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## Die deutschen Einwanderer in Sacramento: German immigrants in Sacramento, 1850–1859

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*DIE DEUTSCHEN ENWANDERER IN SACRAMENTO:*  
GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN SACRAMENTO, 1850-1859

by

Carole Cosgrove Terry

Bachelor of Arts  
Stanford University  
1959

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the

**Master of Arts Degree  
History Department  
College of Liberal Arts**

**Graduate College  
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## ABSTRACT

### **Die Deutschen Einwanderer in Sacramento: German Immigrants in Sacramento, 1850-1859**

by

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The economic and political conditions in Europe pushed German immigrants from their homelands, while the gold rush in California pulled them with dreams of riches. Some came directly from Germany, some made an intermediate stop in the United States, but, after arriving in California, many went to Sacramento. A small nucleus of permanent residents created an ethnic community where they practiced the German tradition of *Vereinswesen*, supported each other economically through loans and ready employment and, led by their *Turnverein*, continued practicing their customs and rituals emphasizing frivolity and celebration as they had in the “fatherland.” Rather than assimilate, they created a dual identity of German-Sacramentan to adapt to their new home, remaining faithful to their German roots while interacting with the mainstream Anglo-Americans, influencing the native-born to adopt some of the German traditions of celebration. This study rediscovers the active German community and its impact on Sacramento neglected in earlier histories of the city.



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My fellow graduate students also helped especially Donna Crail-Rugotske and Gerhard Grytz who shared his research on Germans in Arizona and New Mexico. Special thanks goes to Mary Wammack for her continual encouragement and support. Barbi and Rudi Lorenz and Maria Smith helped with all the German language.

Norman, my supportive husband, has been patient, sympathetic, and encouraging, and our daughters, Emilie and Brenda, kept reminding me I could succeed.

I thank each and every one.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

I said. . . 'I must now confess to you that I have no means, or rather no money left . . . I therefore ask you to help me a little. . . please lend me ten dollars so I can get to the gold mines.' . . . He then gave me the money most willingly.

---Johann Bickel<sup>1</sup>

Life here is so demoralized that it is often dreadful to see. To be sure, there are respectable German people here, that I won't deny. However, I live apart. . . just to please my people and don't bother about anybody else.

---Barbara Bickel Drüke<sup>2</sup>

Johann Bickel was a baker from Billigheim who kept a journal of his event-filled trip in 1852 to California from New Orleans with intermediate stops in Savannah, Georgia, Monrovia, Liberia, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Valparaiso, Chile.<sup>3</sup> After arriving in San Francisco, he immediately left for Sacramento and the gold fields where he successfully prospected for three years. He sent for his daughter, Barbara, and then returned to Sacramento and worked as a baker until he left for Germany in 1858. His journal portrays

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Bickel, "The Fraudulent Undertaking of an Expedition by Sea from New Orleans to California by Wilson Schmidt in 1852." Carole J. Cosgrove Papers, MS 460 (The California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library, San Francisco) 48.

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Bickel Drüke. "Letters." Carole J. Cosgrove Papers, 84. Although Barbara was unmarried when she first came to California, she is referred to by her married name throughout this study.

<sup>3</sup> Billigheim was a tiny village in the Reinpfalz about sixty miles southwest of Frankfurt, Germany. Emilie Dohrmann Cosgrove and Carole Jane Cosgrove, eds. *California Potpourri, 1852-1936*. (Los Angeles: Jeffries Banknote, 1966) 3.

an outgoing, enthusiastic, optimistic adventurer who sought, and found, support from fellow Germans both in rural California and urban Sacramento.<sup>4</sup>

Barbara Bickel Drüke, Johann's daughter, was a young, homesick woman living in Sacramento from 1854 to 1858, anxiously awaiting an opportunity to return to her German home. At age 21, she courageously traveled alone to join her father in 1854. Two years later, she married financially successful George Drüke who had emigrated from Göttingen via Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup> Her letters portray a lonely, isolated woman who, overwhelmed by conditions in her new home, yearned for her friends and family in Germany and never entered into the life of Sacramento.<sup>6</sup>

I first came across the Bickel-Drüke papers when I searched for information about my family's beginnings in California, and I was immediately struck by their contrasting descriptions of Sacramento and its German community. Bickel enjoyed positive interaction with an active German enclave while Barbara encountered an alien, confusing, inhospitable atmosphere. The questions are why would two members of the same family have such different experiences in Sacramento, and if the city's population included fellow German immigrants to whom Johann and Barbara could turn for community and support. When I

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<sup>4</sup> Johann Bickel. "The Baker from Billigheim." Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 1-50.

<sup>5</sup> Sacramento's Index of Marriages lists "George Drake m. B. Beckel by [Thomas] Conger." "Men's Ledger B." *The Index of Marriages, Sacramento County, 1856*, 133. Conger was a long-time resident attorney in Sacramento and is listed in the 1856 Sacramento Directory. Samuel Colville, *Sacramento Directory for the year Commencing May, 1856* (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine and Co., 1856) 32.

<sup>6</sup> "Barbara," Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 51-90. Barbara in childbirth died December 26, 1866. Family tradition tells that, faced with the prospect of poverty when her husband lost everything in a flood at Cache Creek, she aborted her fourth pregnancy alone and by herself, the complications from which resulted in her death. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, p. 89. *Sacramento Daily Bee*, 29 December 1866, XXXIII:4916 p 2, col. 5.

sought information about the self-proclaimed “Second City of California,” its growth in the 1850s, and the Germans and their impact upon the city, I found that the few histories written about this city focused on the early years of the gold rush and emphasized its role as a transportation center and a supplier to the multitude of gold rush miners.<sup>7</sup> The authors did not mention the existence of a German society, enclave, or community. Recently written anthologies of western histories, moreover, mention the German immigrants only in passing.<sup>8</sup> Several factors may have led to this omission. Although their numbers grew over the decade, they were only 4.6% of Sacramento City’s population in 1850; therefore, they did not attract the attention of historians.<sup>9</sup> The dominant Anglo-American community did not feel threatened by nor did they overtly resent the Germans’ presence. Any resistance the native-born had was largely subtle and hidden. Furthermore, the anti-German sentiments that surfaced during the early twentieth century may have added to this neglect.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Dr. John Morse, writing in 1853, gives Sacramento the designation, “Second City of California.” John F. Morse, “History of Sacramento” Samuel Colville, *Sacramento Directory for the Year 1853-1854* (Sacramento: Samuel Colville, 1853) 40.

<sup>8</sup> Richard White in his 1991 anthology only briefly mentions German miners when fighting in Virginia City or in the labor movement in early twentieth century San Francisco. Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher only acknowledge one German neighborhood in San Francisco. Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A new interpretive history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 422. Richard White “*It’s Your Mistortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) 88, 454.

<sup>9</sup> See Table 2, Chapter 3, p 49.

<sup>10</sup> For example, the number of biographies of Sacramento’s “prominent pioneer families” of German descent drops precipitously in works written in 1923 compared to those written before 1900. In 1881, the *Alonzo Phelps Contemporary Biography of California’s Representative Men* included twenty-four Germans, and Winfield J. Davis, writing in 1890, included thirty-eight men who arrived in Sacramento prior to 1859 and numerous others arriving later. William L. Willis in 1913 included only eight in his “Biographical Sketches of The Leading Men and Women of the County Who Have Been Identified With Its Growth and Development From the Early Day to the Present” in his *History of Sacramento County California*. Major J. W. Wooldridge in 1931 does not include any among his biographies. Winfield J. Davis, *An Illustrated History of Sacramento County, California: containing a*

A search of censuses, city directories, and contemporary accounts, however, uncovered a small, strong, community of Germans. Ethnicity and cultural affinity rather than political or national origin determined membership in this group. Whether from Baden, Prussia, or Bavaria, they defined themselves as “German,” ignoring the political boundaries of the principalities that eventually formed the nation of Germany in 1871. One might believe that Federal and State census-takers originated the label of “German” when recording birthplaces in their documents. Their guidelines in 1850 were to combine immigrants born in individual political principalities as “German” rather than indicate a particular European state.<sup>11</sup> The immigrants, however, had already begun to call themselves German before arriving in Sacramento. Both Bickel and Barbara Drüke, while carefully delineating their companions’ birthplaces, always identified them as German throughout their documents.<sup>12</sup> Sacramento’s newcomers initially created a loosely bound community of those from the Germanic areas of Europe as well as those from other European countries such as Austria, Switzerland and Sweden who felt a cultural affinity and *Vereinswesen* (associational life) with the Germans. Over the decade, these Germans

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*history of Sacramento County from the earliest period of its occupancy to the present time, together with glimpses of its prospective future.* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1890). Ann Loftis, *California – There the Twain Did Meet.* (New York: McMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973) 136. William L. Willis, *History of Sacramento, California.* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1913). Major J. W. Wooldridge, *History of the Sacramento Valley, California* (Chicago: The Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1931)

<sup>11</sup> J. D. B. DeBrow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853) Vol. 3, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Cosgrove, *Potporrii*, 6, 16, 21, 41-2, 57.

developed into a more formal enclave where its members commercially and socially supported and encouraged each other.<sup>13</sup>

Besides documenting the existence of this German-based community, the contemporary sources also revealed the efforts of its members to adapt to their new home. Contrary to modern and contemporary thinking, they did not assimilate or merge into the dominant Anglo-American society. Like other argonauts, many Germans passed through Sacramento on their way to the gold fields, but a small nucleus of permanent residents remained in the city, and they welcomed both newcomers to California and the miners returning from the gold fields into their community. At the same time, the Germans interacted with the dominant Anglo-Americans, joining them as fellow citizens to bring order and culture to their city. By identifying individual German-born immigrants who arrived, resided in or left Sacramento from 1850 to 1859, one discovers how these newcomers formed themselves into an ethnically and culturally bound community and how they interacted with their Anglo-American neighbors in Sacramento's society.<sup>14</sup>

This study invites the reader to rethink how immigrants of a different culture and ethnicity impacted California history. Modern historians are revisiting the gold rush era of California's past, focusing on previously undocumented groups and the tensions and conflicts among them generated by the gold-rush-stimulated phenomenal growth of the State. A number of works discuss the violent and prejudicial interactions between racially

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<sup>13</sup> Because of this self-identification, the term "Germans" in this study includes those born in the Germanic States plus those from other areas who actively involve themselves with the Germans or functions of the Sacramento *Turnverein*, the ethnically bound fraternal association.

<sup>14</sup> This study begins when the wave of immigrants was well under way and could be documented in the 1850 Federal Census and includes the traumas the city of Sacramento faced after the discovery of



based groups such as Hispanics and Chinese and their suppression by the Anglo-Americans. John Boessenecker's recently published book, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen and Vigilantes*, for example, discusses how the xenophobia of the gold miners was manifested in their violent interactions with these two groups. Although historians have examined the experiences of immigrants in San Francisco and the gold-mining towns in the "El Dorado," they have not looked at those living in Sacramento. J. S. Holliday, for example, incorporates many primary sources, contemporary letters and journals and media accounts, into two histories that result in a social, often personal, view of the gold rush years. Although he does acknowledge the presence of Germans, he does not discuss their influence and impact.<sup>15</sup>

When modern writers concentrate on conflict and struggle, they overlook those foreign-born newcomers who the native-born did not perceive as threatening – the Germans in Sacramento fall into this category. The Germans never formed a ghetto or "German quarter" such as those in the more eastern United States, and this might have caused their community to remain unrecognized and their influence undetected by the dominant Anglo-Americans. Pioneers looking for quick profits came from many backgrounds, ethnic and racial, and the inter-relationships, actions and reactions of all of

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gold. It concludes with the year 1859 before any impact from discovery of the Comstock Lode in Nevada and thus is limited to the early formative years of the city's history.

<sup>15</sup> John Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen and Vigilantes*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1999) 44-133, 86-91, 197-201, 268-70, 313-314. In *The World Rushed In*, Holliday superimposes many accounts of both the argonauts and their families "back home" upon the letters and journals of William Swain, creating a detailed, comprehensive study of the years 1848-1851. J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981) 17-20. In *Rush for Riches*, he looks at the influence of the gold rush on California and "exposes unapologetic rapaciousness of this golden era." He does give fleeting mention of Germans among the miners. *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) viii.

them constitute the State's history. The Germans who came to Sacramento, settled into loosely organized neighborhoods, actively participated in the city's businesses, and initiated change in the dominant Anglo-American based culture. Over the decade, they evolved a new identity from that of just "German" into a dual identity of "German-Sacramentan." The struggles between conflicting groups are an important part of California's history, but equally important are groups like the Germans who quietly and indirectly impacted California's economic and cultural growth while adapting to their new home.

These Germans formed for themselves an actual economic and residential community or enclave, a vital part of Sacramento's total population, but they did not abandon their cultural ties with their "fatherland." Almost without interruption, they continued to emphasize *Vereinswesen* and neighborhood, joyful and communal celebration, and intellectual and physical excellence whether they arrived in Sacramento directly from Europe or by way of German-American communities in the United States. After the mid-1850s, the leaders of their newly formed *Turnverein* planned and executed cultural events that expanded the practice of these customs and ideals.<sup>16</sup> Culturally, the German-Sacramentans never lost their ties with other German-Americans or German-Europeans; therefore, they were part of a larger imagined community that extended beyond the city limits of Sacramento. Benedict Anderson articulated this concept to describe groups with cultural and/or ethnic affinity whose members were not bound by

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<sup>16</sup> The word "*Turnverein*" literally means "to do gymnastic exercise" and was the appellation used for the fraternal associations formed by Germans across the United States. Robert Knight Barney, "Forty-Eighters and the Rise of the Turnverein Movement in America," *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*, George Eisen and David K. Wiggins, eds. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994) 20. Thompson, *Sacramento*. 177.

political or borders, emphasizing that the spirit of nationalism that crossed these borders and bound similar peoples together. By adapting this concept to the cultural arena of Sacramento, one discovers that the actual enclave of Germans was also a part of a larger imagined community of German-Americans and German-Europeans. Its members refused to assimilate or adapt their culture to the Anglo-American mainstream around them. Besides maintaining their culture, the Germans looked to the national *Turnverein* for guidance when organizing their own fraternal organization and often included other Northern Californian *Turnvereine* in their celebrations.<sup>17</sup> Over the decade, this group then began to develop a dual “personality” or identity. They were an active part of the total citizenry of Sacramento, acting, interacting and reacting with the dominant Anglo-Americans in their joint search for order while, at the same time, they were a separate cultural and commercial community whose first priority was gathering with and helping their German-born neighbors. As they were adapting to their new home, they worked with the mainstream Anglo-Americans as fellow citizens of Sacramento to solve the problems generated by the tremendous growth of the city, but they never ceased being “German.”

Myths still exist about the gold rush era, and historians are critically examining and debunking many of them. An example is the volume of essays which re-examines Sacramento’s founder, John August Sutter, compiled and edited by Kenneth Owens.<sup>18</sup> The

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<sup>17</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso, 1983) 6, 7, 14, 19.

<sup>18</sup> This work is based on a series of lectures given at California State University, Sacramento, and includes essays by Iris H. W. Engstrand, Albert L. Hurtado, Howard Lamar, Patricia Nelson Limerick and Richard White. Owens also includes an analysis of General Sutter’s Diary. Kenneth N Owens, ed. *John Sutter and a Wider West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

historians review Sutter's personality, the past accounts of his life, and the impact he had on the development of Sacramento and Northern California in order to give the reader a comprehensive, revisionist view of the well-known, nineteenth-century, California pioneer. Paramount are their critical efforts to destroy the myth of Sutter as benevolent dictator, flawed but well meaning, as he was heralded in early California histories. Richard White, for example, describes Sutter as a ruthless colonizer whose impulses destroyed the natural resources around him rather than the harbinger of progress portrayed in earlier accounts written in the spirit of civic boosterism. He interprets Sutter's plan for his agriculturally based settlement, New Helvetia, as callously exploiting the land and natural resources of the area to make his colony grow bigger, more populous and richer. He believes that modern concerns with nature and environment dictate a reassessment of Sutter's empire, unintelligible to writers of the past.<sup>19</sup> Much as these historians address the myths surrounding Sutter, this paper with its revelation of Sacramento's German community confronts the myths that the city's population was homogeneous, Anglo-American, and unaffected by the foreign-born, and that the early German settlers there, and in California, "quickly assimilated into the post Gold Rush society" leaving their particular cultural heritage behind.<sup>20</sup>

Because the community of German-born were largely unattached men, the social, economic and cultural patterns occurring in Sacramento differed somewhat from those

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<sup>19</sup> Richard White, "John Sutter and the Natural World." Owens, *Wider West*, 95, 106.

