

Jahrgang 19.

Leavenworth, Ranfas, Dienftag, ben 2. Februar 1886.

Rummer 11

Der

Wichita

Herold.

Widpita, Ransas, Donnerstag, Den 18 Januar 1900

The German Newspapers of Kansas

Eleanor L. Turk

HURSDAY, Friday, or Saturday was I "newspaper day" for most of the residents of Kansas during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although daily papers circulated in urban centers such as Leavenworth, Topeka, Lawrence, and Wichita, the residents of the many and widely dispersed rural communities depended upon local weeklies for news and entertainment. These homely publications compacted news, editorials, train schedules, social announcements, commodity reports, fiction, jokes, and advertisements into a basic, four-page format. Simple as they were, these little weeklies formed the sturdy foundation of an unusually substantial press which distinguished Kansas from other rural states during that period.

The debut of the *Kansas Weekly Herald* of Leavenworth on September 15, 1854, marked the beginning of the state's press. Newspapers played a vital role thereafter in attracting

settlers to the newly opened territory and in bringing them together into communities. They chronicled the political turmoil of the slave and Free-Soil contest, sharing in the multiple election campaigns and in the dreadful Civil War that followed. This press proudly proclaimed Kansas statehood in 1861 and boosted the boomtown attitudes of railroads and land developers in the 1870s. The temperance and populist movements in the last two decades of the century also found their arena in the press.

The press of Kansas grew rapidly as settlers fanned out across the state. In 1865, despite a population base of only 140,000, there were thirty-seven newspapers in Kansas; by 1870,

^{1.} Nyle H. Miller, Edgar Langsdorf, and Robert W. Richmond, Kansas in Newspapers (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1963), p. 22.

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.2 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.3 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 Germanlanguage 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.

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 foreignborn population in the nation until 1930.4 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.5

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.6 The German turnvereins, musical groups, and churches similarly flourished on American soil.7 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.8 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.9 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 21,000.10 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.11 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.12 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

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.

^{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.

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 Metrop. Geschichte der Trans Burde Unit.

^{7.} See Heinrich Metzner, Geschichte des Turner-Bundes (Indianapolis: Der Zukunft, 1874) and Otto E. Kriege, et al., Souvenir der West Deutschen Konferenz der Bischoflichen 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).

gen 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.

Etward Fleitcher,

Donnerftag, ben 13. Juli, 1876.

ANSED

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

SUBSCIPTION: \$2 per annum. Office in Topeka, Ks., with the To eka "Blade", where orders for advertisements and subscriptions may be left.

Advertisements \$12 pro inch per an num, for a shorter period extra charges. Local-notices on the third page 10 cents pro line. Editorial-notices on the ond page given only to Industrial Enterprizes of the State of Kansas.

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

Rational Republifani: fcbes Tictet.

Gur Brafibent : Rutherford. B. Gaves. von Obto.

Gur Bice-Brafibent :

William A. Wbeeler. bon Rem Dorf.

FOR GOVENOR: John M. Price OF ATCHISON COUNTY.

. The ratification meeting of the At, chison democracy reminded us of a joke of honest Abe Lincoln, when a Prussian General complimented Gen'l Mc-Clellan 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 streight republican ticks ets. We advice Guthrie to be a little more truthful, the people wont stand his lies, the truth is just as cheap.

s "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 Guth;

ate 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 princips al of Kerr. He helped himself, to conceat his inflation doctrine with value less pleasure, the 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 mean. ing 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 obsers vation we here reiterate the statement. that the German vote of this country will be very nearly a unit for

Havs & Wheeler !

Des Friedens Morgenroth

Mus Guropa's fernem Often, Tont foon wieber Kriegsgefdrei! Darf bas Schwert boch niemals roften Bogu maren Pulver, Blei?

Menidenmord, in großen Maffen, 3ft ja ein erlaubtes Spiel; Rur ben Mörber muß man baffen, Per fich Einen mablt jum Biel!?

3a, man preift ber Belben Thaten! Schmudt fie mit bem Lorbeerpreis; Daß in Menschenblut fie maten; Lechzenb nach bem Giegerpreis!

Baterland! wie muß Du borgen Dit bem frechften Uebermuth Deinen Ramen. Rnechte forgen Reichlich bann für Opferbiut!

Wenn Thrannen Krieg beginnen, Deben fie Dich auf ben Schilb; Bflange bann auf Deine Binnen 3hr und Gottes Gbenbilb!

Und bas Bolt. bas bumme eilet, Schlägt fich fonell für Beibe tobt! Urme Menfcheit! weit noch weilet Deines Friedens Morgenroth!

Rem Bort. Sigmund Rand

Die Centennial: Feier.

Bhiladelphia. Der 100. 3ab: restag ber ameritanifden Unabhangigfeit murbe beute bei Sonnenaufgang burch Das Gelaute aller Gloden ber Stadt und bas Abfeuern einer Rational : Galut. falve im Fairmount Parf eingeweiht. Sieran reifte fich bie große Militarpara: be, woran Militar: Organifationen aus Beft-Boint, League Island, eine aus je einer Compagnic aus einem ber 13 Driginalftaaten gebilbeten Centennial-Legion, Abtheilungen bes 7. Regimentes. R. G. 3. 9. 9., ber Beteran-Rationalgarbe, bes 23., 5., 22. unb 10. Regimentes R. lich bie bentiden Gangesbrüber unb (8. G. N. B., Miligen aus Detroit in Schubenvereine berbor. Um Abend mar

ten Anblick gewährt, wie in ben leten Tagen. Bis fpat in die Racht hinein ergoß fich ein gebrangter Menfchenftrem burch bie hell erleuchteten Strafen unb erft ber nabenbeDorgen brachte bas bur: gerliche Element in bie alten, gewohnten Geleife.

