteristics of the other immigrant papers. The earliest papers reflected the impulse to confirm and expand the settlement. *Zur Heimath* (To the homeland, 1875-1881) and *Nachrichten aus der Heidenwelt* (Report from the wilderness, 1878-1881) were established shortly after settlement and were sent back to Russia and to the missions. As competition grew between

40. *Wichita Herold*, September 11, 1914.

The bilingual *German-American Advocate*, Hays, was edited by Charles Miller, who had a contract to publish the land-claim notices required of homesteaders. The first two pages of the newspaper were in English and the last two in German. In each section the news items were similar, though not identical, and advertisements of both German and American merchants appeared in both languages.

41. *Neue Kansas Staats-Zeitung*, December 10, 1915.

42. See Herbert Pankratz, "The Suppression of Alleged Disloyalty in Kansas During World War I," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 42, no. 3 (Autumn, 1976), pp. 277-307, and James C. Juhnke, "Mob Violence and Kansas Mennonites in 1918," *ibid.*, v. 43, no. 3 (Autumn, 1977), pp. 334-350.





two rival Mennonite sects in Kansas, the General Conference Mennonites and the Mennonite Brethren, the number of publications grew. In all, the Mennonites initiated almost thirty different publications in Kansas, most of them monthly or quarterly religious periodicals, although some, such as the *Newton Herold* (1897-1941) carried news and editorials like the secular papers. Americanization eventually took its toll of these publications as well, as they either ceased publication or converted to English.<sup>43</sup>

It is tempting to think of German-language newspapers as something quaint or exotic, as an interesting but impractical effort of the immigrant population to retain its identity. But that was not the case. The German-language papers of Kansas were definitely commercial enterprises, designed and proven to be profitable. During the last half of the nineteenth century, twenty-one companies formed in Kansas for the purpose of publishing these papers. Ranging from simple partnerships to a major chain, these papers prospered with local and national advertising, loyal subscribers, and full participation in the regular business affairs of the community. John Hoenscheidt was clearly the press baron of the Kansas Germans. Starting from the base of the *Wichita Herold*, he developed a chain of weekly papers which were published in Atchison, Ellinwood, Kingman, Marysville, and Pittsburg, as well as in Joplin, Missouri, and in four towns in Oklahoma. H. von Langen had papers in Atchison, Newton, Topeka, and Marion. The Häberlein family, father and sons, worked on papers in Leavenworth and Lawrence.<sup>44</sup> Some editors secured local contracts for official governmental announcements. L. Soussman contracted to publish a

number of state orders and laws during 1863 in his *Kansas Zeitung*, and his reporter-partner, Louis Weil, was an officially accredited legislative reporter.<sup>45</sup> Charles Miller of the *German-American Advocate* secured the contract to publish land claim notices required of homesteaders. Indicative of his interaction with the Volga Germans, his name frequently appears as one of the witnesses for their land claims in Ellis County.

Not all of these business ventures proved successful. Of the approximately 120 German-language publications from Kansas there were many, in fact, which went out of business after only a few years. However, between 1885 and 1915 there were never fewer than fifteen German publications circulating in the state, and from 1895 to 1910 there were at least twenty or more. Aside from the Mennonite publications, the German-language papers which proved most durable were the provincial weeklies serving both urban and rural communities. By reserving the German language for periods of the readers' relaxation and contemplation, these papers persisted because they did not seriously try to compete with the more assertive newsgathering of the local American journals. Only six German papers tried to function in a daily format, and only three of them persisted for more than two years: the Häberleins' *Freie Presse*, which circulated virtually without competition during the early 1870s; the Leavenworth *Post* (1887-1897); and the Leavenworth *Tribüne* (1887-1917). Significantly, each of these papers had a more widely circulated weekly edition as well.<sup>46</sup>

Although there are no reliable or consistent records of circulation, it is clear that none of these papers reached mass audiences. The stated circulation in 1900 of representative papers mentioned above reflects their selective appeal:<sup>47</sup>

Lawrence *Germania*: 1,200  
Leavenworth *Tribüne*: 885  
Marysville *Post*: 960  
Newton *Herold*: 960

43. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, pp. 154, 164.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-154, 159-167.

This page of the bilingual *German-American Advocate* has news columns and advertisements in German and a column of land-claim notices in English. The name of Charles Miller, editor, appeared frequently as one of the witnesses for land claims of Volga German settlers in Ellis County.

45. *House Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas* (Lawrence: Steam Printing Plant of the State Journal, 1863), p. 17.

46. Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, pp. 159, 161.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153, 157-164, 167.

Wichita *Herold*: 1,800  
Atchison *Kansas Staats-Anzeiger*: 4,800  
Ellinwood *Barton County Presse* (1903): 1,800  
Kansas City *Neue Kansas Staats-Zeitung*: 960  
Hillsboro *Post* (Mennonite): 2,568.

As we have seen, the state of Kansas had an unusually strong tradition of local newspapers during the nineteenth century, a tradition which contrasted with that of many other rural states. The German-language press was a part of that tradition, and yet separate from it. It represented a major German cultural heritage which was deliberately perpetuated despite the strong competition from local American papers. The fortunes of the German papers were closely tied to the growth of the immigrant communities across the state, yet language and numbers alone were not sufficient to support them. The editors had to adopt

strategies to develop and sustain their readers' conscious pride in being both German and American. By focusing on materials which would support that duality, the weekly German-language press reinforced that unique quality of being a "hyphenated-American." An individual could participate fully in the daily public life of the English-speaking American community, yet have ever at hand the proud ethnic heritage pooled in the reservoir of the press. The continuing success of the German-language press in Kansas defies the "melting pot" theory of frontier life. It clearly demonstrates the coalescence behind the Kansas frontier of a durable German-American identity. Only the devastating hostilities generated in World War I could force these German-Americans to suppress their continental heritage, and with it, their rich and versatile German-American press.