<sup>20</sup> George Henderson and Thompson Olatiji. *Migrants, Immigrants and Slaves: Racial and Ethnic Groups in America*. (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1955) 99. Ann Loftis. *California*, 130-132. Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California: An Analysis of Immigration, 1848-1870." *California Historical Society Quarterly*. XX:1 (January, 1941) 74.

historians identified in ethnic communities in other parts of the United States. Many came to El Dorado with no intention of staying – they looked for gold and planned to return home with their newfound fortunes as soon as possible. Although many argonauts returned home from California, the number of Germans who stayed in Sacramento grew, augmented by those who returned to city after successfully, and unsuccessfully, mining in the gold fields. As their community grew, one can see three immigration experiences operating concurrently among Sacramento's Germans: Oscar Handlin's isolated, alienated individual; John Bodnar's culturally bound enclave; and Walter Kamphoefner's chain migration of ethnic friends and families. The tremendous, rapid growth in the city's population induced a particular combination of these experiences in the creation of Sacramento's German community.

Located at the confluence of the American and Sacramento rivers, Sacramento provided a staging area for provisions, supplies, and the miners themselves to venture into the "El Dorado." Many newcomers merely stopped on their journey and, like many tourists might, were overwhelmed by the tumultuous, "sinful," unsettled, and chaotic society they found. Contemporary historians concentrated on the catastrophic floods, fires and epidemics that engulfed the Second City in the early 1850s, but often neglected chronicling Sacramento's development thereafter. Others including Thompson and West writing in 1880 presented only a sketchy picture after the early years, jumping from the "Early Days" to the development of railroads and the Central Pacific line. These chroniclers paid little attention to the occupations of "butchering, baking bread . . .

teaming and packing goods to the mines” in which many Germans were involved.<sup>21</sup> They acknowledge the presence of the *Turnverein* but not the impact that fraternal association and the Germans had in the cultural development of the city. This account of the presence and influence of the Germans in Sacramento expands the city’s history into new directions, inviting historians to look for the influence of other ethnic groups on California’s Second City.

To find and identify the individual German-born immigrants who came to Sacramento, who departed after one year or a few years, or who stayed to help form the ethnic community, I gathered statistical data from the Federal Census of 1850, the State Census of 1852, the eight City Directories published between 1851 and 1860, and the membership records of Sacramento’s *Turnverein*.<sup>22</sup> Biographies of German “pioneer settlers” included in the works written prior to 1890 were also extremely helpful in augmenting the statistics. Appendix Two, “Survey of Germans in Sacramento, 1850-1859,” lists the individual German family units, their marital status and occupation and is a base for the other statistical tables and analyses. Because nineteenth-century travelers of all backgrounds were anxious to record their experiences in diaries and letters, they left

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<sup>21</sup> Morse. “History,” 9. Thomas H. Tompson and Albert August West. *History of Sacramento County, California with Illustrations*. (1880; reprint, with a forward by Allen R. Ottley, Berkeley: Howell-North, 1960) iii-v.

<sup>22</sup> These works are: *Census of the United States (1850). Population. California*. (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Services, General Services Administration, 1850). *Census of the State of California, 1852*. (San Francisco: George Kerr, State Printer, 1852.) Samuel Colville. *1853-1854, Sacramento Directory for the Year Commencing August 1, 1855* (Sacramento: James Anthony & Co., 1855), *Sacramento Directory for the Year Commencing May, 1856* (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine and Co., 1856). J. Horace Culver, *The Sacramento City Directory, January 1, 1851* (Sacramento City: Transcript Press, 1951). D. S. Cutter & Co., *Sacramento City Directory for the year A. D. 1860* (Sacramento: H. S. Crocker & Co, 1859). I. N. Irwin, *Sacramento Directory and Gazetteer, for the year 1857 and 1858* (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Son, 1857). Florence Nina McCoy, “A History of the First Five Years of the Sacramento, California, Turnverein, 1854-1859,” Master’s Thesis,

many documents written in the 1850s about Sacramento that provided invaluable contemporary observations of the Second City, its economy and culture. The Bickel Journal and Drüke Letters provided a unique perspective into the real and imagined communities of German-born immigrants. Secondary resources included both contemporary histories of Sacramento and chronicles written before the 1925 -- I found only one publication centering on Sacramento alone has been written since then. The studies of German immigration to other parts of the United States and of California's gold rush were invaluable to expand the information from the primary sources. The commercial newspapers, the *Sacramento Bee* and the *Sacramento Daily Union*, helped in discovering the cultural impact the Germans had upon Sacramento and its mainstream Anglo-American community in its early years.

The first section of Chapter Two, "A History of Crisis," gives the reader a brief history of Sacramento, particularly during its formative years of 1850 to 1855, as a larger picture in which to place the Germans' experience in the city. "A Frame of Reference," the second section, reviews the sources used for research and discusses the problems dealing with them and the assumptions made in order to solve them. "Germans Come to Sacramento" describes why the Germans came to American and California, how they arrived, and their settlement patterns once they came. Like their Anglo-American counterparts, many newcomers came first to Sacramento and immediately left for the gold fields. Some, however, immediately stayed in Sacramento in the early 1850s and were augmented by others who returned to stay after their gold mining adventures rather than returning to their former homes. In the latter part of that decade, the Germans replicated

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California State University at Sacramento, 1962. L. S. Taylor, *Taylor's Sacramento Directory, for the*

the American immigration patterns formulated by Oscar Handlin, Walter Kamphoefner and John Bodner but with a gold-rush generated “twist.” “Germans Work in Sacramento” discusses the Germans’ commercial endeavors and occupations, basically in merchandising and service industries. They followed many of the same pursuits they did in their homeland while encouraging and helping each other financially as newcomers arrived. Judging from the biographies of the German entrepreneurs written in the 1880s and 1890s, they were most successful not only within the confines of their own enclave but also with the Anglo-American community. Furthermore, some upward mobility can be traced to individual German members of the community. “Germans Play in Sacramento” describes the re-formation of their culture when they established their local *Turnverein* and the impact they had on the culture of celebration in Sacramento. This work concludes with a recapitulation of my findings, and suggested avenues of future research to expand the picture of these Germans and others who settled in the Sacramento Valley.

By uncovering and exploring the German community in Sacramento, this study introduces new insights into the immigrants’ experiences there, and into the history of the city and California. Looking at why they came and how they worked and played demonstrates how the German lifestyle survived and thrived in the gold rush years and thereafter. The myths are revisited, challenging historians to re-examine California’s gold rush to discover how other populations of European-based origin may have influenced the dominant Anglo-Americans. Despite being “hidden” by size and “lost” through later neglect, the German immigrants played an important role in the growth of Sacramento, challenging the perception that the Second City’s population was a cultural monolith that

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*Year Commending October, 1858* (Sacramento, H. S. Crocker & Co., 1858).



quickly and easily absorbed the diverse traditions of all who arrived. While creating their own new identity, the German immigrants and their sub-culture bought a sense of stability and neighborhood that helped the Sacramentans conquer the chaos of the gold rush.

## CHAPTER II

### A FRAME OF REFERENCE

#### A History of Crisis

“As the years passed on, the mushroom city of tents and rough board houses grew, in defiance of fires and floods, to be capital of the state, and one of its most prosperous, beautiful, and wealthy cities.”

--Margaret Frink<sup>1</sup>

A special act of California's first legislature politically designated Sacramento as a City on February 27, 1850, but the history of the European colonization of the area began earlier when John Sutter arrived at the confluence of the American and Sacramento rivers in August of 1839. He brought with him a dream of establishing an agriculturally based empire, New Helvetia, using the area's natural resources and native-born American-Indian labor force. Sutter's Fort quickly became the center of economic activity in Northern California, with New Helvetia the bucolic site of Sutter's feudal system of production that included farming, milling, fishing, vineyards, tanning, hunting and trapping, and a regular launch service on the Sacramento River to San Francisco.<sup>2</sup> He also regularly sent out

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<sup>1</sup> Margaret A. Frink, *Journal of the Adventures of a Party of California Gold-Seekers Under the Guidance of Mr. Ledyard Frink During a Journey Across the Plains from Martinsville, Indiana, to Sacramento, California, from March 30, 1850, to September 7, 1850. From the Original Diary of the Trip Kept by Mrs. Margaret A. Frink* (Oakland, 1897) 128.

<sup>2</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, "The History of California, 1848-1859," Vol. 6, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* Vol. 23 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1988) 14. William Henry Ellison, *A Self-*

rescue parties for travelers stranded in the Sierra Nevada. Emigrants knew they would be welcomed at the Fort where they would receive advice as to where to settle. A mercurial personally, he both welcomed the assorted traders and farming families to his establishment and complained about the “rabble” which stopped for his hospitality.<sup>3</sup> The discovery of gold on January 24, 1848, dashed his dreams and unleashed the tumultuous forces shaped the future of California as well as Sacramento itself.

Sutter recognized the value of river-based transport; therefore, in 1846 he planned the town of Sutterville three miles down river on high ground as a trading center in conjunction with the Embarcadero he established near his Fort. Businessmen ignored the new settlement, preferring to establish their stores within and outside the Fort’s walls near the ferry Sutter began across the Sacramento River. The area near to the river and close to the Fort expanded more rapidly after the news of the discovery of gold in 1848 enticed thousands of newcomers to the area, including Germans, permanently disrupting Sutter’s schemes for New Helvetia. By the summer of 1849, only two workmen remained in his shops, a blacksmith and wagon maker; later, they also left. All industry ceased at the

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*Governing Dominion, California 1849-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950) 66. Edwin G. Gudde, *German Pioneers in Early California* (San Francisco: R. & E. Associates, 1970) 11. Donald Dale Jackson, *Gold Dust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980) 11. Lewis Publishing Company. *Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California, Illustrated* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1891) 194. Morse, “History,” 41. John F. Morse, *Illustrated Sketches of California* (Sacramento: Democratic State Journal Office, 1854) 42. Johann August Sutter, “General Sutter’s Diary,” Kenneth N. Owens, ed. *John Sutter and a Wider West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994) 2, 5, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, “History of California,” 32. Colville, *1853*, 1. Erwin G. Gudde, *German Pioneers in Early California*. (San Francisco: R. & E. Associates, 1970) 11, 13. Holliday, *Rush*, 54, 58, 79. Lewis Publishing, *Memorial*, 189, 195. Henry Miller Madden, *German Travelers in California* (San Francisco: The Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, 1958) 12. John F. Morse, *Illustrated Historical Sketches of California* (Sacramento: Democratic State Journal Office, 1854) 41. Severson, *Sacramento*, 32. Willis, *History*, 137.

Fort, and Sacramento, like other towns in California, was energized by gold fever.<sup>4</sup> The expansion of the town was shrouded in conspiracy and duplicity. In John Sutter's absence in January of 1849, Sam Brannan, a merchant who had a business inside the Fort, and Peter Burnett, an attorney, convinced Sutter's son to sell lots for a city between the fort and the river to rival his father's Sutterville settlement. Hoping to gain key waterfront lots for themselves, they emphasized that he could settle his father's debts incurred by the purchase of Fort Ross north of San Francisco with proceeds from this auction. The plan was laid out and the sales brisk. The site of Sacramento City became the crucial intermediate staging location for travel and activities between San Francisco and the diggings. By mid-June of 1850, the change from the Fort and Sutterville to the new metropolis of Sacramento City was complete. All the storekeepers had moved onto lots sold from Sutter's land, taking their trade away from his enterprises and depriving him of rental income.<sup>5</sup>

The phenomenal rise in population in Sacramento migrating from San Francisco and the eastern United States created an instant town of shacks, tents and a few substantial buildings where the infrastructure was sadly lacking. In April of 1849, the inhabitants numbered around 110 inhabiting around 69 buildings. By June, the city had 100 houses, by August 1849, 1,000 houses, and by October of 1851, an estimated

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<sup>4</sup> Bancroft, "History of California," 15, 447; "California Inter Pocula," *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Vol. 35. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888) 607. Julian Dana. *The Sacramento, River of Gold*. (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1971) 126. Gudde, *Pioneers*, 17, 23. Paula Mitchell Marks. *Precious Dust: The American Gold Rush Era, 1848-1900* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1994) 186. Lewis Publishing, *Memorial*, 195. Severson, *History*, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Dana, *River*, 133. Holliday, *Riches*, 77, 139. Lewis Publishing, *Memorial*, 199. Paula Marks, *Dust*, 186. J. Peter Zollinger, *Sutter: The Man and his Empir*. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967) 271.

Table 1  
 German-born Sacramentans, 1850-1859

Year	Total Family Units	
	Census	Directory
1850	350	
1851		107
1852	662	
1853		167
1855		258
1856		444
1857		301
1858		238
1859		373

"Family Units" are either single individuals, male or female, or married families of a head of household, a spouse and any children. Several units may live in the same household. Single individuals may board at the same address as married couples. The Census and Directory figures are separated because of the differences in accuracy. The year 1859 is from the *1860 Directory* and denotes the publication date rather than title.

"Year" indicates when the data was gathered by the publication editors. The intervals are not necessarily twelve months.

Sources: *1850 Census, 1852 Census, City Directories for the years cited.*

population, both permanent and transitory, of 10,000, increasing almost one-hundredfold in only six months.<sup>6</sup> Between 1848 and 1852, an estimated 52,000 permanent and transient travelers came by land plus thousands by boat from San Francisco. They found a

<sup>6</sup> Bancroft, "History of California," 57. Oscar Lewis, *Sutter's Fort: Gateway to the Gold Fields* (Englewood Cliffs, NY: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966) 199. Dr. John F. Morse, "History of Sacramento," Colville, 1853, 5. June Oxford, *The Capital That Couldn't Stay Put: The Complete Book of California's Capitals* (San Jose: Smith McKay, 1983) 66. Reed, *History*, 59, 69, 110. Mitchel Roth, "Cholera,

town of almost entirely built of cloth spread on light frames -- hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, saloons, bowling alleys, bathhouses, gambling places and not inconspicuous brothels. Homes were tents that newcomers brought with them from the plains. The more substantial buildings, made of plank with battened cracks, were mostly one story, primarily housing commercial establishments of saloons and gambling houses. Living conditions were difficult -- the streets, for example, were covered with uncollected horse manure. Water sprinkled during the summer stirred up thick swarms of flies and created a smelly mess.<sup>7</sup> Artist J. D Borthwick described the downtown as a "maze of wagons, coaches, rearing horses, grooms attempting to restrain them, drivers swearing at each other as they locked wheels and passengers were struggling to board."<sup>8</sup> Diarist Bernard J. Reid described Sacramento's riverfront in October of 1849:

Sacramento is a large place doing an immense business, and only a few months' growth. . . On the river bank is a strip of timber nearly a mile wide . . . Beneath and among these trees are the houses, sheds and tents composing the city, ranged in regular streets, blocks, etc. . . The oddest sight was the shipping at the wharf which, to an observer at a little distance, seemed to mingle its many masts and spars with living timber shore. It was a novel sight . . . Barques, brigs, schooners, sloops, and all sorts of small craft came to this port, being at the head of the tidewater. Two or three small steamboats also ply between there and the port of San Francisco. The place has had a wonderful growth since Spring but 'the oldest inhabitant' says the site overflows

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Community and Public Health in Gold Rush Sacramento and San Francisco, *Pacific Historical Review* 66:4 (November, 1997) 64.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas D. Clark, *Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Douglas Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967) 145, 181. Holliday, *Rush*, 188-9. Lewis, *Gateway*, 174. Charles Ross Park, M.D., *Dreams to Dust: A Diary of the California Gold Rush, 1849-1850*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989) 100. *Sacramento Transcript*, 23 October 1850, I:149 p. 2. col. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in R. E. Mather, "Borthwick's California: Gold Rush Panorama," *Californians* 10:4 (1994) 21.

every May, and if the overflow should come everything would go afloat.”<sup>9</sup>

Despite the turmoil, some of the 3,000 Germans who immigrated to California during 1849 and 1850 settled in the Sacramento area. They saw the potential profits to be gained in ministering to the demands of the thousands of argonauts passing through the area. By taking advantage of the potential economic opportunities in this “nucleus of attraction to the world,” they joined the Anglo-Americans to help develop the rapidly expanding city.<sup>10</sup>

Disasters -- floods, conflagrations, epidemics and civil unrest -- struck often in the early 1850s. Scurvy, diarrhea and dysentery felled the newcomers who arrived often penniless and in poor health from their long overland or sea voyage, and the lack of city government and infrastructure made their survival precarious.<sup>11</sup> The massive flood beginning on January 8, 1850, was largely unexpected, and disastrous, turning the town into a vast lake for ten days. The waters reached the tops of one-story buildings, flooded the primitive hospital established the prior summer, and damaged the Eagle, the first theater organized in California, forcing it to close. Merchants including German-born Jacob Binninger, William Pfeiffer and Louis Geisse saw their goods floating off down river. Dr. Morse reported that the deluging waters quickly rushed in and overwhelmed the

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<sup>9</sup> Mary McDougall Gordon, ed. *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) 149-50. Reid accurately foretold of the massive flood that came in December 1849-January 1850.