Cincinnati. Die beutige Reier war eine allgemeine und bie Stabt prangte in einem Der von Glaggen unb Transparenten. Mus allen Rachbarorten hatte fich eine große Menge Frember eingefunben, bie bie große Borate in Mugenfchein nehmen wollten, an ber fid "Centennial-Compagnien" unb Continentals aus ben eingelnen Barbs betheiligten und bie einen glangenben Ginbrud machte. Um Abend wurbe ein großes Feuerwerf auf Rofton ber Ctabi abacbrannt.

San Francisco. Beute ift ber lette ber Centennial-Feiertage, Die om 1 Buli begannen. Geftern fanb bei Bre fibio ein Scheingefecht flatt und an Abend folgte eine große Ranonabe von Fort und ben Schiffen im Safen. Seuti fand eine große Parabe flact, ber ein Regatta am Radmittag und ein Das fenball am Abend folate.

MIbany. Die heutige Feier war eine glangenbe. Gie begann geftern un Mitternacht burd Abicbiegen einer Ca lutfalve und bas Lauten ber Gloden Bei Connengufaang murben 100 Rone nenfcuffe abgefeuert unb am Morgen, Mittag und Abend ertonte bas Gloden. fpiel ber Gt. Beterefirche. Die große Barabe befiand aus 7 Divifionen unt nahmen bas 10. unb 25. Regiment. Die Stadtbehörben und eine große Angabl militarifcher und burgerlicher Afficciationen Theil baran. Um Radmittag fanben Regatten fiatt und am Abend be: fchloß ein brillantes Teuerwert bie Teier.

Bafhington. Die heutige Teier ift feine impofante gewefen, ba bie mei ften Brominenten nach Bhilabelphia ab: gegangen finb. Der Goupenberein hielt in feinem Bart eine gut befuchte Refffeier ab und bei ber Feier in Mount Pleafant hielt bas Congresmitglieb Belle bickeffrebe. Bei Connenaufgang, am Mittag und beiConnenuntergang murben je 100 Galuticuffe abgefeuert.

Baltimore. Die offizielle Beier bes 100. Unabhangigfeitstages fand beute im Druib Sill Bart fratt. Dberit B. DR. Gnowden verlas biellnabhangigfeits-Erflarung unb General Ch. C. Phelps hielt die Feftrede. Auch bie Bris vatvereine feierten ben Tag in gebuhren: ber Beife und thaten fich babei nament: rie's election. We do not deny that Dichigan, Bofton, Portsmouth in Ohie, Die Gtabt auf bas Brachtigfte illuminirt

Courier.

Ed. fleischer.

Derausgeber und Rebacteur.

Dienftag, ben 15. 3anuar, 1878.

Agenten für den Courier,

an welche Bahlungen ju madeu und bie beauftragt finb, barüber Quittugen ju

- Bidita Fris Snipler, Reftauration, hotel unb
- Ellin woob- G. M. Stedel, Sanbler in Spegerei Bearen, Ellenwaaren, Elfenwaaren, Aderdauge rathen u. h. ; ebenfo Eigenthumer ber Ellinwool Robimübie.
- reat Benb Jacob Alefs, Firma Boble Maber, Spegereimaarenhanbler.
- m poria B. G. Beilman, Cattler und ganbler in Cattein, Bferbegeichirren, Barften, Beitiden
- Clah Centre- D. J. Luit, Großbanbler in Li-queuren, Beinen, Cigarren und Bier. 28 athen a- August Muller, Apotheler und hand-ler in Delfarben, Schreibmaterialien u. j. w.
- grions M. Bunberlid, hotel, Baderel unb
- Rort Scott M. Lichtenberger, Wagenfabritant um bolbt - R. Remmerer, Cattler und Sandler in Gattelu, Bierbegeichirren, Beitiden, Burften
- ba nover ... M. Jabide, Banbler mit Schnittwaaren, Speşereiwaaren, Brobifinen u. f. w. Desereiwaaren, Brobifinen u. f. w. Maryabille... George Dorfner, Galcon unb Bil-liarball in
- liardhalle. I m a... A. Hedger, Schuh- und Stiefel-Fabritant. a m e g o... Schofchufen und Lude, Saloon und Bilardballe. In n etion City: John Gros, Sanbier und Fab-ritant bon Mobeln.
- Jun effinn 6:19: 30om ven, ganbrer und gwe-rifant von Mobeln. Saline: Odfar Seits, Avothefer und Hillen erman Meher, hertenschneiber und Hilene: Derman Meher, hertenschneiber und Frankler mit fertigen Riebern. Frankler: "Jareb Berbage, durch, Depuit County Balbington. "Torobere durch, Depuit County Elect von Medigington Gon Moothefer und Händ-fer mir Belfanden, Celen, Gebridmatriellen 2c.

Berhandlungen der Convention

Stante Ranfag jur Grundung einer Dentfchen

ber Deutschen bom

Staats Emi: aration 8

Gefell: fchaft.

Die Delegaten vom Staate Ranfas verfammelten fich in ber Reprafentan ten - Balle Mittwoch 7 Uhr Abends und murde biefelbe von herrn G. Gleifder jur genannten Beit jur Drbnung gerus fen ber fortan ben Mufruf bezugneh. mend auf Organifatian einer Emigratis

folgenben Beren Delegaten murben ju biefem Comite ermablt : D. Seit, Saline Co. &. Bathelbes Douglas County unb Dt. Collar Forb Zounty.

Berr Delegat P. Silbebrand ergriff bas Bort, gu bem Brede, ber Con: vention eine Conflitution fur eine Staats Emigrations Gefellicaft porgu" legen und ftellte ben Untrag bag biefe Conftitution paragraphenweife verlefen. befprocen und angenommen werbe. Giue beftige Debatte eutfpann fich fobann über jenen Untrag, ber ju bem Refulrate fahrte, bağ biefe Convention fich als ein Comite bes gangen auflößte melches and gefchab unter bem temp. Borfiger.

Folgende Baragraphen wurden verlefen : § 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 12, 13, 15, einige murben ganglich geftrichen, anbere veranbert bie Debrgabt jeboch angenommen, w'e verlefer. - Es murbe fedann ber Untrag gefiellt, baß fich biefes Committe jest portage bis 8} Uhr Morgens - welcher Untrag angenomigen wurde.