<sup>10</sup> Mark A. Eifler, “Who Shall Rule the Crossroads? Power and Place in Early Gold Rush Sacramento” Paper presented at Symposium entitled “Power and Place in the North American West.” (Seattle, WA, November, 1994) 2 Holliday, *Riches*, 90. Morse, “History,” 12.

<sup>11</sup> Morse, “History,” 13. Roth, “Cholera,” 530. Franklin Street, *California in 1850, Compared with What It Was in 1848, with a Glimpse at its Future Destiny* (Cincinnati: R. E. Edwards & Co., 1851) 12. Dr. John Morse said, “only one in 100 arrived in the county with money enough to buy him a decent outfit for the mines.” Morse, “History,” 13.

city, drowning many residents, some still in their beds. The many Sacramentans living in tents and sheds had to retreat to the base of the mountains where all sorts of animals joined them, including the rats that had been introduced to the countryside by Eastern ships. But the inhabitants quickly and optimistically worked to restore their business. Another flood threatened the city in March, but through the efforts of future Mayor Hardin Biglow to maintain the levees, the damage was considerably less. Floods struck again in January of 1852, leaving Sacramento in a “wretched condition,” with streets again converted to canals and house tops rising out of the water. Learning from their experience in 1850, merchants removed their goods from danger and conducted business “as usual” from the upper stories of the city’s businesses, customers coming and leaving by boat. After the waters receded, state legislators marveled at how quickly Sacramentans rebuilt their city.<sup>12</sup> New Year’s Day in 1853 saw a third flood where the river rose two feet higher than in 1850, but with an improved levee built the prior summer, little damage occurred in the city itself. “For nearly eight years [afterward], Sacramento was free from this scourge.”<sup>13</sup>

Fires were another enormous threat to Sacramento during this decade. Three months after the flood of 1850, the first of many fires broke out, destroying eight to ten buildings. The following November, fire destroyed four hotels, a store and saloon with losses amounting to \$45,000, but that was the last major conflagration until November 2,

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<sup>12</sup> Bancroft, “History of California,” 244. Morse, “History,” 19. Mather, “Panorama,” 21. Oxford, *Capital*, 62. Park, *Dreams*, 101. Reed, *History* 74, 105, 106. Malcolm Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 282. Street, *Glimpse*, 20. Severson, *Sacramento*, 72. Thompson, *History*, 66, 69. Willis, *Sacramento*, 103.

<sup>13</sup> Thompson, *History*, 73.



1852. On that date, a fire of huge proportions overwhelmed the city. Seven-eighths of the city burned with losses estimated at \$6,000,000, leaving inhabitants virtually homeless and fortunes wiped out. The *Daily Union* describes that inferno: “That terrible destroyer which has heretofore laid in ashes every important town in the State, has at last visited our fair ‘City of the Plains,’ and in a few brief hours swept almost every vestige of it from existence.”<sup>14</sup> Rev. J. A. Benton wrote: “all their earnings [were] swept off in a single night by a force they could not resist.”<sup>15</sup> Small fires were commonplace after this disaster, but on July 13, 1854, Sacramento’s history recorded a second general conflagration. Twelve city blocks located in the heart of the commercial district were destroyed. Although the area destroyed was not as extensive as in 1852, it was just as costly in damage. Small fires continued to threaten Sacramentans. In 1856, Barbara Drüke described how her household had been threatened by one only three houses away. They quickly evacuated their home, fearful that the wood construction of the buildings around them would speed its progress. But they were saved when “good old No. One Fire Engine Company came” quickly came to extinguish it. Her fear and fright caused her to become ill. Fires affected other members of the German community. Barbara told how her friends the Haucks lost everything only four weeks prior to her scare, and Lui Brant lost everything in another blaze. The citizens of Sacramento addressed the threat of incendiary destruction by establishing the first fire company in the State of California in February of 1850. Several

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<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Severson, *Sacramento*, 106. Thompson, *History*, 76.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Benton, *California Pilgrim: A Series of Lectures Sacramento: Solomon Alter, 1853*) 188-190.

more were added over the ensuing year so that by 1859, ten, both volunteer and city-organized, operated efficiently.<sup>16</sup>

Fire and flood were not the only hazards to the well being of Sacramento -- domestic violence threatened it in 1850. In August, the landholders and squatters rioted over some 800 claims to some fourteen million acres of land. Settlers, believing the concept that empty land was theirs merely for the taking, did not recognize the Mexican land titles of John Sutter and others and, after unfavorable court decisions, initiated an armed confrontation where the sheriff and tax assessor died and Mayor Biglow injured. They struggled against the original founders of the city, merchants who controlled its economic and political forces, holding them responsible for the excessive prices charged in their business establishments. The "Pro Law and Order" founders won the struggle, and the settlers, or squatters, reverted to legal procedures to back their claims, but the founders' power was giving way to a new group of middle-level merchants and professionals beginning to dominate the city.<sup>17</sup> It is likely that the German-born newcomers would fall in this "resident" group since many were the hoteliers, shop-keepers and individual craftsmen who came in 1850, joining the struggle to assure Sacramento's status as the Second City of California.

Following on the heels of the riots, cholera arrived on the same steamship that brought statehood news on October 20, 1850. This deadly disease had struck the United

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<sup>16</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 76. Cutter, *1860*, xi-xii. Holliday, *Riches*, 193. Park, *Dreams*, 101. Rohrbough, *Days*, 282. Severson, *Sacramento*, 73, 106-7. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 76-80.

<sup>17</sup> Eifler, "Crossroads," 5, 7, 10, 13. David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994) 142. Jackson, *Dust*, 292-4. Lewis, *Memorial*, 202-3. Morse, "History," 26-7. Reed, *History*, 81-3. Severson, *Sacramento*, 76.

States in 1848 and migrated to the West quickly over land in wagon trains and by sea with immigrants arriving from infected ports. Panic gripped the city as “people of the most industrious, regular and careful habits seemed alike vulnerable to the dreadful enemy.”<sup>18</sup> Businesses closed, and roads and levees were crowded with residents fleeing the disease. Some remained to give aid to the stricken, including the future governor of California, John Bigler, who, armed with a lump of gum camphor to ward off the germs, joined Sacramento’s doctors, all of whom stayed to minister to the sick. Due to a lack of records, estimates of how many died vary, but historians agree that approximately 15% of the population perished in the six-week epidemic.<sup>19</sup>

If the dangers of flood, fire, epidemic, and political unrest were not enough, entrepreneurs faced other particular hurdles conducting business in Sacramento. The city’s economy was tied to transportation, whether gold from the mines, supplies from San Francisco, or, later in the decade, wheat from Red Bluff and the Sacramento Valley shipped to San Francisco for consignment to ports all over the world. Businessmen in Sacramento did not control decisions regarding the amount or type of freight shipped to or from their hinterland, gold or produce. Sacramento was an economic colony of San Francisco; therefore, bay-area capitalists and speculators made investment plans centered on profits for themselves without regard for the consequences to Sacramento, its businesses or profits. San Francisco’s shippers controlled the uneven influx of goods

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<sup>18</sup> Morse, “History,” 35. Dr. Morse’s graphic descriptions about the epidemic are the basis for most of the later histories. Roth, “Cholera,” 529.

<sup>19</sup> Bancroft, “History of California,” 231. Davis, *History*, 130. Lewis Publishing, *Memorial*, 201. Morse, “History,” 13, 35-37. Roth, *Cholera*, 529, 536, 543. Willis, *Sacramento*, 79. Morse reported that seventeen of the physicians attending the sick died in the epidemic. Morse, “History,” 37.

Sacramento's merchandisers needed to meet the demands of its transient, and permanent, population, and their conclusions were not necessarily profitable for the Second City entrepreneurs.<sup>20</sup> Seasonal economic cycles dictated by weather also influenced the flow of goods in and out of the city. Mining was heaviest in July, August and September, despite the heat, disease and lack of water in the Sierra Nevada foothills. In the dry summer season, hundreds of wagons left Sacramento City in dust so thick that it looked like a morning fog rising about twenty feet above the ground. During the winter, the roads were flooded or mired in mud, unable to handle heavy freight traffic. Many men became jobless and poured into the Northern California cities, including Sacramento. Some were penniless -- they had spent everything they had to get to the fields or they gambled it all when they came back. Others came to work as casual laborers to add to meager returns from the mines. The unemployed may have seemed like "idlers," but some were down for a rest from the mines, others were on their way home, while still others simply could not find work. Some of the jobless supplemented their income by scavenging discarded goods, "some of which owners had not yet realized they had 'discarded' in the streets." The Germans who declared "unknown" or "laborer" to the 1850 and 1852 census takers probably fit this picture of "idler."<sup>21</sup> In the springtime, local commerce picked up as interior merchants requisitioned goods needed to replenish their stocks. In the fall,

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<sup>20</sup> William Robbins describes the relationship of an economic colony as one where Sacramento would be totally dependent upon San Francisco for capital as well as decision-making. William Robbins, *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West*. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994) 12, 170.

<sup>21</sup> Holliday, *Riches*, 137, 189; *World*, 316, 405. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 6, 31, 50, 162. Paula Marks, *Dust*, 231. Morse, "History," 6. Rohrbaugh, *Days*, 130, 163, 205. There were eighty-one German immigrants who gave the answer "none" or whose occupation was recorded as "unknown" out of 350 in 1850 and 140 out of 662 in 1852, 23% and 21% of Germans listed. See Table 7, "Size of German Enterprises," 68.

merchants would again want to “stock up” to meet the demands of arriving overland immigrants and the increased wintertime population in the city. Weather could also impact the amount of ore produced in the mines by stalling supplies and shutting down freight routes during the summer.<sup>22</sup>

As discussed previously, the health of Sacramento’s economy was closely tied to the center of economic power in San Francisco in a frequently uncooperative relationship. When bay-area merchants saw a high demand in their Northern California hinterland for particular products, they would order a large quantity of those goods to meet it. Often, however, they would order a surplus, driving prices down so merchants both in the “mother city” and its colonies would take losses. Often they would send the goods inland to Sacramento, hoping to unload them at high prices before the news of the surplus brought price collapses. Contemporaries called these wild fluctuations “California prices,” and they were accelerated by suppliers in the East sending goods “blind” with no idea of what the demand for the those goods actually was.<sup>23</sup>

The recessions that occurred in San Francisco also impacted its colony, Sacramento. After a mining boom ended in January of 1850, the oversupply of goods caused a recession in San Francisco which merchants sought to alleviate by increasing their “dumping” the excess in Sacramento. Many banks in the Second City, concentrating on buying and selling gold dust as a major source of revenue, closed their doors. With the tremendous expenses caused by the crises of 1850 and city officials paying themselves larger salaries than the city’s charter permitted, the city itself was faced with the possibility

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<sup>22</sup> Holliday, *World*, 316. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 50.

<sup>23</sup> Holliday, *Riches*, 189-90. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 50.

of insolvency in the spring of 1851. Only by issuing a large bond issue, subsequently approved by the State in 1852, could the City remain solvent. A decline in gold production and a decrease of immigrants from 1854 to 1858 led to another depression in San Francisco, hitting hardest in early 1854. Goods glutted the market again as demand was down and miners were leaving the area. Adams and Company, Page, Bacon & Co., and Wells Fargo were Sacramento's major bankers who had been loaning money at interest rates as high as 3% a month, sometimes as high as 10%. The transient population provoked the rates as a borrower might be in camp or on the way home when the note came due. Loans were called in and on February 22, 1855, Page, Bacon & Co. permanently closed their doors. Adams and Company also failed and Wells Fargo attempted to honor their depositors but paid only 37 cents on the dollar. Because these banks also operated as express offices immigrants used to send money home, their collapse caused consternation to many, including Johann Bickel and Barbara Drüke, because they were forced to rely on far less reliable sources for the storage and transportation of the funds.<sup>24</sup>

Sacramento, it would seem, would not survive all these crises to be the Second City of California. Despite all these drawbacks, however, residents of Sacramento City saw their new home as a place of promise and undauntedly strove to find economic order and cultural propriety in their new home. In 1850, F. M. in the *San Francisco Courier*

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<sup>24</sup> John Walton Caughey, *Gold is the Cornerstone* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948) 219. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 46, 62-3. Peter Randolph Decker, "Social Mobility on the Urban Frontier: The San Francisco Merchants, 1850-1880" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1974) 58. Holliday, *Riches*, 190; *World*, 316, 326. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 50, 58. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 50, 131, 134-135. The taxes Sacramentans paid on their property were \$5.35 on their assessed property compared to San Francisco's \$3.895 ½. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 15.

stated: "I have told you I had very moderate expectations of Sacramento. You can imagine my surprise at seeing a great and thrilling city."<sup>25</sup> Even Dr. Park, visiting in 1850, saw a promise: "This is called a city, but it don't look much like one at present. No telling what it may be as all cities must have a start."<sup>26</sup> Historian David Goodman, in his study of gold rush communities, argues that an innate love of order drove the newcomers to re-establish conventions they had known in the East. He refutes the account of contemporary reporters such as Hinton R. Helper: "all were rushing madly, after their own fortunes."<sup>27</sup> Goodman states that the men traveling to California brought ideals of domesticity with them, using ritual and association to control the unregulated communities. He disagrees with academics such as Hubert H. Bancroft who contended that it was the gradual increase in the number of women that had brought civilization to the chaotic gold rush country. Goodman argues that it was the settlers' innate impulse for order that caused them to create and form associations to combat the turmoil and bring stability to gold rush communities such as Sacramento.<sup>28</sup> Dr. John Morse attested to the perseverance of his fellow residence after the Cholera epidemic:

But those who supposed that Sacramento and Sacramentans could be so easily crushed had not learned their character. The very moment that morality began an obvious retreat from the premises, that moment, those who survived their

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<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Severson, *Sacramento*, 62.

<sup>26</sup> Park. *Dreams*.100.

<sup>27</sup> Hinton R. Helper, *The Land of Gold: Reality vs. Fiction, 1855* (Baltimore: H. Taylor. 1855) 243. The sarcastic tone of Hinton's work is understandable. "He spent three months sweating at one mine and made only ninety-three cents." John E. Baur, "Californians Elsewhere: The Golden State's Nineteenth-Century Citizens at Large." *Southern California Quarterly* LXVI: 2 (Summer, 1984) 97.

<sup>28</sup> Bancroft, "History of California," 223-235. Goodman, *Seeking*, 14, 65, 89, 92, 181-4, 186.

flight returned.”<sup>29</sup>

Whether native or foreign born, Sacramentans, it would seem, were not to be hindered in their quest to make their city ordered, and permanent.

Hoping to increase an aura of stability to attract more permanent residents, citizens kept improving Sacramento’s infrastructure and business environment after 1850. In the beginning of 1851, by increasing the number of boats and ships transporting goods to and from the city on the Sacramento River, they created competition and rivalry that shortened the time of the trip and lowered freight prices. Particularly after the introduction of steam, the boats became even faster and more efficient, crowding the piers and moorings, where goods could then be transferred to shallower draft steamers bound upriver to Marysville and Red Bluff. When the river traffic began to fall in 1856, the citizens promoted the building of the Sacramento Valley Railroad from Sacramento to Folsom, the first railroad in California. In 1850, the commercial center of the city was J Street, extended back from Front for about two miles even in those early days. Through the merchants’ support of improvements in the business section of the city, its streets were fully planked and the area provided with sewers. Although the iron rimmed wheels of the heavy freighters cut the pine planks leaving splintered crevices that caught hoofs and wheels, the city’s businessmen continually replaced the old with new plankings until cobblestones were put in. Fires stimulated the building of brick structures, particularly that occurring November of 1852. By 1854, 500 of the city’s structures were of brick construction versus 2,000 built of frame. That same year, the gas company was formed and the first street lamps lit just before Christmas of 1855. The citizens recognized the threat of flood each winter and

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<sup>29</sup> Morse, “History,” 37.



worked to improve the levee system. Recognizing that levees alone might be inadequate, the merchants of Sacramento banded together to raise the city's commercial buildings, hoisting them high enough to stand above the floodwaters. The work began in 1853 and began with the area encompassing I, J, and K Streets from Front to Eighth.<sup>30</sup> Dirt and gravel were spread over the grid of streets, and less important buildings had their first floors converted into basements raising the streets by about four feet. Jackscrews lifted the more important structures above their original elevations while workers backfilled dirt and masons built new foundations, including a hotel 160 feet in length. That the merchants were willing to absorb a severe financial hardship of assessments of over \$200,000 demonstrates their persistent efforts to make the city of Sacramento a success.<sup>31</sup>

Businessmen went beyond structural or physical improvements in Sacramento to assure the city's future. Recognizing the dangers of tying its economy to the shipment of just gold, they began to encourage development of its agricultural hinterland. In the years 1852 and 1853, Sacramento imported 165,000 tons of agricultural products to answer the demands of the merchants dealing in food products, but by the years 1854-1855, less than 98,500 tons were imported despite the fact that the area's population was increasing. Wheat was shipped out of the valley to Oregon, China and Mexico through the city's river transportation systems. Merchants first met on October 8, 1852, to begin an agricultural association that they formally organized as the State Agricultural Society in early 1854. The group sponsored numerous fairs around the State in the late 1850s, but Sacramento

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<sup>30</sup> See the diagram of the downtown area, Table 6, "Location of German Residences," page 59.