Januar ben 10, 1878.

Morgenfigung.

Das Comite bes Gingen wurde um 84 Uhr Morgens jus Ordnung gerufen burd ben Borfiber.

Delegat Thinfcheibt ftellte ben Untrag, bof bie Delegaten Die ihren refp. angeborigen congressionellen Diftritte entfprecenbe Gibe einnehmen, Angenommen. Das Brotofoll von geftern Abend verlefen und gutgehe gen

Derr Delegat D. Goers Sarben Co. wurde gum pro. Brotocollführer im Blabe von herrn 3. Saug. Leavenworth County (abwefenb) ernannt. fdritt fobann gur weiteren Berlefung unb Befprechung ber Conflitution, unb murben bie übrigen Baragrophen angenommen.

Berr B. Tauber, Shawnee County, ftellte ben Untrag, bag fich nun bas Comite bes gangen aufloje und tiefe Conftitution mit beren Berbefferung an bie Convention gur Unnahme empfiehlt. Angenommen.

Der Bericht bes Comites murbe in ber Conbention entgegengenommen, ber Conftitution verlefen und einftimmig ange-

Das Comite, welches bie Abreffe bes temp. Borfitger an ber Convention gur Brufung übergeben murbe, brachte eineu Majoritate unb Minoritate Bericht farifflich ein mie falet.

Lamrence und Topeta,

Eas Refultat ber Moftimmung erg ib Topeta 28, Lawrence 19 Stimmen, fo mit murte Topeta als ben Suptfit ber Befellfhaft gewählt.

Untrag fich bis 2 Uhr Machmittag gu vertagen. Ungenommen.

Radmittag Sitgung.

Die Convention murbe um 2 11gr R. DR gur. Drbnung gernfen, Brototoll ron E. DR. perlefen und 'gutgebeißen, Serrr Delegat Londi, Galine Couns th, machte folgenben Untrag ichriftlich: Befdloffen, bog wir, bie Deut: fchen bon Ranfas, in Delegaten Convention verfammelt, uns hiermit verpflichten, von jest an bis jum nachften Bufammentritt unferer Legis, lotur babin gu wirfen, bag bann ein Befet paffirt marbe bes Inbalte : Benn immer bie Eliern bon & ber Rinber irgend eines Goalbiftrifts bem betreffenben Schulrath irgend eis nes Schulbiftrittes fo erfuchen, bie beutiche Sprache als Lehrgegenftanb eingeführt merten foll.

Befchloffen, bağ wir fr. G. Rleis fder für feine Dienfte als Boifiger biefer Convention unferen berglichen Dant biermit abftatten.

Die folgende Berbefferung murbe vom Delegaten G. Tauber gemacht :

3m Jahre 1868 paffirte bie Legisla: ur bon Ranfas ein Gefet, bezüglich bes Unterrichts in ber beutiden Sprache in unferen öffentlichen Schulen, mohlweis lich er beille bie bamalige Bef tagebung, biefes Privilegina, nur frum Lortheig bes Magemeinen, nm ber fculpflichtis gen Jugend Belegenbeit gu geben, fich mit einer Sprache befannt gu machen, bie im pripat, aber befonders im ges daftlichen Berfehr nur vom größtem Rutgen fein fann.

Bebech im Babre 1877 fand es eine wohlmeisliche Gefetzgebung für gwed. maßiger, trotabem wir eine ungeheuere beutich fprechenbe Einwanberung nach bem Staate hatten, jenes Befets bon 1868 gu widerrufer, und gefchah es auch, durch eine Gefetgvorlage, einges bracht von bem Genator Green; von Douglas County, wodurch feine fremde Sprache als blos bie lanbesübliche (eng: lifche) als Lehrgegenstand porgetragen werben baif, und murbe burch bie Unterzeichnung unferes jetzigen Bouv. gum Befetge erboben.

Bir find weit entfernt eine fcroffe ober felbft feindlich gefinnte Steffung gegenüber diefem erlaffenen obligatoriichen

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.13 The earliest Germanlanguage 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.14

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. ¹⁵

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.16 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

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.

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

^{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.



Zon Nathhhand liefer Gugund hat im John 180-their Kafish-lang liefer Gugund hat im John 180-their Joil Hart Black General has not beliefelbiet General, with bot Chiefelber Gund, maren addelet his or Gugund. Has 1. Chiefee, highless Jahrel was comment granated, such your yet direct bed general for



Strafenfeene in Lamrence, ib geigt und eine ichten, od José berite idecht ein, einem nur den Zuraten femundere in , ben tad Bilb im Bertengenete beriebt it be haperenn. Ge fodigt übe eine fie meie



Dir Rationalbant.

















Berfdirbene Befattie







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." 17

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.18 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 fulltime medical practice appeared in the second issue of the new Leavenworth Zeitung.19 This short-lived weekly was the second Germanlanguage 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.20 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.21 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.22 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 1886.23

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.

^{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

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 Euro-peans in Rural Kansas, 1854-1861," in Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial, University of Kansas Social Science Studies (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1954), pp. 164-105.

^{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. Twothirds of these settlers remained in the eastern counties.24 Then, in the mid-seventies, Mennonites and Volga Germans, whose ancestors had left central Europe for Russia during the eighteenth century, emigrated to Kansas.25 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 Lutheran 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 Germanspeaking 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.²⁶

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.

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.

son, Leavenworth, and Lawrence as publication centers.²⁷

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.28

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.²⁹ 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? ³⁰

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.³¹

There was a clear relationship between the expansion of railroads in the 1870s and the growth of both the English- and the Germanlanguage 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.32 Agents such as Schmidt used the German-language press as a recruiting tool

Arndt and Olson, German-American Newspapers, pp. 153ff.
 Wittke, 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.33 Subsequently, Fleischer visited numerous areas throughout Kansas and wrote them up in his paper as attractive places for settlement.

S GERMANS began to move into the state, A 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 sonin-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.³⁴

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.



d allen Lieden bei Lenden erstadt, na was ederffen an die Soapsteider-il Wiener Medizin Co., CHICAGO. ILL. Or. Maria F. Haller's nteres



Du ften mittel!
Duften mittel!
T Brennd ber hansfran!
mobildenfrade, mittelbe son in
lieber finders und Cellung

| March | Control | Contro

\$0 R.	2	dary	Bui	leg	50	ît.
Wet, de motor come print a depoint	Jabrgang 1.			No. 5. 10.10		
er d br	Lelegraph.	James handert und beetfährige stort, mage un, feburtetagefeler. Deportet. 1700. Con M.	. Quagarong has best morte, and the gamps Wilde, it is notice Collines for Chees, in his Burden et. al. appear incompant has a president Wilderst . Am a straige mapes Steel for Conversal on Gentlines (in)			Dearfhall County
M. Ball in, bell et Seelerries	3 n a m b. Tas Belluben bes Bodibenien.	Traupirel, sin is 31. Johnt ber von ihranigen theurie beit breifiger Lernbreren, angeltubigten 1614. C. C. M. Labelier, beigeneigene, Die Proties Meries et, al.; Rie	color prove Cheriet toel ber Comp Reterre und jagerich ber Grope Street und jagerich ber ber ber Ger ber Bertebelten	14. Street State pay Cope to plane		Bauf
arellardross idge unit ini- alors melle	Belbington, 18. Kup. R: 20 Morgon E. Tor Bullbust Intel lager Rade side	bei Midwerigel Leisbegift, beig et, eing von gegenfiele wirden bei dem bemoben. "Auf ein- genomenem Iräklänt, beindem wir unterschung bes heispaparter bei wein,	Ling ungen Ales averflentiden Arten bie Deuerflentiden ungen Ries bei beiten, bie fe Leuriden Berging bei bei ber ber ber ber bei ber	a i a	1	Sant
d tapes unt.	und bet Schatel feie er einera erfebert met. Gein Wigen mer felte erigben unt hatte er nerbinderer Erbenftungen. Ette	highet, der Laundeille". Der Andmaride inite und in Und bereichtenen, meh als mie Mongatodie Laund und Eller bart auflichten, bereichte nach "Mochanich Lien", broditite Lielle, in oder Mannen wer inn in ist. h. E. dr.	officered et. organ corner Otoge wegen und stage and selection of the design of the per graph John Bor- joon, he fid ben Artennin nobel joint, Charle more	fertiden Pamille.		Marysville, St.
Streeten bene Du	jegt auf 110, Bate 100 oab Alburn Dt. Bath nigt n., 13. Ang. 12:30 Radiustings.	mart britterten. Die wir mit ber Alten-Bertperrang men fingleiten ber hilbe nellbunnen befannt, bibt. A. G. de alle auf ben Pitten imperiten geitungen Staffert auf Gefer	And Dereitung bei Geriffenstein gegenten im Inder (270 ber beriffe ein Inder (270 ber beriff) ein Inder (270 ber beriffe ein Inder (270 ber beriff))))	pe die Bertiner Cerripenhent jegende in innfante Gegefelten innfante Gegefelten Die ber neuengende aller Gegenste		CAPITAL : 850,000.
cyages definate	12:20 Rechteiltage Der Beffere ift ein ber Menge Great beiter. Das Erkerdes bei de geget bei Brad in Zur Zespens der ein Arben 18. 1 Bellington, 14. Nag. 2 2:20 Mongrad. Det bildere mar aufgeraß, wie beite bil Gefenden mitgene Bernard. der Bullbert mar aufgeraß wie beite bil Gefenden mitgene bernard.	geichende Beubring geldreit, fing und fortreng ben biger liefe dehichten an inngweilig zu weben, die zu nebend Jernbr miere Morgreiffen Meinunger Carll Abster and Brait Donge, 1906. Philippe	Corners grave (). G. Elevent grave (). G.	or of distriction by bestife End- in Englis.		pr quedante is de freshe B
Erun Per gber, gefeftet	ger Briffert mar neigereg, wil beite nit Getenften millered Bermitten	untide bie Eter hetter, Atreptes bes Jasset Mehletien Geries ben Marqueste, hater au Lay ies Anafreieri, ptuck ben Milliour-Godin Loro-Hopfel je vertreten. Der eine gere von Kicke Persten et, al.; Me	(c) ungen Uniferen fein, gabe jebach gill Weiter Frangel. Gebelreigleiten ge Menglen, beite eigenemme ner bente beite beiten beite beiten generenn mit beitereigen Gefendung ber Beite Die beitereigen Gefendung ber Beite Die	the rape Come marks menting as corrected as themselves and guildingle fremunde but bet bet bet better meldt gening gelorden miter, ble better meldt gening gelorden miter, ble		Sintern
or graps.	MANUEL MANUEL MANUEL S. S. O. T. COMPANIES.	inn, melder, wir nan ferrichtet werbe, bie fiede. Gier net neberer Marpanifern fpellen melle, fingete nicht bage beweren. Deb Ratier mit Einer der Endle get prenade. Weren d. s;	i Tagi Glich E. Ser Jad jen Lieb unteller in Ren Jad jen Lieb untelle. Der Rehme geligfte sin mit ihrer Bert Rehme geligfte sin mit ihrer Berten ben fachlierenitenet und	indicate organitares, and the lots distance or inflor, told for our before montes district to be authorogeneous	Opport and Olivensons.	tree County Propé Selection E. E. Companion.
dest unb dest unb randprire b. hans	pen Stiere In. Hallington, 14. Nag. 12:30 Nodestrings. The Stiere best Selfermin bear- info profe Selfermin, Gr St eme- bejer dis lope Node, which side in si- priedt. Salt 114, Temperatur M.S. Stiere In.	fann fich John, ber bie beiben herre briefe. hnuch bigin beufen, und et machente and nor, beiß fie natien ber ließ ber Westerber anspare nicht gefannenbruden, bern eile befetzt.	Houde gepen E. M. Meuterter ber benftige Merle, auch in Meutenter ber benftigen Merle, propre Mitter ber benftigen Chronic und Mitterstein ber bestiften Chronic und	C Supplier State of S	Grade Dary Bergettentrenen. 1	biergen ein allgemeines Burdpiblift. Beifet auf alle Theiten bed Lenbet.