<sup>31</sup> Bancroft, "History of California," 457-459. Holliday, *Riches*, 189, 194. Lewis, *Seeking*, 207. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 61-2.

merchants built a Pavilion in 1859 to assure that the State Fair would always be held in their city. The tenacious efforts Sacramentans made to assure that the State Capital should be there was another demonstration of their long-term commitment to their home's permanence and potential expansion. For five years, the location of the State Capital was changed from San Jose, to Vallejo, and then to Benecia, and Sacramentans were determined that their city should be its final, and permanent, destination. A citizen body numbering 200 to 300 traveled to Benecia before the California State Legislature convened and occupied the only hotel and boarding house. They lobbied and bribed the arriving lawmakers who were disgruntled about the scarcity of accommodations and lack of improvements. The Sacramentans succeeded when legislators designated the Second City as California's new state Capital, and, when the lawmakers relocated the legislature to Sacramento the next day, residents greeted them with a grand ball.<sup>32</sup> When Patrick Manqué, the first Bishop of Sacramento, arrived in 1854, he saw the town as "one of the prettiest and most enterprising cities in the Union."<sup>33</sup>

After facing all the crises of flood, fire, disease and economic uncertainty, pioneers such as Margaret Frink could feel justly proud that their efforts made their new home the center of the interior of northern California. The fact that Sacramento's pioneers included German-born settlers Charles Heinrich, John Laufkotter, George Meyer and Louis Sloss who came and stayed showed that they, too, also believed in the promise of the area. Historians often cite the commitment and important role of the merchandising

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<sup>32</sup> Dana, *River*, 135, 212. Lewis Publishing, *Memorial*, 206. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 129. Holliday, *World*, 354. Oxford, *Capital*, 29, 33, 47, 53, 60-62. Wooldridge, *History*, 113-4.

<sup>33</sup> William Breault, S.J., *The Miner was a Bishop: The Pioneer Years of Patrick Manoque California-Nevada, 1854-1895* (Rancho Cordova, California: Landmark Enterprises, 1988) 5.

establishment, the Lady Adams Company, as a success story in early Sacramento -- it was founded, owned and operated by Germans.<sup>34</sup> Whether in Europe or in the United States, Germans overlooked the tumultuous conditions of Sacramento's beginnings to find a promise of prosperity to alleviate the economic and political problems they were facing at home. More and more stayed, joined together in an ethnic enclave, and created a new identity of "German-Sacramentan" over the decade.

### Looking for Answers

German-born Sacramentans have played a small role in the development of the City. When studying Sacramento during the 1850s, however, historians have focused on the gold rush, its miners and prospectors, rather than on German immigrants, or the city itself. Nineteenth-century "population studies" of the Federal and State Censuses, the City Directories published between 1851 and 1860, and membership records of the *Turnverein* reveal that a significant number of Germans resided, worked and played in Sacramento. Each publication presents particular research challenges calling for individual solutions in order to synthesize its information into a workable format. Contemporary histories and biographies provided additional evidence of the Germans and pointed to the formation of their ethnic community. Appendix Two, "Survey of Germans in Sacramento, 1850-1859," organizes this material into a list of individual German-born immigrants that documents their arrival, departure and their occupations. The data in this appendix confirms that although many German-born immigrants may have lived briefly in Sacramento, a number

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<sup>34</sup> Colville, *1856*, 70. Davis, *Sacramento*, 138. Severson, *History*, 93.

stayed long enough to form a community which held to its German-based traditions rather than merge into the dominant Anglo-American community.

Appendix Two presents the German immigrants in several categories. "Family Unit" is a classification containing two parts. A unit is either a head of household, spouse and any children, or it is a single individual. Because of the lack of housing in Sacramento, many of the unmarried men lived in the same residence as married family units. Each unit is treated separately regardless of where they lived. "Individuals and Small Enterprises" refer to occupations of the German immigrants which might not have required a large capital investment in the nineteenth century to operate or which an individual could pursue out of his home. This classification includes those occupations that are typically employees such as "cook" or "waiter." "Merchants and Large Enterprises" are endeavors that might have required an investment in a factory, building or inventory. It includes listings in the censuses and directories indicated by "merchant" and "proprietor" as well as those associated with larger establishments such as clothing or dry-goods stores. No attempt was made to determine the classification of employment was at an establishment as indicated by the words "of" or "at" included with that institution's name next to that of an individual.

A number of problems develop when studying the Federal Census of 1850, the State Census of 1852 and the *Turnverein* records besides that of deciphering the nineteenth-century script, a problem familiar to all historians of this era. Because Anglo-American census takers and printers did not use the German "*umlaut*," for example, they recorded some individuals' names incorrectly; thus, George Drücke's name appears as Drake in the D.A.R. transcription of the 1852 Census and in Sacramento's marriage

records. Because of the tremendous turnover of population, interviewers often excluded thousands who stopped over on the way to gold fields or back home.<sup>35</sup> Although the 1852 Census contains vital population-based information, a number of its pages have been destroyed or damaged making reading them impossible.<sup>36</sup> Employing percentages of German-born immigrants in 1850 and 1852 in the statistical tables rather than just numbers solves the problem of different population “bases,” the Federal Census covering just Sacramento City and the State Census the entire County. An example of these problems is the variation of spelling of the Binninger family name and discrepancies relating to his nativity in the Censuses and Directories over the over the 1850-1859 period.<sup>37</sup> Jacob Binninger’s name was spelled five different ways, and his place of origin listed as Germany, Illinois and Wisconsin. Despite these inconsistencies, both Censuses with their columns labeled “residence” and “nativity” and the *Turnverein* records were crucial in

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<sup>35</sup> Alan Bowman explains complications as they particularly pertain to the 1850 Federal Census and offers guidelines for reading the handwriting, noting, for example, that the common letter “u” often occurring in German names could be transcribed as “v,” “a,” “ee,” “n,” or “u.” Alan P. Bowman, *Index to the 1850 Census of the State of California* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1972) x. Daughters of the American Revolution, “County of Sacramento,” *California Census of 1852*. Vol. 5. (N.p.: 1935) 256. Thor Severson, *Sacramento: an Illustrated History: 1839 to 1874, from Sutter’s Fort to Capital City* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1973) 89.

<sup>36</sup> Surveying the D.A.R. transcription of the 1852 Census confirms historian Dennis Harris’ cautions about duplications and omissions. The original census takers seem to have repeated names thus duplicating listings. In addition, the D.A.R. transcribers misread the script. In this study, both documents were reviewed to ascertain the correct spelling as much as possible. Dennis E. Harris, “The California Census of 1852: A Note of Caution and Encouragement,” *The Pacific Historian* (23:1 Spring, 1984) 60.

<sup>37</sup> Jacob arrived in California before 1850 and is referred to as James Binninger in histories written in 1913 and 1925, as Jacob Benninger from Germany in the Census of 1850 (Bowman lists him as Bininger), J. Binninger in 1851, Jacob Bennuger in the DAR transcription of the Census of 1852, Jacob Bininger from Wisconsin in the 1853 Directory, Jacob Binninger, German, in the 1855 Directory, Jacob Binninger in 1856, J. Bininger in 1857, Jacob Binninger, German, in 1858, and finally, Jacob Benninger from Illinois in the 1860 Directory. Bowman, *Census*, 341. *1850 Census*, 176. D.A.R., *1852 Census*, 211. Colville, *1853*, 9; *1855*, 15; *1856*, 11. Culver, *1851*, 9. Cutter, *1860*, 8. Irwin, *1857-58*, 5. Taylor, *1858*, 9. Willis, *Sacramento*, 382. Appendix Two, 130.

identifying those Sacramentans who were German-born. By “matching” occupations, ages and other data, individual immigrants could be identified and included in Appendix Two to provide an accurate picture of those who gathered together into the German community.<sup>38</sup>

The City Directories presented problems of a different kind. For example, when comparing number of Germans in those published in 1851 and 1853 shown in Table 1 on page 18 with the number listed in the Federal and State Censuses, it is obvious that their editors made specific choices as to who would be included. It was unlikely that the German-born population of Sacramento fell from 350 in 1850 to 107 in 1851, climbed back up again to 662 in 1852 and then dropped down to 167 in 1853. We do not know the criteria editors used. If they charged a fee for listing or mandated advertising, the laborer or worker at the low end of the economic scale might not have seen the value of a listing if they were planning to be in Sacramento only a short time and thus would choose to be excluded. The workers also would not be interested in the advertising or commercial benefit of a listing in a directory. This may explain why the number of laborers listed in the Directories is so small and why Johann Bickel was not listed the city directories until 1857. He came and went from Sacramento after his arrival on April 11, 1853, until four years later when he “settled down” and was employed at a bakery.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> In Appendix Two, alternative spellings of names are in parentheses under “Family Units.”

<sup>39</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 39, 79. Irwin, *1857-1858*, 8. Walter Kamphoefner extensively and successfully used City Directories in his *The Westfalians*, but he confessed that the omission of age and nativity also caused him problems. He noted that the books were more or less sideline publications for printers and not official but that the editors were interested in presenting as accurate information as possible for commercial reasons. Kamphoefner, *News*, 41. In the more settled areas of the American Mid-west, Kamphoefner’s area of study, the population did not turn over as rapidly as in gold-rush Sacramento, leading one to dispute the claim of accuracy those produced in the California city.

In addition, the directories were inconsistent when indicating marital status and “nativity.” The editors of the 1856 Directory indicate in their key entitled “Abbreviations they used the symbols “m” or “mrd” for married, “s” for single, and “c” or “chd” for children, but many of the entries do not indicate the person’s married or unmarried state.<sup>40</sup> One cannot assume that those who did not choose to give a designation to editors of City Directories were single -- Johann Bickel had a wife and children in Germany and George Drüke was married in Sacramento in 1856, but neither had a designation of “m” or “s” next to their name.<sup>41</sup> According to that same key, the editors adopted widely used abbreviations of States and Countries to indicate the “nativity” of an individual, but they were inconsistent in their application.<sup>42</sup> We do not know if the editors asked “Where were you born?” or “Where did you live before coming to California?” The different phraseology would elicit different answers. Thus, as noted in the case of Jacob Binninger, a German-born immigrant might be listed from Wisconsin when, in fact, he was born in Germany. The census figures are assumed to be more accurate than the Directories’ when tracing individuals over the decade. Appendix Two also includes the names of individuals who were identified as born in “Germany” or other Germanic areas in early biographies or *Turnverein* records regardless of their origin or nativity listed in the directories.

Not only were inconsistencies in information a problem in the Censuses and Directories, but omissions were as well. Individuals who one could reasonably assume were residing in Sacramento do not appear in some of the records. For example, Jacob

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<sup>40</sup> Colville, 1856, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Colville, 1856, 41. Irwin, 1857-1858, 8. In Appendix Two, the individuals without their marital status included are designated with an “X.”

Binninger and Charles Heinrich are listed every year for the entire decade, whereas several substantial merchants George Meyer, Jacob Fox, Louis Hagen, William Greenhood and Marks Newmark are recorded for every year except 1852 – perhaps their names are on the damaged census pages one cannot read. Louis Sloss, Aaron Hamberger and John Laufkotter were also long-term residents who are “missing” in isolated years although they were unlikely to have lived elsewhere during that time.<sup>43</sup> In addition, because the Directories were not issued on a strict twelve-month basis, the time intervals between them were not always a year – for example, none was issued for the year of 1854 and the *Sacramento City Directory, for the year A.D. 1860*, despite its title, had a publication date and thus information for 1859. This might result in an individual “missing” in a particular year. A specific example is merchant Edward Heisch who established the first coffee and spice mill in Sacramento in 1850. He is listed only in the 1852 Census and 1856 Directory, while his relative, A. Heisch is listed every year after 1852. Economic status may have played a role in the inclusion of Leopold Zoller who arrived in 1855, worked for wages at butchering until 1858, left and then returned in October of 1858 to establish a meat market; yet, he does not appear in any directory until 1860.<sup>44</sup> Again, Appendix Two lists individuals living in Sacramento only when their presence can be documented in at least one primary source.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Colville, 1856. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix Two, 130, 141, 145, 146, 160, 169, 181.

<sup>44</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 79, 85. Colville, 1852, 232; 1856, xxxii. Cutter, 1860, 128. Irwin, 1857-58, 8.. Thompson, *History*, 148, 294. Appendix Two, 149, 191.

<sup>45</sup> When individuals are identified in the *Turnverein* records as German, for example, yet do not appear in any other record, their names are included despite the lack of information about their years of residency in Sacramento or occupation.



The histories of Sacramento written before 1900 were particularly valuable as the authors included biographies of individual German-born pioneer settlers in their works; however, these accounts presented their own problems. Dr. John Morse' chronicle of Sacramento from 1850 thorough 1853 was often repeated word-for-word in later histories.<sup>46</sup> In addition, authors following him sometimes repeated entire chapters from other previously written works. Reed's 1925 chapter on "Floods" for the years 1850-1859 duplicates that written by Willis in 1913, again word-for-word, and both relied heavily on quotations from Morse.<sup>47</sup> Thompson and West's massive work published in 1880 contains information not always covered in the later histories, but even this study is incomplete. Disregarding the importance of the merchandising, hotel and restaurant-gambling sectors to Sacramento's economy, the authors exclude any analysis of them and concentrate instead solely on the transportation and manufacturing. Other early historians such as Morse included paragraphs on gambling, but they railed against the morality of the industry rather than acknowledge its economic impact on the city. Furthermore, the biographers of early pioneers such as Davis often omitted the subject's past association with saloons despite the fact that this recreation for the miners was an important part of Sacramento's early economy. Profits from these enterprises were often the source of the pioneers' funds for expansion into other fields of endeavor.

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<sup>46</sup> Morse, "History." p. 1-40.

<sup>47</sup> Walter G. Reed, ed., *The History of Sacramento County California with Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men and Women of the County Who have Been Identified with Its Growth and Development from the Early Days to the Present* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1925) 135-138. Willis, *Sacramento*. 105-110.

The true lynchpin and the inspiration of this study are the Bickel and Drüke papers documenting my family's history in California: Johann Bickel's journal, "The Fraudulent Undertaking of an Expedition by Sea from New Orleans to California by Wilson Schmidt in 1852," and Barbara Bickel Drüke's letters. Bickel and Drüke represent examples of the "neither so great nor so grand and not even very brave" members of the great wave of pioneers, native and German-born, who came to California in search of gold.<sup>48</sup> Johann Bickel presented the papers to Louisa Drüke Plagemann, Barbara's daughter, when Louisa traveled from San Francisco home to her ancestral home in Germany in 1898 to learn more about her "roots."<sup>49</sup> In 1966, my mother and I included them in an anthology of family histories entitled *California Potpourri*, and all further citations and quotations used in this study are from that volume.<sup>50</sup> Many of the other contemporary diaries and letters used in this study reflect the fascination the early gold rushers had with Sacramento as well as document the problems they had traveling to California and finding gold. Like letters of modern tourists, the descriptions of Sacramento they wrote to family and friends back home added to the pictures drawn by Johann Bickel. The records written by those who came and stayed such as Rev. J. A. Benton and Margaret Frink added to, and yet contrasted with, Barbara Drüke's observations in her letters.

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<sup>48</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, xiii, 1-57, 59-105. The family donated the original letters, their 1930 translation, and a transcription of the journal to the California Historical Society for safekeeping.

<sup>49</sup> According to family tradition, Louisa divided the letters between Emilie, her daughter, and Robert, her son, years after her return. After Robert's death, his widow destroyed his allotment, assuming they were of no interest. Bickel's Journal abruptly ends in 1855, a sharp departure from his meticulous record keeping. Perhaps she also threw out the last half of the journal since the translator, Herman J. Weber, noted that some of the remaining sheets were loose and easily misplaced. Bickel, "Undertaking" 2.

<sup>50</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 1-89.

The lack of attention given to Sacramento's Germans by historians writing in the last fifty years was a stimulus to search for the foreign-born in sources such as population records, early and contemporary histories and accounts. Despite the problems incumbent in their use, these documents provided the identities of individual German immigrants who could be traced and tracked from 1850 to 1859, verifying the beginning and growth of Sacramento's ethnically based German community. Contemporary newspaper accounts and internal records such as the *Turnverein* minutes only underscored these conclusions. The list of the individual immigrants is a tool that historians can use to track the German-born geographically across California or back to their homes as well as over the ensuing years of the State's history.

## CHAPTER III

### GERMANS COME TO SACRAMENTO

When the excitement incident to the discovery of gold in the valley of Sacramento attracted the attention of the world to this locality, he [H. Wachhorst]. . . determined to seek his fortunes in the far West.

---Winfield J. Davis<sup>1</sup>

Edward Klebitz . . . in the revolution of 1858 . . . was tried by court martial . . . released . . . and determined to emigrate to America.

---Winfield J. Davis<sup>2</sup>

The prospects of economic success “pulled” Germans such as H. Wachhorst to Sacramento, whereas the political and economical upheavals occurring in Germany in the late 1840s and early 1850s “pushed” others such as Edward Klebitz.<sup>3</sup> They were part of the large immigration from the German states to America that culminated in the mid 1850s. Like Anglo American argonauts, many Germans came and went from the transportation hub of the gold mining area, but a nucleus of permanent settlers came and created a German community which grew over time, particularly in the latter half of the

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<sup>1</sup> Davis wrote the biography of Wachhorst in 1890. Davis, *History*, 775.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, *History*, 779.

<sup>3</sup> “Push” and “pull” are terms connected with the Laws of Migration originally articulated by E. G. Ravenstein. “Push refers to those forces existing in the place of origin that encourage or impel persons to emigrate. . . Pull refers to those attractive forces emanating from the migrants’ goal that draws migrants.” Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991) 17.

1850s. Tracing these settlers by name connects the growth of their community to the dynamics of the gold rush and conditions both in Germany and the mid-West. Once the German immigrants arrived in Sacramento, their experiences demonstrated three major theories of immigrant experience in America, Oscar Handlin's alienated, isolated individuals, Bodnar's culturally-bound enclaves, and Kamphoefner's chain migrations, but each theory took on a particular meaning in light of the unprecedented Californian gold rush experience.<sup>4</sup>

Germans were attracted to America and California before the gold rush, pushed by economic and political conditions in their homelands. Floodtides of immigration peaked in 1846 and 1853, mainly from the southwestern and northeast Germanic areas of Europe. Upon the death of a farmer in the southwest, his lands were divided equally among his sons, resulting in individual farms too small to support a family; therefore, inhabitants were economically driven to leave the area. The wine vintages in 1850, 1851, and 1854 were among the four worst years in the nineteenth century, and those in the intervening two years were below average. That agricultural disaster plus the high grain prices in the area drove many to leave and come to America, including baker Johann Bickel. In the northwest, industrialization and foreign competition contributed to the decline of cottage industries, particularly in the linen weaving industry, which, in turn, displaced rural classes from their homes. Although residents of these two geographical areas accounted for the majority of immigrants, some came from the northeastern areas of Germany where

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<sup>4</sup> John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigration in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985) xvii. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951) 4. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 71.

undivided large estates were handed down to eldest sons, leaving younger brothers without agricultural livelihood. The large increase in population occurring in Europe during the nineteenth century and the decline in economic buying power during the 1850s only increased these hardships so that coming to America might seem the only solution to the inhabitants' depressed conditions.<sup>5</sup> Politically, the failed revolutions of 1848 also "pushed" refugees to the United States to escape persecution, become exiles, and start life anew. The conscription decrees issued in the German duchies immediately after the revolution were another political stimulant. But the chief reason middle-class Germans came to America was to retain, regain, or perhaps increase their secure economic existence — they sold property to generate cash to go abroad. All of these factors set off a wave of immigration that in 1854 was the highest rate ever experienced in Germany as well as in America. A combination of these economic disasters may have influenced Johann Bickel to come to seek gold. His journal shows how anxious he was to send money home.<sup>6</sup>

After leaving Europe and landing in the major seaports of the United States, many Germans moved to the cities of the mid-West. These immigrants, who by 1850 constituted 26% of the total foreign-born American population, were more highly

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<sup>5</sup> Klaus J. Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Central European History* XIII:4 (December, 1980) 358, 360-1. Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 15. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 27, 38. Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* translated by Susan Carter Vogel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991) 2-3. Holliday, *Riches*, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Barney, "Forty-Eighters," 20; "Knights of Cause and Exercise: German Forty-Eighters and Turnverein in the United States during the Ante-Bellum Period," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 13:2 (1982) 62. Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 15. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 41. George Peter Hammond, "German Interests in California before 1850" (Master's Thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1921. Reprinted San Francisco: R. & E. Associates, 1971) 16. Holliday, *Riches*, 83. Kamphoefner, *News*, 10.

urbanized than those coming in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. In 1850, only 5% of the total population of the United States lived in cities, but almost 30% of all German-Americans lived in the eight largest cities and included families as well as unmarried men. Urban locations such as Chicago, St. Louis and Milwaukee were attractive to the newcomers because the American-born elites were less entrenched and the Germans could use their pre-migration artisan and craft skills to a greater advantage than in the newly industrializing east. Wisconsin had the largest percentage of German-born after 1850, and Milwaukee had a foreign-born population of 64% by 1850 and of these two-thirds were German. The city was thoroughly "Germanized." The predominant language spoken on the streets was German, the beverages of bock and lager beers and *Maiwein* advertised throughout the city were associated with the German culture, and the immigrants formed ethnically bound fraternal associations for neighborhood support. In New York City, the Germans formed a ghetto, *Kleindeutschland*, where, as in Milwaukee, English was rarely heard. Germans supported businesses, schools, churches, a library, a *Volkstheater*, and a number of beer saloons. Cities attracted young, single men, willing to live in boarding houses or hotels to keep their expenses low.<sup>7</sup> As the number of Germans electing to stay in Sacramento's urban environment increased over the decade, they would also uphold the tradition of *Vereinswesen* and welcome newcomers into their neighborhoods. Their community was not as large as those in Milwaukee or New York and was composed mainly of unmarried

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<sup>7</sup> Robert Henry Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1974) 51. Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 172. Howard B. Furer, *The Germans in America: 1607-1970* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1973) 38-39. Kamphoefner, *News*, 12, 16; *Westfalians*, 84.

men rather than families, but they still encouraged and supported each other and continued practicing their German cultural traditions.

In the 1850s, migration chains often led through a city on the way to the country. Before the Civil War, New York City was the beginning of the long distance connection to the Upper Midwest and states such as Wisconsin. From New Orleans, the typical travel pattern to travel up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and then into Missouri and Ohio, looking for farmlands and previously established German settlements in which to settle. As many as two-thirds of the Germans arriving in St. Louis from 1848 to 1855, for example, had come by way of New Orleans, with the remaining one-third from the East Coast. The rural farmers from Germany, after first stopping in the cities, would move to the countryside and most prospered there, often forming their own towns in the center of German-owned farms.<sup>8</sup>

Communications about California pulled the Germans, both letters written by those who already arrived and articles published in Germany and in the American Mid-West in their own language. The Germans made their own decisions about relocating based the wealth of information they received. Their trek to America was anything but a trip into the unknown. Writing home was a well-established tradition among immigrants in the nineteenth century, and these missives were a major influence in stimulating the decision to leave. Contemporaries noted that distance did not seem to weaken the bonds with those back home. There was a vast stream, a veritable flood of paper to friends and family “back home.” Recipients felt that accounts from relatives and acquaintances were only

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<sup>8</sup> Bodnar, *Transplanted*, 172. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 5-6, 77-79, 81.



trustworthy ones for the “common man.” When an immigrant was asked if a friend or family member should follow, he rarely gave a straight answer. Instead he listed many arguments for and against leaving and offered objective criteria for the friend’s decision. The writer would not want to be reproached later for painting too rosy a picture of his new home if the friend decided to join him. The newcomers described pleasant experiences in their letter more often than their disappointments.<sup>9</sup> Other writers, however, were quite candid in stating that “If a man is in any business that he can make a living, tell him never to think of coming here.”<sup>10</sup> The Bickel papers provide examples of both types: in her letters, Barbara Drüke is quite candid in revealing her disappointment with California whereas Johann Bickel’s letters are positive, sending for his two daughters to join him.<sup>11</sup>

Publications in Germany extolling the virtues of settling in California appeared several years before the discovery of gold but multiplied after January of 1848. Numerous guides and handbooks gave a most favorable view of California as a potentially profitable site for colonization and thus influenced Germans to consider the area as a final destination. Famous and revered explorer, Alexander von Humboldt, had never set foot in California but he co-authored a widely read essay, “Intendancy of New California,” published in German, English, French and Spanish. Sutter’s exploits were well publicized by an article in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1848 describing his large grant of

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<sup>9</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, 235. Hammond. “Interests,” 58. Kamphoefner, *News*, 28-9; *Westfalians*. 9. 28-9. Carl F. Wittke, *The Germans in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967) 11.

<sup>10</sup> Georgia Willis Read, ed. *A Pioneer of 1850: George Willis Read, 1819-1880*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1927) 123.

<sup>11</sup> Cosgrove *Potpourri*, 47, 57-8, 60.

fertile land from the Mexican government.<sup>12</sup> Other numerous books described the attempts to “Germanize” areas of California. Refugees from the 1848 Revolutions, for example, were looking to establish a “new Germany” away from the political shackles at home. A plan centered on Pennsylvania ended in failure, and one for Texas ended with the State’s admission to the Union; therefore, California became an important location in which to try again. In 1847 Germans attempted to start a German colony south of San Francisco, but the discovery of gold overshadowed these efforts as it had for John Sutter’s attempts to start New Helvetia.<sup>13</sup>

After the discovery of gold, emigration agents in Europe could point to existing publications to influence Germans to go to California, but more books circulated describing the overland and oversea routes to the mining country. A 1849 Bremen guidebook, *Rathgeber fuer auswanderer nach Californien*, included instructions on how to raise funds through stock companies, outlined the most popular oversea route from Bremen around Cape Hope, and included an encouraging letter from Freidrich Heyermann, Sutter’s physician. The same year, J. Hoppe, one of Sutter’s first settlers, published *Californiens Gegenwart Und Zunkunft* in Berlin to give Germans his correct view of California and counteract some earlier accounts he labeled as pretentious and superficial. Carl Meyer placed a picture of Sutter’s Fort on the cover of his *Nach dem Sacramento*, and Heinrich Kuenzel, in his *Obercalifornien*, included drawings by Sutter of the ground plan of New Helvetia and Sacramento River and listed Germans who had

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<sup>12</sup> Gudde, *Pioneers*, 7-8. Hammond, “Interests,” 24, 57-8. Hammond notes that the article is almost entirely based on early Californian Alfred Robinson’s work, *Life in California*. Hammond 70-74.

<sup>13</sup> Gudde, *Pioneers*, 22. Hammond, “Interests,” 23, 29, 50-51.

already settled in Sacramento Valley or who were employed by him at the Fort. Although not published until 1856, Friedrich Gerstäcker's eye-witness accounts of his adventures in *Kaliforniens Gold* and *Skissen aus Californien* provided an added impetus to migration. For Germans already living in the United States, a language barrier would not impede receiving news of potential quickly gained fortunes in California because they had access to a large number of German newspapers published in the United States – the number rose from 70 to almost 140 between 1848 and 1852.<sup>14</sup> The Gold Rush was on for Germans as well as Anglo Americans.

The road to California was not necessarily straight from the “fatherland.” Table 2, “Prior Residences of Germans in Sacramento County, 1852,” shows that the majority of German-born newcomers lived in the United States before journeying to California. How long they stayed in their American residence is rarely known – the stop could have been brief, only a few days, or longer, a few years. Missouri was the first stop for 20.2% who eventually came to Sacramento, reflecting the large number of Germans who had already immigrated to America. Although most Midwestern farmers were relatively prosperous, the well-educated professional men, scholars, and members of the nobility, many political refugees, who came with romantic notions about farming had problems in their new occupation. Many who settled in Missouri were educated in German *gymnasias* and universities and were more adept at Latin and Greek than in farming. Many of these

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<sup>14</sup> John Walton Caughey, *Gold is the Cornerstone* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948) 53. Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Scenes of life in California*, translated by George Cosgrave. (San Francisco: J. Howell, 1942) viii, ix. Hammond, “Interests,” 26, 31, 39–40, 51. Kamphoefner, *News*, 22. Severson, *Sacramento*, 47. Carl F. Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957) 262–3.

Table 2  
Prior Residences of Germans in Sacramento County, 1852.

United States	Family Units	Foreign Countries	Family Units
Missouri	134	Germany	62
New York	117	England	5
Louisiana	61	France, Mexico – 3 each	6
Illinois	48	Peru	2
Ohio	45	Austria, Australia, Brazil	
Pennsylvania	37	Canada, Chile, China,	
Iowa	24	Cuba, Ecuador, India	
Massachusetts	20	Panama – all 1 each	10
Wisconsin	16		
Kentucky	12	Total in Foreign Countries	85
Maryland	8		
Texas	6		
Michigan, South Carolina, Alabama – 5 each	15		
Mississippi, Virginia – 4 each	8		
Georgia, Tennessee, Oregon – 3 each	9		
Florida, New Hampshire, Arkansas, Rhode Island, California – 1 each	5		
		Total United States	576
Undesignated (Patients in the Hospital)	7	Total Foreign Countries	85
Total United States	576	Total German Immigrants	662

Source: 1852 California Census

“Latin Farmers” from the 1830s and 1840s had already relocated from farms to cities to find occupations for which they were better prepared.<sup>15</sup> Given the high number of German-born professionals in Sacramento, it is likely that the prospect of riches attracted a number of “Latin Farmers.” The States of New York and Louisiana represent 17.6%

<sup>15</sup> Billigmeier, *Americans*, 51. The range of occupations filled by the German-born are discussed in Chapter 4, “Germans Work in Sacramento.”

and 9.2% respectively of the prior residences of the German-born in Sacramento, reflecting the typical German Table immigrants' pattern of traveling first from Bremen to the major ocean ports of New York City and New Orleans before moving inland. New York received thousands of refugees from the economic conditions in Germany, and many of these experienced wretchedness, ignorance, swindling and crimes of desperation, despite the regular assistance of the German Society of New York to the poorer immigrants. Despite the presence of the *Kleindeutschland*, the news of the gold discovery could have lured some disenchanted former New Yorkers. Newcomers to Sacramento could be farmers from the Mid-West, urban dwellers from New York, or immigrants stopping for only a brief time in an America. Sometimes a stopover in seaports would be longer than a day or two; therefore, the Germans might indicate to census interviewers that an American state had been his prior home – this might account for the high percentage that listed New York or Louisiana. Economic straits may have dictated that one had to stop en route for a short period of time and earn more money to continue their quest for gold. Johann Bickel, for example, first landed in New Orleans, like others from his town, and lived there a month waiting for an appropriate ship to take him to California. His journey he described as the "Fraudulent Undertaking" next arrived in Georgia instead of going around the Horn, forcing him to spend time working Savannah while waiting to continue on. Thus, he might have answered "Louisiana" or "Georgia" to an 1852 Census interviewer, as perhaps others did.

The route from Germany to New York, on to New Orleans, and then around Cape Horn was well known among Germans and was considered much more attractive than the overland routes and wagon trains. Despite all the stops in between, this was the way

Johann Bickel chose to come to California. As an alternative to the longer trip around South America, Germans sometimes elected to travel California on the Panama Railroad across the Isthmus that was begun in 1849 and completed by 1855. "Seated by an open window, the face fanned by the motion of the train, and armed with a pitcher or pail of iced water, the ride is indeed charming," quoted one passenger.<sup>16</sup> Barbara Bickel's description of her journey across the Isthmus before the railroad was completed tells a different tale. She writes that after taking the railroad to where it was finished, she had to ride donkey-back, wearing pants and sitting astride like men. By the time she had cross the Isthmus, she was "so exhausted from riding that I can hardly write for trembling."<sup>17</sup> Regardless of their intermediate stops in Missouri, New York or other American States, or the troubles or difficulties they had en route, Germans found the lure of riches in California irresistible and ventured on to the gold fields.

Population statistics from the Federal Censuses of 1850 and 1860 and the California State Census of 1852 in Table 3, "Germans in the Sacramento Area," shows that the proportionate number of German-born men, women and children coming to the Sacramento area almost doubled over the decade despite the decline in placer mining. Quartz miners such as Peter Klein who arrived in 1856 from the mining district of Saarbrücken via the coal mines in Pennsylvania were attracted by the changes in techniques dictated by the drop in placer-type gold and the move to mining by digging. Also, industrialization was growing in areas such as Pennsylvania, dislocating Germans who

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<sup>16</sup> Caughey, *Cornerstone*, 73, 77. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 3-4, 9-12. Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 77. Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration: 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) 86-88, 172.