Peliketi Ent ber beliedori bel Peie	gefreit. Bufs 114, Leopenten 16.3. Mibren 14. Walbington, 14. Aug.	Krigerfarengie tem Begiet gugebnde. magies for liber fich engefess tellen, bei C. handeless and helmsig, had millen mer beidebnerti ge- siehere, fenotes fix siele bemilitigen. 1002. Indie C.	tiere und Liebe proper to Crain Marya und Arbeiten beit beid Derfysiele ge eines ger. Beleicht, bie bei ber eigenem Men Gentorin gegen Will.	of hime admitty being gefreieren, bed in Stellente all the Chilly Bertreiter. In Sectionalist mich, decke at his	a ane Maren, blig stagefart für	DELMONICO
a Peli-	Dr. Bill lagte brete Madmetting, bei wenne bad priege Gritentern bes Prilibers ter nicht falls aufliert, und ber Beld	und ergreich ter tellft bettent priprougen, finen Muter und in Liefenn und einer Miner ber indebene Bichebendeung eine Edischen, Rufe und Odfeneluntent übrig Beim Morre baten be tadeits geheiten Mor. A Jagunet I	General professent. 10. E. Spiessent propert 2. Electron ber Michigan and Michiga	Einfeitigefel Littenef's ten Bufen beger hoeb benefigt merben alle. Genie mit mar ber Keiferin abse 360	Brijes erelieft merten. Datter, Gier, gestadjertet Micha	BAKERY F
er bijo	lich est bie Angreicht feinen balbigen En burideitens gefolgt murgen Mung. j Balbing fun, 17. Ang.		C. Shrenes pres unte gelen. Bebeiter Gir Stagerler, bei gifte befor?	at profe probably (processureryme now her age under ground films films films films for the whest only done until no films films for the age of the comprehence griftiges Golding	Methete tout. 1-11 ange und Gliss,	BAKERI
en Bla-	Der Stalkend bed Breiffnewiere ift beifer all hente Morgen, Rein Erbrechen mill und bes bentigen Tagen. Bie Tiertib	Din Parf mit Berjanen ju fillen begann. 3104. E. E. G. 20 Junk benne ein Glichmetunum fint, um Wirts et. el.; Be- nert junge Zutnert vorzäglich Erfenagen machten. Baufe mehr briften, ber 2008. Gunneten	top organ Jule B. dagt sie empfallicher Dole für bei innene Topis George in Berten, aber beier aus Beiebeil!	mider ben fterben Erbaued und be- niger jeden. Dem beiter aber 16e 16e Diefel bei gentereige Den filt, abfor-	- Anne	L O'MARA & CO.
then, the sateropes, no cle	out has good on side mother nor ful can not got or side mother nor ful can bet Maller nor the in firms Canadilles suppressum, from Schol	ich voll Bormiting eingefchieben, und Martin, Bertjeren maßer ber tied mie Jodfplichfeit Plate. 1900: Ebercia Es werte prangt, pelegett, geldpeurspen, Modicios und pelegette. Ein belb ader meldelber und pelegette. Ein belb ader	Coffeener grun webe, ber berichen Opendenter- rement: Bheblemen, mehr in für Mortigen Opendenter- mehr in für Mortigen ber Gr	of the training to the part of the contract to the contract to the thirty to the thirty to the contract the c	grand hare	- 1
giftlir- jebe ber feivagen	Belbington, 18. Ang 1 1:20 Margrad. Tor Political il rebig son filts o	lige brech bas Jell auf. Bie Jani Ber- treite bes Begeift nurchen nuter bem E. fielt; ibritrag Monge ber Miller und 3. 3. Mag 26- berret und certifonenden in arbern James 3. Seiben	deute orgen Comilies und Di. Donn die ih brieft oden ins James die begreicht des begreichtes des begreichtes des begreichtes des die und Index des		Beidenbeftatter unb	Mit haber Car som Midnel and Spell- stripping is bon. Selleren Erker sed gen. John Bernen, oder Eine Wild son Mele
Jordick, Book un	Bamile bed Breitreiten ichtelen neb bei bei bei bei beritreiten ichtelen ichtelen ichtelen ichtelen im der bei	Biefen. Ge icheint Mabe im Miffener-Gallen 1967. G. 2. f. Tem Stript gu ien, jebotnal einem beb.	Dage gegen Sofen & bie Engerften-Gallange ber fi fielle in Menney ber Beiteren-Bernelmenn feine Generate Gen- tenfe merte, be under fich ber ge	and again too Babes sub tie Franchtspille gen Eckneis, as benjampte affechieffen Be- ser geglitt, melde ben Miches Bib- ser soed felor anjechels alle marshall bes		nn. Allgamente etiljint ach Anne menne Meligebin pr jone Joli pr halen bile. Alle Center Dables, Jahrensson, bil
a belle, melde tucke	Der Polificut hatte eine enfige And Rein Ertreden. Bull longieuer, er ber Sebend im Allgemeinen leffer ei geften.	Morando but had each idea cristion, ath he ber hiefige Brevin gegenskring (gass et. al.; Well micher Selation trifft, riv 2nd ps terms of the control of the	porter gegen 3-de u. effen Mari und eine Marija ein eine Gestelle und eine Marija ein eine Marija eine Gestelle und eine Marija eine Gestelle und eine Gest	der Jerlierfaften Parieit leten. Die Eine Englerungle num Raden ift eine geniche Locker: fie beit nub nich eingliebig geführt num Geren beimeligen	400	Bum granen
per Eis- perk, bie Bryziffen	Malbingten, 19. Erg. 1:15 Madmitterundt. Der Brillene bar Schweiten in bereiten Triffe nach ben Gugerbeiten. E		Berfereng um fer Der Atter gief ichnes beruf b ich ent in bereichentellenbier bei Erriperung um der bei ein Mich is is, we er inn b	ien, Beiter und ber etwag vereinigunden for- vert ber Ruffen. Gie nen bir Billigu- tie bei Ruffent, all er berth ben befre- te feldigen Stokling's not ben	Möbelhänbler.	Baum!
enten Mi Cold More ib	har crace Stillige Melbrang ps 940 p answers. Ball 100, Tempetates 20, Millers 13. Wallhington, 18. Wagell.		M. Batterfas, in ben Gichafe bit Diperimeten if Gent Diftell Comt. einen Gieben ber beiten Berten. Greiten	graderiage princit merk, art is it is not be Entheric ber Entheria, man ger- nag ihre biefer mit ber Kronpeingelim mannen sich son Gunningspie	Chiffeletal i Brandinet. Stid von ber Gifenbahn. Bergeile, St.,	
nt enteren Piet nich medilieben	Im Bepertrangs bes Jacone ift for ein längerer Bereigt liber bir Branchen Goettet Lalis ann ber Rojebalt Agenti emphanters. Et meh beite entgefalls	in gerife Keiten ja Hirgen. Ber wene der Georiae die denberdle, auf Ehrrottert abgegebene fleidige der Berkfriftgung ab des erfacht, fich si	efterft ten Cinipolesh mer- liften Temerfug, ber mell ben spieliten Tief ber	ten bericht, welche ein best Ibrei sterft up- procities Spanitzenieren von Endjern greichte wich, bir best Informmerieren den we Edwargemattren and Edwinger-	HAS. HAMLIN.	Moeller & Braun,
faceton	bağ Aparten Luit bas Cyber einen Can plent fei, Elnige Montge haben b ichiefen, ibr entweber jer Mebertagen brand Candidationgerffend je presen	breefeldt wade ife Ent ner gen Ge in Angell jeitel torte Garr Briebe. En il best neu Ocheftent ju Defigen Breefe, bei er freg ber erholt. Crysnifenng eine beringen Geren.	Ontegniech, betrefe mitgeliefen fein. Die Gegleie Gellemeries, einge- udlerigen ist australe Unter, bie entlyten ber Meligien flemage gefe	case Statem at the Conference Season. Lie Electrony for Originary in man. Entry prote Statement may the input you profess that submirings Original you profess that submirings Original	1Ujrmaher	BILLIARD - HALLE
eber in	ober ihr ju bibren. Ha ber Upipe bieb Gerifpenierung habe Einel Gross geba- ben, ber jeugt als Merifdenbiger verfanf in. In bese Merida mech listense non	beiteiligen, und inmit priete, des fin bat Bringip ber Einigkeit fienere ift, als pe- banter Berifpele.	Bir Cination tof Drutif, Anerif Gereifeneribum uitfee Eprache. Ent bie wantenng, bie jell achtefe Men	icis, beffen Mohnlefung fift bie gelächter Die Subebeite über eingelpreisere Antel ver- tion Speliffen ber Mollerin und ber Armo-	Sumeller.	Oyster-Saloon.
e für bi Strige be birtibans	procedur grinder, both on the tier then interes her Jackster met som Medjon le murche, neme hie Regionnung hen Steh ninen Cherchingstings mitte mehr belop missen Cherchingstings mitte mehr belop	Bergeichtif ber Berhandingen Bering son S. de bes Difteringerichte für ben Maguft-Lerwin, 1881.	profit auf von Arferer fürfichte benefen, bafe bien Erfelten in Vertrepert. in Vertrepert. in beliefenden Berfeltraffe ergentlete,	pringelle felten in menderte Dinger Berinnighersteinbeiten bereiten. In in net ihren Beichten fer ber beiten mit tigen Beichtengter iftenen aber beite	Lapetre, Bilder unb Coferifenderion fente bad guffer Sager von Contenten fett en Graft. 1 35	The Charter Stars and Reachard Junes Schipen St. Jew Clier Felfe an Cook. Live geneigien Jackmach Miles 1 till Middler & Brance.
Bidlgen grid jürk	He Stelle bes ermetteten Spottet Le meb Mitte Thunber, heingeling b Bader Stott, ber Enderrug in Bel ingine beimeigen.	(Interfepas) bis des Centifies (Interfepas) bis des Centifies (Interfepas) Bereites press (Interferate d. et. Bereites press (Interferate d. et. Bereites) (Interferate d. et. Bereites) (Interferate d. et. Bereites)	meritaereten fich pp Bunt, anteler: Wie baber ber i gen Gilte englenenger und Giffelbes gerch! Rein eller g nicht ballige Mittel under nen ber Erfelbeng lettere, fi	Joseph Brance, tole Mira geforgt, was fo freiger unter ge hercurentene. Book bie Brompetinger- gene fin 1882 Bok fo heiße est, als bie ge- folikelte Branc.	Marysville	Harry Frazier's
hersis pterfede pt. Be	Effnute, Gn. 16. Aug n Tas Lesperrupping, befürwertet n tere iprziellämmite, werbe mir Rignyri	Emisé Étimeré et, et. Scriptines es destrictements en Ex. 19 June 9 deté, Shopen's en Ex. 10 June 9 deté, Shopen's en Ex. 10 June 9 deté, Shopen's en Ex. 10 June 9 deté, Shopen's en Ex.	ent fid inger gen e gelanten mit, ert profetarische ber Britis in ber Sheberung bei Meterrichte is	Cheminschift beiter ib. bei une fid ber ausgebit. Gebenend beie besteht bei ber Geben ber fündigen Beitert nech ern ber bei bei ern einer beitert mit eine beiter en einer beter en einer beiter en einer beiter en einer beiter en einer beit	AINT SHOP.	BARBERSHOP
Bliger let 30 Breet	Bielgen bes Prabution-Marts in Ebleage.	Refe. 1963. B. R. Drown arges Mars Stares Constitute Stiffe Stares Constitute Stiffe Stares Constitute Stiffe Stiffe Stares Constitute Stiffe Stiff Stiffe Stiffe Stiff	bartigen Grandt aus von bautgien Grende is des Leiten gebilden ber erwickelt gebilden, in der Kockeltung auf Erdeutliche fich gebilden gestellt der Bertert berten bat der Anderschied im Bratische	the state of the s	Eigenfotung. Die beier Arbeiten merken prompi er au ben billigken Breiten entge-	- Idea M-
Drive.	Eni ber beniger Griffenng ber in terrieribele bereiter große Antingung.	unta C. Miner; Riege ungen Efrifer- tung. In 1904 Bunth & Engler et el gruen bas mirme angagele for 1904 Bunth & Engler et el gruen bas aufwente	ciner grafes circus; nate, no bie monetille Albich int ins, and belletil and geformspringhrights be Trechlos Arbhorist principal tancibust ben inneren Brillia	to der Gebergeben Refe ju befinden with der Bengefte bengen mit bes judigen Bert in ber Manh gelegt.	der ber belieben Greibe entbe-	nit allts Confectes and Departed Stries and Street and Street Str
er Beck Begierun Bed epie	Stell jum Schlich berieben erhiert ? Ertfel geugen reich in ber Sille, is die im Gegenseher und Officier pr inferei Weigen auf 41,316, Corn 516, ha	31. Appellatun nerr Zeiebenteichen beite, weiche in nicht 200 in er 1001. Men Steuerer gegen Jeck. Dies in eine Wille der fin genoch nur der Steber bei fich ber Angles eine Gester Badden	tenting feiner aufer in bei her her ber ber ber ber ber ber ber ber bei ber	affen Die bereite ber bei ber bei ber bei ber	Deutsche	Die Badt am
bere Co berett fe	Bic Bordelfart, werb blinde, G. Beigen St. 20fe ph. 15. Aug. Per Gatifereie, Ma., is gest	pr begen. 1912. Martilba Ish paper harribes pide. An ber harribes Greine eine Gelden gener harribes Greine eine gener Gelden gener harribes Greine eine part Gelden gener fateren gener Gelden gener gener Gelden gener	neb ber Christine ter sheuer vom 17, 540 fei- e ber erften Little bei Entretten für bis Junde unb	bei jereift be inner Billig, die nach beier mit bei Coten bestehnt mender mit bei Beit mereting. Beiter bei beiter beiter bei beiter beiter bei beiter bei beiter bei beiter bei beiter bei	Rohlenhandlung,	Rhein!