<sup>17</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 57.

Table 3  
Germans in the Sacramento Area

	City Population 1850	County Population 1852	City Population 1860
Total Population	6,830	12,589	13,785
German-Born Population	418	868	1634
Germans as Percent of Total	6.1%	6.9%	11.9%

Note: In 1852, the Germans totaled 85.5% of the foreign-born listed in that year's census.

Source: DeBrow, *1850 Census, Vol. 1*, 970, 982; Kennedy, *1860 Census*, 30.

predominated in skilled trades such as butchering, tailoring and shoemaking. California with its lack of manufacturing was a most attractive destination. Germans also recognized that the gold miners would need food, clothing and provisions. Opportunities abounded for those seeking profits as merchants supplying those venturing to El Dorado.<sup>18</sup>

Once the Germans reached Sacramento, many went immediately to the gold fields, much like Johann Bickel who arrived on April 11, 1853, penniless, and left the same day to dig for gold, after borrowing \$10 for his stake.<sup>19</sup> Two notable Germans who also left to try to find gold were Charles Christian Nahl and Heinrich Schleimann. After searching for gold, Nahl, an painter from a well-known artistic German family, came with his mother and brother returned to Sacramento in 1852. He did not stay, but moved to San

<sup>18</sup> Decker, "Mobility," 11, 65. Kamphoefner, *News*, 386-8. Rohrbough, *Days*, 205.

<sup>19</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 40-41.

Table 4  
Length of Residency of German-Born Sacramentans, 1850-1859

	Total Family Units	One Year		Two Years		More than Two Years	
	#	#	%	#	%	#	%
1850	350	273	78.0	53	15.1	24	6.9
1851	107	5	4.7	73	68.2	29	27.1
1852	662	552	83.4	35	5.2	75	11.3
1853	167	32	19.2	29	17.4	106	63.4
1855	258	22	8.5	65	25.2	171	66.3
1856	444	148	33.3	89	20.0	207	46.7
1857	301	57	18.9	46	15.2	198	65.8
1858	238	23	9.7	61	25.6	154	64.7
1859	373	166	44.5	61	16.4	146	39.1

**Family Units:** Single individuals or units of a head of household, spouse, and any children.

**Two Years:** The current year plus one year consecutively either before or afterward.

**Three Years:** The three years may not be consecutive. A unit arriving in 1852, for example, leaving in 1853, but reappearing again in 1857 is included.

*Source: 1850 Census, 1852 Census, City Directories for the years cited.*

Francisco after the 1852 fire destroyed his work.<sup>20</sup> Schlemann, son of a Lutheran pastor, became ill during his prospecting adventure and returned to Sacramento in 1851 to open a bank -- he is not recorded in the 1851 Directory, perhaps because his bank closed, and he

<sup>20</sup> Nahl's most famous painting is "Sunday Morning in the Mines," painted in 1872, in which he used his prospecting experiences for inspiration. He is also known for designing with his brother the California Bear Flag, flown during the short-lived California Republic. Caughey, *Cornerstone*, 283. Severson, *Sacramento*, 160. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *The Germanic People in America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976) 307.



left and eventually discovered Troy.<sup>21</sup> This immediate movement away from the city is evident in Table 4, “Length of Residency of Germans in Sacramento.” In 1850, for example, of the 350 family units, only 78% stayed in Sacramento for one year. Only 6.9% stayed more than two years and were recorded in the 1852 State Census. Listings in City Directories show that the number of family units who stayed three years and beyond increased to 64.7% in 1858. This dropped to 39% in 1859, but that year’s influx of newcomers drawn by the discovery of silver in the Comstock Lode in Nevada impacts this figure. Of the 24 family units shown staying more than three years, only two can be documented every year for the ensuing nine years, Jacob Binninger and Charles Heinrich, but as noted earlier, that figure can be increased to 10. The other family units were “missing” from records in isolated periods during the decade, but, because they were all substantial businessmen, it is unlikely that they absented themselves from their lucrative endeavors. Still, only 22% of the German immigrants stayed in Sacramento beyond 1850, attesting that few of the argonauts of any ethnic background planned to stay long in one place and thus constantly moved around Northern California. Despite that influx and outgo, the permanent population still increased phenomenally in Sacramento.<sup>22</sup>

Marital status did not seem to be a factor in determining whether Germans stayed and settled in Sacramento or left for “El Dorado.” Table Five, “Marital Status of German Residents,” records that only 8% of the family units recorded in 1850 were married, a figure that increased to only 38% ten years later. One cannot assume that those who did

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<sup>21</sup> Baur, “Elsewhere,” 98. James Harvey Berner, “A History of Lutheran Churches in Sacramento, 1851-1925.” (Master’s Thesis at California State University at Sacramento) 1967. I. Gudde, *Pioneers*. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Paula Marks, *Dust*, 203.

**Table Five**  
**Marital Status of German-born Immigrants**

Family Units	1850		1852		1856		1859	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Married	27	7.7	75	11.3	128	29.0	143	38.4
Unmarried	325	92.3	587	88.7	192	43.4	167	44.9
Undesignated					122	27.6	62	16.7
Total Units by Individual Name	350	100.0	662	100.0	442	100.0	372	100.0

Source: *1850 Census, 1852 Census, City Directories for 1856, 1860.*

not give a designation either to census interviewers or to editors of City Directories were single. Johann Bickel had a wife and children in Germany and George Drüke was married in Sacramento in 1856, but neither had a designation of “m” or “s” next to their name.<sup>23</sup>

Out of the 27 family units recorded as married in 1850, Table 5, “Marital Status of German-born Immigrants,” 19 left after one year and only three stayed beyond two years. Of the ten units cited above as potential residents for the entire decade, only four, Binninger, Heinrich, Hagan and Laufkotter were married in 1850. (Sloss, Fox and Hamberger were married in later years.)<sup>24</sup> The number of residents with no marital designation makes it difficult to determine whether marriage made a difference, but in 1856 and 1859, the number of those remaining more than two years in Sacramento increased as did the number of married couples, suggesting a tenuous relationship between

<sup>23</sup> Colville, *1856*, 41. Irwin, *1857-58*, 8.

<sup>24</sup> Appendix Two, 130, 141, 146, 149, 160, 181.

the two. Those who elected to stay, rather than returning home, to Germany or the United States, or move to another part of California, were the beginning of a larger German enclave that helped develop Sacramento into California's "second city." Patterns of settlement demonstrating all three immigration theories of Oscar Handlin, John Bodnar and Walter Kamphoefner emerge from the statistics.

The large number of transient, unmarried German-born men of Sacramento shown in Tables 4 and 5 could easily fit Handlin's description of typical immigrants – isolated individuals living in a cultural crisis, uprooted from what they had known in their old country. The fact that so many were farmers from America's mid-west could indicate that, as Handlin explained, they were "pushed" by the difficulties of American agriculture they found, both unfamiliar geography and farming practices. August Blümner, for example, left his wife and children in Missouri and went to California hoping to quickly make his fortune. He died and was buried in an unknown grave by a fellow German. His brother, Carl, wrote that August left nothing behind. No one knew if he had found gold, and it was unlikely that anyone would ever discover the whereabouts of his grave or any fortune. The Drüke letters tell of Barbara's isolation from other Germans and the personal crisis her journal generated. Conforming to Handlin's theories, she was indelibly marred by her immigration experience.<sup>25</sup> All newcomers' frantic searching for letters from families left behind further demonstrates their sense of isolation. The U. S. Post Office was unprepared for the fast growth of California's population, and in Sacramento had to be supplemented by expressmen and miners who charged to deliver each letter. The *Placer*

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<sup>25</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 61. Handlin, *Uprooted*, 4, 6, 11, 62. Kamphoefner, *News*, 112.

*Times* stated that “The ‘Regular Mail’ is a regular humbug, is stuck in the mud half the time, and might as well be the other half . . . We understand that the Postmaster cannot afford to employ clerks.”<sup>26</sup> By 1851, the mail center was open 12 hours a day, from 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m., with a window for every letter of the alphabet, yet the lines stretched around the block. When the windows closed, some waited by its side until it opened the next day. Enterprising entrepreneurs would set up food and newspaper stands at the front of the Post Office and pass cans of coffee up and down the lines. Germans in particular may have had difficulty hearing from home because of the language barrier. Barbara Drüke, for example, experienced long bouts of homesickness when the letters from home were incorrectly addressed in care of Mr. Henry rather than Charles Heinrich and held up in the confusion at the Post Office.<sup>27</sup> An editorial in the *Marysville Herald* in 1850 described the newly formed California society:

Unlike any other country in the world’s history, California has not been drawn together by the gradual aggregation of families and persons bound together by ties of kindred and relationship. It has not been peopled as other new countries have by a few hardy adventurers advancing into the wilderness, who through years of toilsome industry subdued it to civilization, bringing around them others of like character whose farmhouses gave place to rural hamlets, the hamlet to the thriving village, the village to a town and then a city. In those cases. . . newcomers became assimilated and bound to the older residents, families became interlocked and combined with other families, and society received a decided and fixed order.

But here has been different. Large cities have sprung into existence almost in a day. It has been the emigration of individuals, not of families. . . Their hearts have been left

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<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Holliday, *Riches*, 129.

<sup>27</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 72-3. Holliday, *World*, 310-311. Paula Marks, *Dust*, 312.

at home. . . They have considered that this is but a temporary stopping place for them, they have not been called upon to do anything for California but all for themselves.<sup>28</sup>

The California gold rush with its tremendous and chaotic growth in population by individuals rather than nuclear families, would seem to validate Handlin's theories of uprooted individuals in crisis and isolation. But many of the German-born gathered together into a more comfortable, informal community.

Bodnar observed that, rather than as Handlin's isolated individuals, immigrants from all countries created enclaves based on culture, ideology and orientation. Members of these immigrant communities shared a traditional past and didn't envision abandoning these traditions for a new culture. Furthermore, the solitary individuals who migrated often looked to fellow ethnics for social bonding, reconstituting a family group later. Among the Germans who immigrated to Sacramento were those who fit this model, demonstrating the validity of Bodnar's theory. As recorded in the 1852 Census, when Germans first arrived, for example, married family units and single men and women often lived under the same roof. Fred Miller, John Tschisme, Simon Roth and Michael Miller were all shoemakers in their twenties and are listed congruently; therefore, one might assume they were boarding together. The Eder family, the Wisley family and L. Isador, clothiers and "Gentlemen," were also listed together. Four Germans, J. Stuber, F. Meyer, D. Bernard and Geo. Scott who ranged in age from twenty-five to thirty-two and listed their occupations as "Saloon," were grouped together on the Census page.<sup>29</sup> Table 6, "Location of German Residences" shows that German owned business or residences,

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<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Holliday, *World*, 369.

<sup>29</sup> Bodnar, *Transplanted*, xvii, 15, 142, 172, 205. D.A.R., *1852 Census*, 73, 87, 144.

Table 6  
Location of German Residences, 1856.

River	Streets															
	Front	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	10 <sup>th</sup>	11 <sup>th</sup>	12 <sup>th</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup>	15 <sup>th</sup>	16 <sup>th</sup>
A																
B																
C									2							
D								1								
E										1						
F						1	4				1					
G						2	2				1	**				
H						1		2	1		2	1				
I		7	1	6	4			2	2							
J		13	14	20	6	15	17	7*	5	16	11	9	8	2	3	
	Main Business Street															
K	2	8	5	7	6	13	1	6	1	3#	2	1	1	1		1
L		1	2	5	2	3		4	2	1	3	1		1		
M			3		6		1	1	1	1		1	1			
N	4	2	1	3	4			6	1	1						
O			2	1	2											1
P					2											
Q																

Locations: \*Turnhalle in 1856, #Turnhalle in 1859, \*\*German Methodist Church

Note: The number inside each "block" or square represents the family units living within the city block. Because addresses were sometimes indefinite, the numbers may vary by one or two units within a specific block, but the general location of residents is reasonably accurate. Only residents with specific addresses are included.

Source: 1856 City Directory

besides clustering in the business district along J and K Streets, were often located on the northwest side of town. Furthermore, several of the German-operated hotels, the Sierra Nevada, the Father Rhine House, the St. Louis Hotel, the Illinois Hotel, the Globe Hotel, the National Hotel, the Kossuth Hotel, the William Tell House, and the U. S. Hotel were all located close to one another on J Street between numbers 252 and 306 and were listed as residences by the German-born dwellers.<sup>30</sup> Jacob Binninger's Green Tree and Henry

<sup>30</sup> The 1856 Directory lists the hotel addresses as: Sierra Nevada, 252 J Street; St. Louis, 255 J Street; Wm. Tell House, 256 J Street; Kossuth, 266 J Street; Fr. Rhine House, 268 J Street; U. S. Hotel,

Eichenmenger's International, other German-managed hotels, operated closer to the docks, also attracted German newcomers.<sup>31</sup> Since the Green Tree, Kossuth, National, Sierra Nevada, U. S. Hotel and William Tell House were all operated by Germans in 1853, letters or directions given to family members or friends back home may have recommended these as potential stopovers. Barbara Drüke chose the U. S. Hotel, operated by John Hauck, for her first residence in Sacramento on the strength of just such a recommendation.<sup>32</sup> The industry and "go-getting attitude" of owners such as Henry Eichenmenger, proprietor of the National Hotel, who actively solicited Germans to stay in their establishments may also have been a factor. Johann Bickel, for example, recounts:

On April 11th, 1853, at two o'clock in the morning, we arrived in Sacramento. As soon as our ship had made fast, porters came from the various hotels to get our patronage. A strapping young German fellow, who heard that I had much influence with the passengers, induced me to go with him to his hotel. Most of the travelers followed me to this house where we were well received and splendidly taken care of.<sup>33</sup>

Of course, Anglo-Americans or immigrants of different ethnicities could board in all these hotels, but the fact that Germans tended to board in German-owned establishments validates Bodner's theory that newcomers from the "fatherland" would cling" together.

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272 J Street (there were two; the other was at 43 Front Street); Globe, 291 J Street; Illinois, 297 J Street; and National, 306-308 J Street (again there were two; the other was at 14 K Street). Colville, 1856, 52, 55, 71, 81, 99, 116, 123, 129, 165.

<sup>31</sup> Colville, 1856, 11, 70. By this year, Eichenmenger had left the National Hotel he operated at 14 K Street in 1853 and moved to the International at 90 K Street. Colville, 1853, 107; 1856, 70.

<sup>32</sup> Colville, 1853, 107-8. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 58.

<sup>33</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 40. His wife also displayed the same enterprising spirit, when she, after his death, assumed management of the International Hotel and appears in the 1858 and 1860 directories as its "proprietress" Taylor, 1858, 18. Cutter, 1860, 31.

Other gathering places existed in this neighborhood where those living in other parts of the city could congregate. The hotels themselves often operated saloons and restaurants as a part of their establishment, but other restaurants and saloons such as the St. Louis Beer Cellar located at Seventh and J Streets and run by German-born N. Prust and the Saloon operated by Michael Wagner on I between Eighth and Ninth provided convenient meeting places for the young German Sacramentans. The *Turnhalle* of the *Turnverein* was the main gathering place in the entire Sacramento area where newcomers could speak German in the relaxed atmosphere of a combined social, banquet and beer hall and gymnasium, and it was located close by in a “zinkhaus” in an alley between J and K and Seventh and Eighth Streets. Although the Germans were not as segregated from Anglo Americans as Southern or Eastern Europeans in ghettos in the Eastern United States, their neighborhoods there could give an impression of a “pure-German quarter” because the German influence was so strong. In Sacramento, however, the boundaries of their enclave were much more flexible. The great majority of German immigrants were “unattached” men, single or with families back home, and they tended to settle in loosely formed “clusters.” Their neighborhood may not have resembled the “German quarters” of the East, but predominance of German-born in certain areas of Sacramento still illustrates Bodnar’s theory that their ethnic population would bind together to preserve their traditions.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Bodner, *Transplanted*, xvii, 205. Colville, *1856*, 128, 133. Kamphoefner, *News*, 16. McCoy, “*Turnverein*,” 28. Bruce Pierini, “Germans: A German History of the Sacramento Area.” *German Ethnis Survey* (Sacramento: Sacramento History Center, 1983) 88. As discussed in Chapter 5, the *Turnhalle* was relocated to K Street between 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> in 1859. Cutter, *1860*, x.