rifler to wate for a despite	Mahmiting via Mose ton timer lieffe in the Christopers morbes. Wil ber in soints gefaule Jun, welden in Calls me no 2 like 44 Winsten 1850; th.	Booker und Anna Antonie, Rings won in Indianacture of the Relationship of the Relationship of the Indianacture of the Indianac	ich ber bereife Nach ich ber bereife Nach in meis-amerikaniste in gefanderichen Mac- ies gefanderichen Mac- maßbelenben Thefer pfinnmen;	Freepringells severale (den betiget) the prope Geginst not Refered proble on gainst Gioment's in Ceire, seil	PRED ERACHT	oracin:
denicht eier Ben berd b	nier Meller nes ber Stadt nur, feine ber Meldmilt in geeinger Entern uns ber Orfemnine einem Mann nat in Geleich figen. Der Westparit for	enen Gerichtelefelle. 1070. C. Allen proper Mattie A. Al. Sceneratiffe, bir bliffellen fin fer in der Gerichten für fin	paret Dankt erfeller. 1 beufchen Cantentier 3:sper 1527, ber bamil 6, pie gledung bie felter benery	ter fünde, bit fich in jeter ffein bei bierfen Wijdeligeng und fiellenfteng mit	FACKSON & Oo.	Billiard - Halle
ly und Miberfin er Greni	ibet bie Biell erffinen, werund ich Mann erfigerung nich lich neiten geficht bie Befeiten folle. Die Michigen gebrieben gegen ben Lingliftischen binting unb in	ier flage ungen Berfeifteng amerikanisten fi de dechter Logi ber Et. Ber Ster Mit Deltmere in ?	enimet und ber Geführ- iden Schwierburg" in der 1000, Enternehm in den gehölte fa bei ihner	priesper at adm Careto. Co- in Colony: Citaret's ginter and and in the East, and the per-	ZARDWA ACC	Gafthaus
hir gat rage, well spectors to	ter die in insticket identifier I de ge. Ber Monn, mit branen flac und gemen hoter belleibet. Eine igheitig en Teorides. Einem B	hat Kantheich. 1973. Medanuch Eleung et al. paper bei und bene bei h. G. Grandy. Auge wagen Archiveng. Lenifden au Gebeng. 1974. Bardy J. Ward armer Class 1974. Bardy J. Ward armer Class	informites James of the Samuellana, man and other hand of the samuellana of the samu		gcidalt	on house
Brit affer merben, b on Bonn	tief bie Lride nach beie Generiberfe in gen, we er einen Japonif abfalten w beigeb Marifisch nach Conductour bei in-Conber Japon per Stelle fieb.	leit Merb. Ringe ungen Ebrigeitung. 1008. Die Giebt Materalle geger der G. Rabinet; Appelleiten nem Palijab eider.	Commence of the Commence of th	The state of the s	Creatman, eine Sidre mellich ter Bladler's Salen.	John Stegelein.
Brutelle tehelige hen fo	Ennerif Bie ffe, 16. En Gine eine Meine eine Meine eine Meine efficig nem ber mit bie iften fact in Bermeinag Change meine biebe eine anteigenfen Me	1000 BOSS OF STATE	ben benichen Beibert, in ner beiligen Scharber, in der beiligen Scharber, der Beiser und Bernicht der Beiser und Bernicht Beibert gestellt und der Beibert und Bernicht bei bernicht gestellt und der Beibert gestellt und der beibert gestellt und der Beibert gestellt		RENOE & Bros.	State Company Designation in the State of th
n Selver, Berftagen set alle st	bie von mittenen, Mier gefanden. In gu tarfelben ing eine Bildnie und ber ; um ber Bride pingte eine wen Schilb Bille artenbe beriebere Santien	fre d. Aneren: Alege miges Aleman; Spete, South topf purior Geogré. D. 1862. S. C. Selfell et. et. page I felligfelleschie thirt. B. Cone et. et.; Alema megn Ariene.	e, Breifer and Meld gen. Der Reife und Einigkente p. Der Krifden Selfent bet eines ein gewiese Mele ber Raf- Benng Marrins ge bellen, mit	ners bet Bridgebegiert griffet wich, fr gill er adscreptio beig met bid ben- ger als de matelogier Leisteger belle-	Santier to	PAINT SHOP.
& trin the derivated tests Ent	gie Man beit bei ber Leide einer ge mit identeren beritten Brief aber Anne mit marrideit, in melden ber Edn erfeit, beit er betrauten.	of bet Busineries. 1001. Junet Toniplen geper D. Geraft leffen Sch theil S. Com et. et. Einge megen Minneret. andreceier i	referient. 30 bei Martin auf einem geber bei		DRY GOODS & GROCERIE	THEO. SCHMIDT,
ide his Si belifes go rist, year	the Matt reiter wie fin wifer und gen melle er is eine beffere Mitt geben ere fich auch für In ein Plappten f	. in Bertie und Guith; MynCheiner wen gen Sterreider iben gen Sterreider ibne Badeter eitzuglichen gene Gieben jest Lag.	tiger Mafidiag grum perfette Geleite ber Steine. und	- hop of cases seller sit, we called an origin Makings, in Compliant.	Odele un vitele.	Mile Writtin germilet mit ge ben
oligidale obra, se es Torid	gen icheinich ein gebiebeter Monn, iche fant man nichts fin ber Bride, und nichtliche Gentrigtet wenten benne,	fred nerd gefer E. Greift geger 20- siefe greife Epe nerd Briege wegen Certifellung sen Munchei- greifene.		in colons, bel but depen by the colons of the colons are forecasted 467 larges, but the colons of th	MOTIONS'	Bierbranerei
militar Bilitar	Berlin, 14. Ma Ber Lie Angiorens ber Mehraptie	part Christ M. Gulling gegen Schus 1976- part Eige lerge Urriperrang ber Specific. Genen Breit- nen 1965. A. E. Sind piper I. S. Sety office Letter		The second secon	-t- I. m. H. J. W.	. Br Jelebe Mr .
in Brail	of Birth Storyless organifers. The St offs, mention joined middle built sufficien- ents bey find pages the Directions many	finge Ringer megen Bertfperrang nor Super-babe. Der Annes ber 1800. Sortie Mornet Lebend-Ber- greicht in ber	per ber beritter in ber mit ber ber ber ber	se ber S Majfetoum - Del ter	He Marterbilde, Gier unb Batter 5	