Walter Kamphoefner wrote extensively about the influence of German's letters sent home of decisions to immigrate. He specifically studied the connections between settlements in Missouri and towns in Westfalia. He described a "chain migration" where families and individuals' letters sent back home encouraged friends and neighbors to join them in their new homes. He found that, after hearing from one or two individuals sent ahead to find suitable locations in the Mid-west, entire families and neighborhoods left Germany to establish farms and form settlements and towns in Missouri. Johann Bickel's letters home are evidence of this phenomenon – he sent for Barbara, and, eventually, Barbara's sister, Katherine, but we do not know if other members of the family also came. Barbara's journey is another example of Kamphoefner's chain migration. She traveled to Sacramento in the company of Konrad Hauck, brother of John, George, Julia and Fritz who had immigrated earlier. In her letters, she kept the ties to both her and the Hauck families back home when she requested her mother convey her "greetings" to the Haucks' parents who apparently lived in the same village, Billigheim. Oral tradition in the family holds that she was "betrothed" to Fritz Hauck but broke the relationship off once she arrived.<sup>35</sup> When tracing individual German family units, one also sees additional evidence of family members traveling together or following in later years. Peter and George Bohl's brother joined them in 1855, two years after they arrived in Sacramento in 1853. Frank X. Ebner arrived in 1855 and became quite active in the *Turnverein*, joining his brother Charles Ebner, a prominent saloon and hotel proprietor. The Kohn brothers arrived separately, Joseph in 1851 and Morris in 1855. The Korn brothers, Louis and Jacob,

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<sup>35</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 54, 55, 63, 65, 66, 85. Kamphoefner, *News*, 9; *Westfalians*, 11. Barbara's letters nos. 7, 8 and 9 describe personal relationships between her and the Hauck family. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 64-79.

arrived in 1852 and were joined by David in 1856.<sup>36</sup> The chain migration that Kamphoefner described in his works did not end in Missouri or the mid-West, it continued on in California, generated by the gold rush.

Like other argonauts, the Germans, once they arrived in Sacramento, moved in and out of the community to “try their luck at the diggings.” Whether pushed or pulled economically or politically, they saw California’s economic opportunities as a solution to their monetary hardships. Permanent residence seems farthest from their minds when many arrive, and indeed many such as Handlin’s disenchanted leave and do not return. But a number stay long enough, if not permanently, to create a community of Germans who support and sustain each other. They settled into occupations to sustain themselves economically and continued upholding their German culture through the practice of their traditions, customs and rituals.

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<sup>36</sup> Appendix Two, 131, 138, 158..

## CHAPTER IV

### GERMANS COME TO WORK

**“Mr. Schwartz...now ranks among the substantial men of the city. He is enterprising and pushing in business, and is, withal, a popular man with a very large circle of friends”  
---Winfield J. Davis<sup>1</sup>**

Charles Schwartz, a retail butcher, was typical of the German-born businessmen in Sacramento in the 1850s. He made an intermediate stop in New York State for a two-year visit with his sisters where he learned the butchering trade that was one commonly practiced by German immigrants. He arrived in Sacramento in 1855 with only \$10.00 in his pockets and worked in German-owned establishments until he started his own business, the National Market, with fellow German immigrant Charles York.<sup>2</sup> He and the other members of the German community of Sacramento embodied similar attitudes and traditions, whether individuals or those operating small enterprises or merchants in larger establishments.<sup>3</sup> They looked for success in merchandising, industry or individual ventures as well as prospecting or mining for gold. They acknowledged fellow German-

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<sup>1</sup> Again, Davis wrote in 1890. Davis, *History*, 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 319.

<sup>3</sup> The terms, “Individuals and Small Enterprises,” used throughout this study refers to those men or endeavors which might not require a large capital investment in the nineteenth century to operate, or the worker could operate out of a home. Also included are those occupations typically employees. “Merchants and Large Enterprises” might require an investment in a factory, building or inventory. A baker might need expensive equipment, for example, whereas a barber could operate in his home.

born newcomers in need and supported them whether by lending them money or finding them employment. They often used capital, either earned in the gold mines or brought with them, to start their own business.<sup>4</sup> Sacramento in the early part of the decade with its gold-rush generated turmoil and unpredictable economy would seem to be an unlikely setting for success, but these immigrants, beginning with the pioneers in 1849, recognized the opportunities for profit early. They became involved in merchandising, manufacturing and lodging to meet the demands of the largely transient population. Whether individual entrepreneurs or merchants with a larger establishment, the German-born businessmen had the economic acumen to adapt their skills and specialization to the changing demands of growing Sacramento. Many, like Schwartz, moved up the economic scale within the business community. Because the stories of many of these entrepreneurs are already lost in more recent histories of Sacramento, giving prominence to those who succeeded is important to gain a picture of the German community's economic accomplishments. Furthermore, the stories of the German immigrants' endeavors emphasize the economic support they constantly gave each other. The Germans reinforced their enclave in the economic practices through mutual aid, whether as employee or merchant, again dismissing the myth that the newcomers easily or quickly assimilated or even wished to integrate with the native-born. At the same time, they were able to work with and commercially interact with their Anglo-American neighbors without disturbing their ethnic priorities.

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<sup>4</sup> Billigmeier, *Americans*, 49, 69. Decker, "Mobility," 11, 65. Holliday, *World*, 396. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 131.

Modern historians have focused on the gold miners' and prospectors' stories but do not give much attention to the gold-town developers and urban-oriented business entrepreneurs, native- and German-born, which were vital to Sacramento's growth.<sup>5</sup> The Germans assessed that the seemingly endless output from the mines and the thousands anxious to find the quick riches would provide an insatiable market for commercial trade, lodging, and supportive services to miners too occupied in searching for gold. All the goods demanded by the miners in the countryside of Northeast California, Sacramento's hinterland, had to be shipped first by sailing vessels then steamboats upriver from San Francisco; then wagons and pack mules took supplies to the mining towns upcountry. The profit margins were enormous as early as 1849 -- a 50% mark-up would cover the cost of transporting the goods from San Francisco, but the 200% mark-up in price, plus the profits from dealing in gold dust rather than currency, attracted many to engage in selling suppliers to miners rather than digging for gold. One day's sales of a small merchandising store in 1849, for example, totaled a huge \$957.60.<sup>6</sup>

Among these pioneer businessmen working in Sacramento in 1849 were German entrepreneurs who were influential in the city's burgeoning economy. Both contemporary and modern authors cite the Lady Adams Company as an example of a successful merchandizing establishment. German immigrants founded the firm in 1849 and named it after the ship that had brought them to California. Although the firm's original founders

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<sup>5</sup> Paula Marks. *Dust*, 187.

<sup>6</sup> Decker. "Mobility." 11. Holliday, *World*, 302-3. Lotchin, *Hamlet*, 58, 131. Park, *Dreams*, 84. Rohrbough, *Days*, 163. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 47. Wooldridge, *History*, 356. Wooldridge offers a comparison of prices between 1849 and 1899 to show how costs were inflated by the presence of large amounts of gold. A meal at the Carey House hotel in 1899 would have cost \$25.00 in 1849 "if it could

left Sacramento by 1858, Germans were still successfully managing the enterprise in 1859. After 1850, it was one of the largest stores in the area and, in fact, occupied the only building that survived the fire of 1852 because its owners had the foresight to build in brick. German manufacturers who also helped Sacramento's pioneer economy included J. H. Heilmann who manufactured soap in Sacramento's first factories and George Zins who built the first brick house in California along the riverfront with bricks he manufactured in Sutterville. Peter Kadel built the first brewery in the area in 1849, beginning the Germans' control of that industry. He had competition the next year -- Zins also built a brewery with Augustus Weber. In the hotel business, Jacob Binninger built the first hotel in Sacramento,<sup>7</sup> and John August Laufkotter, a former partner of John Sutter in Missouri, ran a large boarding house.<sup>8</sup> While successful in Sacramento's multi-ethnic business community, these early settlers also manifested the traditions of neighborhood and support within their own enclave by helping and encouraging other German immigrants when they arrived in California. Charles Heinrich, who operated a grocery store in 1849, hired Barbara Drücke as a governess soon after her arrival to help his wife, Sophia, and their two

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have been procured." A newspaper cost \$1.50, a glass of brandy 50 cents, and two pounds of sugar \$1.50. Wooldridge. *History*, 355, 356.

<sup>7</sup> Bancroft, "History of California," 448. Colville, *1856*, 81. Cutter, *1860*, 70. Gudde, *Pioneers*, 23-24. Holliday, *Riches*, 90, 139; *World*, 77. Jackson, *Dust*, 171. McCoy, "Turnverein," 59. Reed, *History*, 59, 70. Willis, *History*, 185, 387. Binninger's hotel should not to be confused with the often-mentioned City Hotel which Sam Brannan constructed from an old grist mill which he transported from Sutter's Fort. Holiday, *Riches*, 139. Jackson, *Dust*, 171.

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft, "History of California," 448. Davis, *History*, 356, 735-36. Gudde, *Pioneers*, 23. Read, *Pioneer*, 59. Willis, *History*, 387. Laufkotter is an interesting character. He originally traveled with Sutter from Europe to the mid-west. He sold his interest in their traveling company when Sutter stole money from him but still continued to Sacramento, arriving in 1849. He later published a highly critical account of Sutter. Davis, *History*, 356-57. Iris H. W. Engstrand, "John Sutter: A Biographical Examination," Kenneth N. Owens, ed. *John Sutter and a Wider West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994) 79.

Table 7  
Size of German Enterprises

Year	Small Enterprises		Large Enterprises		Clerks		Laborers		Unknown		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1850	124	35.4	140	40.2	5	1.4	37	10.5	44	12.5	350
1851	31	28.7	65	61.1	5	4.6	1	1.0	5	4.5	107
1852	281	43.0	218	32.4	23	3.5	61	9.2	79	11.0	662
1853	52	31.1	107	64.1	8	4.8	0	0	0	0	167
1855	87	33.6	163	63.1	6	2.3	2	1.0	0	0	258
1856	100	36.0	265	59.8	12	2.7	4	.9	3	.6	444
1857	94	31.2	195	64.8	6	2.0	3	.9	3	.9	301
1858	66	27.6	165	69.5	3	1.3	3	1.3	1	.4	238
1859	137	35.9	218	56.9	8	2.1	8	2.1	12	3.0	383

Small Enterprise is one that may not required a large capital investment to operate.

Large Enterprise may require a large investment in factory, building or inventory.

Source: *Appendix One, Tables 1-9, "Occupations of German-born Residents."*

children. Although she had to work very hard, she felt welcome because Mrs. Heinrich treated her like a member of the family. Heinrich also helped newcomers Adam Newbaur and Charles Simmermacher by hiring them as clerks. With the population growing to 6,000 by the spring of 1850, the boom seemed endless.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the phenomenal swings between boom and bust in Sacramento and California generating by the uneven flow of gold from the mines, many German

<sup>9</sup> Colville, *1856*, 99, 117. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 65-66. Oscar Lewis, *Gateway*, 207. Simmerman is not listed in subsequent directories, perhaps an example of the neglect of the lower income etchelon or perhaps he was, like many others, on their way to the "diggings."

newcomers increased and expanded their business ventures as the State grew. Some found mining unrewarding, sharing the conclusion of Hinton Helper that mining was most of the most precarious of all possible occupations during the gold rush. They shifted to occupations more familiar to them and more in line with their past skills and experience. The Germans were practical men, interested in contributing to the economic development of Sacramento as well as seeking the profits their endeavors might bring. They established mostly stores or saloons, large for Sacramento but small compared to its economic partner, San Francisco. The forty-niners who came to Sacramento with capital became speculators in commodities, trading in fruit and food products shipped from San Francisco. After 1853 as opportunities in placer mining decreased, the number of German city-dwellers increased because they were attracted by the larger urban salaries as wages in the mines steadily declined.<sup>10</sup> As the city grew, more commercially minded entrepreneurs often changed the focus of their business as well as expanded to meet the new demands.

Table 7, "Size of German Enterprises," shows that the number of Germans who worked as individuals or in smaller enterprises remain constant over the decade, beginning at 35.4% in 1850 and ending at 35.7% in 1859. What changes occurred among these smaller businessmen reflect the movement in Sacramento's economy away from mining and towards more, albeit small, industrialization. A comparison of the number of carpenters in 1850 to 1859 in the tables in Appendix One, for example, finds that their

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<sup>10</sup> Billigmeier, *Americans*, 49. Holliday, *World*, 396. Lotchin, *Hamlet* 129, 132. Kenneth S. Moore, Jr., "Fate of the California Gold Rush Miner" (Master's Thesis, California State University at Sacramento, 1970) 7, 11, 25-6. Rohrbough, *Days*, 266. Wages dropped from \$20 a day in 1848 to \$16 a day in 1849 to \$10 a day in 1850, down to \$3 a day in 1856. Rohrbough, *Days*, 163, 205-6.



number increased from 6% to 10% of these individual entrepreneurs. Industrialization had dislocated tailors, shoemakers and other leatherworkers in the eastern United States, and many came to Sacramento to continue practicing their skills in its more attractive market. Once they arrived, however, their experience differed. The percentage of individually operating tailors remained constant at 10% over the ten-year period. Some of the tailors who came early later established clothing stores, moving into the "merchant category," others only stayed one year, but their "places" were refilled by other tailors who arrived later.<sup>11</sup> The percentage of leatherworkers increased from 5% to 15% and, since this category includes saddlers and harness makers, this rise could reflect the increased hauling business to and from the mines. Gunsmiths, important members of the nineteenth-century western economy, numbered five in 1850 and 1859, and several of these were long-term residents. The increased economic and cultural sophistication of Sacramento can be seen in the increase in the number bookkeepers and musicians, the former from none to three and the latter from one to seven. Appendix Two, "Survey of Germans in Sacramento," reveals a pattern where many individuals came and left after one or two years, but the percentage that found Sacramento an attractive place to ply their trade remained constant.

Merchandising was the main enterprise of the German immigrants who worked as shop-keepers or in large establishments. As far as the number of merchants and large enterprises are concerned, Table 7 illustrates that their number increased from 40% of the total immigrants to 57% between 1850 and 1859. With the decrease in miners,

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<sup>11</sup> Decker, "Mobility," 11. Beck, Burdenol, Hartz and A. P. Meyer, for example stayed one year where Callis, S. Cohn and Ross opened clothing stores. Appendix Two, 129, 133, 134, 135, 147, 165, 175. Bodnar notes it was easier for tailors to open apparel shops prior to industrialization in 1870. Bodnar, 174-5.

businessmen moved out of producing and merchandizing non-durable goods, clothing, dry goods and provision stores, into manufacturing and distribution of durable goods, tinware, carriages, wagons and building materials. Table 8, "Analysis of Merchants and Large Enterprises," shows that those selling non-durable goods including clothing, dry goods, "provisions," "fancy goods," and "queensware" fell from 24% of this category to 17% over the decade, reflecting the decline in miners' demand for goods to take out to the "hinterland." Those distributing food and groceries, however, rose from 9% to 18%, reflecting the increase in population in the city. The Germans recognized the high demand of the young, male population for recreation and increased their involvement in liquor and tobacco distribution over the decade, from 4% to 13%. Several merchants can be cited as examples of the enterprising spirit of the German-born newcomers. R. Oppenheim moved from selling cigars in 1852 to operating a variety store in 1853 for five years to distributing shot and lead in 1859. At one point, he advertised that he would auction off in San Francisco all the goods he had not sold in his Sacramento store by a certain date -- he sold everything except 10 dozen belts.<sup>12</sup> Anton Menke began as a basketmaker in 1854 and moved into the fruit and cigar trade. Although he left Sacramento to engage in farming and cheese-making for a few years, he returned by 1859 to resume his food distribution business. Chris Weisel, a leader in the business community, started as a butcher in 1854, opened his own Baltimore Market in 1857, and later operated an

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<sup>12</sup> Colville, 1853, 64; 1855, 64; 1856, 60. Cutter, 1860, 87. Davis, *History*, 815. This is another case of inaccuracies in the Directories. Davis' biography states that Oppenheim arrived in 1851, but the directory for that year omits a listing for him. He first appears in the State Census of 1852 where he is listed twice. D.A.R., *1852 Census*, 136, 221.