ties.35 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 naturaly [sic] support without distinction of the party the German just as well as the Americans preferr [sic] an American to a German and vote for him in preference to a German even if he is on the right ticket.3

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.37

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 repealed 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.38

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.39

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

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.

^{36.} Atchison Courier, November 2, 1876.

^{37.} Kansas Zeitung, December 30, 1857.

^{38.} German-American Advocate, Hays, November 15, 1882.

^{39.} Arndt and Olson, German-American Newspapers, and Con-nelley, History of Kansas Newspapers, identify bilingual publica-tions. 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 1889

German-American Advocate.

Our Motto: "Independent, Fearless and Free."

NO. 28 HAYS CITY, KAN., WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1883. VOL L The Street of Street, Street, or Provisions, City Bakery, DR. W. J. LIPP. ISAAC ZEIGLER, Powders CASH PRICES FOR Market Fresh Fish J.L. Mittelmeier S. L. Lang & Co., EVERY WEEK M. J. R. Treat, Orceries, Mrovisions, Boots CEMENT. Low Prices & good Goods CHAS. SNYDER. TILVOTY,
FED AND SALE STABLE,
Sorth Name Percet,
Stone Barn,
Girlsteiniants,
G Source Four Strager.
A large fresh of the heat and obsequed E. F. MADDEN, NOTICE. IMPLEMENTS.

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 Germanlanguage 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.4

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:

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.

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. . . . 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.4

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.42 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 Englishlanguage 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 Germanlanguage 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

^{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.

Metz und Ramen, Sharles Miller. AAREN Den höchften "Cafh" . Preis für Weizen. meh & Namen. MARTIN GATES. Groceries, Provisionen Ellen waaren Sandlung. Berren, & Rnabenfleibern, Die beiten "Benber" IR Butgraridierte großadertes Buffele b bet 30 e & haff e p's Birifer JOHN HOBBS. APOTHEKE Dele, Batent Mebiginen. Henry Krueger's Materialwaaren = Sanblung. Sändler Groceries und Provisionen jeber Mrt. Bein Borrell von Arinnaphölfen if malbertrillig. Ih die entiftlichen wer beimen Gefcht in der Gebr wehr in Brag auf Bouren und in Vereier übertrillig zu nerber und ind bei befall Indermann brendtlich zu einem Beide fen. Cites : Ben Ein, dout Cies, des.

Emmmitt Saus,
Stat Ants Str., nade ben Behabelt
Tet telle Athonogenarier für Anforde
Generation und bende nähle,
Kethaniel Robbind. In meinem Elevator Friedenstichter Geo. 28. Ray, Defendance Rotar.
Critic 1 , Manuscr Critic Comp time Ann.
Defen, Zim, - Eisenwaaren, 90 t 1

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.⁴³

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.44 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. ⁴⁵ 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 Germanlanguage 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.46

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:⁴⁷

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

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.

^{43.} Arndt and Olson, German-American Newspapers, pp. 154, 164.

^{44.} Ibid., pp. 152-154, 159-167.

^{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 Germanlanguage 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.