**Table 8**  
**Analysis of Merchants and Large Enterprises**

	Number of Merchants in Large Enterprises with Identifiable Industries																	
	1850		1851		1852		1853		1855		1856		1857		1858		1859	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Durable Goods: Blacksmith</b>																		
<b>Manufacturing</b>	11	9	5	9	34	19	10	10	20	11	39	15	26	13	25	9	31	14
<b>Non-Durable Goods:</b>																		
<b>Clothing, Dry Goods</b>	27	23	26	46	52	28	34	35	49	35	66	26	35	18	33	20	36	16
<b>Hotels and Boarding</b>																		
<b>Houses:</b>	10	9	7	12	16	9	13	13	15	9	22	9	19	10	15	9	18	8
<b>Eating Houses and Saloons</b>	12	10	3	5	23	13	14	14	18	11	27	10	30	16	23	14	20	10
<b>Food Preparation:</b>																		
<b>Butcher, Baker</b>	36	31	6	11	31	17	8	8	21	13	38	15	24	12	32	9	31	14
<b>Food Distribution:</b>																		
<b>Grocery, Coffee</b>	11	9	3	5	9	5	9	9	22	14	34	13	30	16	32	20	41	19
<b>Brewery</b>	4	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	5	3	9	6	10	5
<b>Liquor, Tobacco</b>	5	4	6	11	17	9	9	9	16	10	27	10	24	13	22	13	29	13
<b>Total Merchants and</b>																		
<b>Large Enterprises</b>	116	98	56	99	184	101	97	98	161	103	258	100	193	101	191	158	216	99

Note: Percentages are rounded to the nearest number.

Sources: Appendix One, "Occupations of German Immigrants, 1850-1859."

extensive wholesale and packing business.<sup>13</sup> John Bellmer is an example of a merchandiser whose occupation is omitted in his biography. Davis, the author, states: "Like all others who came here seeking their fortunes. . . he went to mining . . . and then came to Sacramento and started business here in 1857 . . . since then, has been successfully engaged in his vocation here."<sup>14</sup> Bellmer was in the grocery business. Further study of the German-born entrepreneurs who traded goods in Sacramento, and their Anglo-American counterparts, would make an interesting addition to the city's histories since its early accounts seem to concentrate on the listing enterprises in manufacturing or processing industries.

The manufacturing sector of Sacramento's economy did not attract a great number of Germans. Making and distributing goods such as tinware, sewing machines, billiard tables and wagons interested only 9% of the newcomers in 1850 and that grew only to 13% by 1859, again in Table 8. But a few of these manufacturers deserve mention as an entrepreneurs who not only aware of the demand for products in Sacramento but who were also determined to be a success. After Zins' brewery down in 1850, a year after he founded it, he expanded his brickmaking business, an industry which, in 1854, saw thirty brickyards answering the demand generated by the disastrous fires in Sacramento. Jacob Knauth, when faced with a lack of planting pots for his Sutter Floral Gardens, started his own pottery making business in 1853.<sup>15</sup> L. Krenzberger established the Union Mills spice

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<sup>13</sup> Davis, *History*, 756. Reed, *History*, 362. Again, the directories list Weisel only in 1855, 1857 and 1859, skipping the years in between. Appendix Two, p. 188.

<sup>14</sup> Cutter, 1860, 8. Davis, *History*, 591.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 143. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 144, 146. Willis, *History*, 387. Knauth does not appear in directories until 1858 as a resident and operator of the Sutter Floral Gardens the following year, but he

mills in 1858, joining that already established by Edward Heisch. Martin Kesler worked a few months in a brewery in 1853 before he established his wagon and carriage shop, a concern still in operation in 1880. The story of C. Schindler is an outstanding example of the determination of the Germans to succeed. He learned the sash, door and blind manufacturing trade in New York before he came to Sacramento. When he arrived in 1852, he started working for Mr. Sangster, also from New York, just three months before that November's fire completely burned the business down. Two years later, the business was again destroyed by fire, and Schindler purchased what was left to start again. Four years later, his factory was destroyed by fire for a third time, but he rebuilt with brick, remaining in the business until 1890.<sup>16</sup>

Contrary to their interest in other manufacturing, the Germans dominated the brewing industry in Sacramento, a likely circumstance given that beer was often their cultural beverage of choice and hard to import in the nineteenth century. Between 1850 and 1859, seven breweries operated at one time or another and all were established and operated by German-born Sacramentans. Philip Sheld, following his brother Peter to California, rented and then purchased the Sacramento Brewery established by Peter Kadel in 1849. In 1853, Louis Keseberg, a survivor of the ill-fated Donner Party, turned his restaurant into the Phoenix Brewery. He tried establishing a distillery in conjunction with his brewery in 1860 but it, and the brewery, washed away in the floods of 1861. In 1853,

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is recorded as a member of the *Turnverein* in June of 1854. Taylor, *1858*, 42, 69. McCoy, *Turnverein*, 147.

<sup>16</sup> Davis, *History*, 336, 740-741. Severson, *Sacramento*, 104. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 146-148. The 1853 directory lists Sangster as a sash maker, but Schindler merely as a carpenter. Schindler is noted as a sashmaker in 1855, but disappears from the directory in 1856. Colville, *1853*, 117; *1855*, 74.

Philip Yager, after a failed “false start,” established the Tiger Brewery that was still in operation in 1880. William Borchers established the Union Brewery in 1856 that he later expanded into the City Brewery, and Mr. Knauer established the Pacific Brewery in 1858.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the Gruhler brothers’ story demonstrates the chain migration of a family coming to Sacramento to operate in related enterprises. In 1852, Elias and Christian arrived by wagon from Cincinnati and established the Columbus Brewery, “building up a large business.” Their brother, Jacob came in 1856 and opened a saloon which “became at once the habitual resort of the best element of the city, and only them, for he ...seemed to have the faculty of attracting about him only gentlemanly and congenial spirits.”<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the great success of the Columbus Brewery and Jacob’s saloon inspired Davis in his biographies of the brothers to include all their enterprises rather than omit the connections with saloons as he had in other portraits. Only in the area of “industry” is brewing mentioned. Davis and Thompson and West rarely mention hotels and saloons, major enterprises in Sacramento in the 1850s, and earlier historians are more concerned with the moral impact they made rather than the economic one.

The numerous hotels, restaurants and saloons catered to the influx of young, unattached miners, and Germans continued working as hotel-keepers and restaurateurs as they had in their former homes. The 1853 Directory lists 55 hotels in the city, and 34

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Sheld arrived in Sacramento in 1856 and started working as a baker, eventually operating the U. S. Bakery in 1859. The Pacific Brewery is not listed in the 1858 or 1860 directories. Colville, *1856*, xxvii, 112. Cutter, *1860*, 100. Dana, *River*, 138. Davis, *History*, 103, 138. Lewis Publishing, *Memorial*, 198. Severson, *Sacramento*, 104. Taylor, *1858*, 65. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 144. This establishment is not in the 1858 or 1860 directories.

<sup>18</sup> Davis, *History*, 138, 568, 703. Thompson, *Sacramento*, 144. Christian and Elias Gruhler do not appear in the Directories until 1856. Jacob appears in 1860, but the timing of their enterprises is substantiated in the other resources.

saloons, and Germans operated nine of the former and four saloons. Dr. John Morse, writing in 1853, emphasized that gambling in particular was the stimulus for building large and sumptuous saloons as early as 1849.<sup>19</sup> Stories abound in his account about fortunes won and lost in the “old votaries of vice.” He recounts:

[Men who had ] “a few hundred dollars together, would return to the city with the manly and noble intention of remitting to dependent families...have stepped [sic] into these haunts of peril for a moment in the evening and never returned until their money, character, good intentions, and peace of mind, have been lost at the polluting altar of unproductive and self-destroying avocations.”<sup>20</sup>

All that an aspiring casino entrepreneur really needed was a tent, a few tables and a pouch of gold dust.<sup>21</sup> All these establishments offered opportunities for employment for many newcomers, including Germans. Approximately 17% of those who were employed or were merchants in 1850 were involved in hotels or eating houses. The number of hotels operated by German immigrants grew from nine in 1853 to 13 in 1856, and the number of saloons grew from four to 17.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps reflecting later Victorian sensibilities, Thompson and West, writing in 1880, and Davis, writing in 1890, describe saloons and gambling as dens of lawlessness, neglecting to record the fate of establishments where thousands and thousands of dollars changed hands twenty-fours a day, seven days a week. Davis, for example, when writing about early settler William Gutenberg, a descendent of Johann

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<sup>19</sup> Colville, *1853*, 107-8. Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909) 74. Morse, “History,” 6. Severson, *Sacramento*, 98. Wittke, *America*, 7.

<sup>20</sup> Morse, “History” 7.

<sup>21</sup> Jackson, *Dust*, 207.

<sup>22</sup> Colville, *1853*, 2, 5, 47, 50, 55, 70, 99, 108, 116, 123, 129; *1856*, xxx, 2, 10, 27, 40, 41, 47, 53, 70, 72, 75, 82, 92, 105, 123, 133.

Gutenberg who invented printing in 1438, recounted the beginning of his career with Gutenberg's seventeen-year employment at the Sacramento Iron Works, omitting his 1856 employment at the Cincinnati Beer Celler. Davis' biography of early settler Frank X. Ebner, chronicles how Ebner and his brother assumed charge of the Sierra Nevada Hotel and how he was active in the *Turnverein*, but it leaves out their involvement in the Philadelphia Lager Beer Saloon in 1856. A third example is Davis' biography of Edward Klebitz, "capitalist." Davis tells how Klebitz worked with fellow Germans' Flohr and Harms in their saddle shop in 1851, started a swimming bath in 1853, and then "engaged in business" thereafter in firm of Klebitz & Green. Klebitz first appears in the directories in 1855 as a partner with Wetzler with the bath but in subsequent years is listed as saloon keeper and proprietor of the Lager Beer Saloon, an involvement omitted by Davis.<sup>23</sup> By tracing individual German-born immigrants through the Directories and Censuses, one discovers that they found the hotel, eating and gambling industries lucrative potentials for profits. The percentage of merchants investing in these establishments shown on Table 8 stayed constant between 1850 and 1859, hoteliers ranging from 9% to 8% and eating houses at 10%. The Germans also saw the potential in the tangent recreational enterprises of distributing liquor and tobacco, especially cigars, perhaps building on a tobacco "connection" that had already existed between Bremen and Maryland. The percentage of merchants who profited from those "sin-related" trades trade increased from 4% in 1850 to 13% in 1859. The German-born entrepreneurs recognized the demands of the transient population of Sacramento and were ready to cater to it.

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<sup>23</sup> Colville. 1855, 50; 1856, 42, 59, 75. Cutter, 1860, 68. Davis, *History*, 415, 744, 779-80. Irwin, 1857, 55. Park, *Dreams*, 101. Taylor, 1858, 42.



An additional irony about the neglect of the hotel and saloon or restaurant industry is that it eliminated women from chronicles of economic histories. Joann Levy, in her study of working women during the gold rush, recounts the experiences of Margaret Frink from Frink's diary written after her arrival in Sacramento in 1850. She and her husband opened a two-story boarding house on K Street that had been shipped in pieces around the horn. After recovering from cholera during the epidemic in October, they leased a new hotel on J Street paying \$300 a month on a one-year lease. To attract customers to her "Frink's Hotel," she advertised and supplied free milk on her dining table. In 1851, they erected a "ready-made" cottage on two lots and M and 8th Streets and operated for another year.<sup>24</sup> Four German-born women appear in the directories who worked as hotel, boarding house, or saloon operators, three widows and one "working mother." Anna Johnson, or Mrs. Harrison Johnson, was the "proprietor" of the "City Lunch" and later a saloon. Her husband was listed as a Monte Dealer in the Census of 1850, but she does not appear in a directory until 1853 and is listed yearly thereafter through 1858. Mrs. Fanny Jackson was listed in 1855 as a mother with two children operating a boarding house and as "proprietor" of the Clarendon House in 1858. Mrs. Minna York bought the Columbus Hall, renamed it the Vauxhall Gardens, and operated it as a popular site for German gatherings.<sup>25</sup> As noted earlier, Mrs. Henry Eichenmenger assumed the operation of the International Hotel after the death of her husband. Barbara Drüke's letters also show that

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<sup>24</sup> Joann Levy *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Hamden Conn: Archon Books, 1990) 98-9, 226.

<sup>25</sup> Colville, 1853, 44; 1855, 47, 48; 1856, 70, 71. Cutter, 1860, 65. Irwin, 1857, 41, 42, 105. Marshalls, 1850 Census, 348. Taylor, 1858, 39. The presence of women working as prostitutes is mentioned in histories of the city, but the only German-born women listed in the Directories were these four. If there were German prostitutes, they are undocumented.

many young German-born women who came to California worked, as she did, as governesses or housekeepers, again undocumented in directories. She mentioned four by name, including two members of the Hauck family she knew from Billigheim.<sup>26</sup> Success for these young women might have been marrying well -- both Barbara and her friend Julie Hauck expressed this desire -- but operating hotels, saloons, or working in families were acceptable alternatives for the German women when faced with economic necessity.

The particular attribute of German-born immigrants of encouraging and supporting each other was very evident in Sacramento. A newcomer could find ready employment in German-owned establishments, and many of the most successful merchants began their careers working for other German businessmen already situated in Sacramento. A specific individual who illustrates this self-help ethic is Adam Newbauer who started as a clerk with Charles Heinrich, but by 1859, he was a successful baker who formed his own business. Newbauer continued the tradition of helping fellow Germans by hiring newly arrived Charles Vogel after Matt Karcher's City Bakery, Vogel's former employer, closed down. Other examples are numerous. When Martin Kestler arrived penniless in 1852, he started working for Julius Fiedler, a carpenter, and then at a brewery before starting his own wagon-making business in 1853. After adventuring in the gold mines, Simon Roth started as an employee of fellow-German Jacob Madison, and, within a few months, formed a partnership with John Tschumi manufacturing harnesses and saddles. In 1853, he bought Tschumi out and started his own firm.<sup>27</sup> Other success stories not chronicled by

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<sup>26</sup> Cosgrove. *Potpourri*, 64, 66. Cutter, 1860, 34. Taylor. 1858, 19.

<sup>27</sup> Colville. 1853, 55, 74, 86.. Cutter, 1860, 84, 119. D.A.R., 1852 Census, 73, 83, 164. Davis, *History*, 236, 343, 743. Newbauer was also an early member of the *Turnverein*. McCoy, "Turnverein," 148.

historians but revealed in the Directories also demonstrate the tradition of helping newcomers in the German community. Louis Koenig started as a clerk at Ebner's Philadelphia Lager Saloon but eventually ran their Sierra Nevada Hotel. S. A. Levy began his career as a clerk at M. Marks & Co in 1855, moved to Goodkind & Co., in 1856, disappears from directories in 1857 and 1858, but is shown as a business owner in 1860. John Boehm began at the U. S. Bakery owned by George Shaffer and P. S. Keefer, was listed as a clerk in 1858, and he formed his own grocery business with George Baker in 1859.<sup>28</sup> German merchants not only hired newcomers but kept them among their employees for a number of years over the decade. Solomon Rothfeld worked three years as a clerk at the Hamburger Brothers enterprises, eventually becoming their bookkeeper. Both Adolph and H. Koehn began as clerks for grocer George Meyer and stayed in his employ until 1859, H. Koehn as a clerk and Adolph eventually becoming a bookkeeper.<sup>29</sup> These individual stories show how only a few of the immigrants adapted and operated, and survived, in gold-rush Sacramento with the help of those in the German imagined community. The listing of individual immigrants in the "Survey of Germans in Sacramento," Appendix Two, provides other examples of those who, like Johann Bickel, were also supported and encouraged by members of their small but strong ethnically bound enclave.

The Germans in Sacramento, although small in number, were active in the provisioning and lodging industries in Sacramento, contributing to the growth and success

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<sup>28</sup> Koenig was an early member of the *Turnverein* with F. Ebner. Peter Scheld eventually acquired the U. S. Bakery. George Baker was also from Iowa – perhaps he was also German-born and followed Boehm to Sacramento. Colville, 1855, 53; 1856; 10, 75, 83, 110, 123. Cutter, 1860, 4, 11, 71. Irwin, 1857, 83. Taylor, 1858, 5, 42.

of its economy. They were less numerous in manufacturing concerns, but one wonders if Sacramento, as a whole, waited until the 1860s and beyond, after the arrival of the Central Pacific Railroad, to develop manufacturing to complement their shipping and transportation industries. The Germans could not have succeeded without serving the dominant Anglo-American community in Sacramento, and the biographies before the end of the nineteenth century attest to their native-born contemporaries' recognition of that success. On the other hand, German immigrants always felt the welfare of their fellow German-born was most important and acted on this belief by offering newcomers employment and supporting their ventures. Their first concern was helping the new arrivals either by lending, or giving, them funds to start a business or venture into the gold fields or by offering them instant employment. These close economic bonds are only one manifestation of the formation of the German enclave in Sacramento -- the cultural arena demonstrated the closeness of the Germans as well.

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<sup>29</sup> Colville, 1856, 75. Cutter, 1860, 42, 69, 99. Irwin, 1857, 56, 83. Taylor, 1858, 63.

## CHAPTER V

### GERMANS COME TO PLAY

**"[David Korn] thanked the Turners and the citizens. . . for embracing so warmly the cause of the Association. This cooperation would soon realize the heartfelt wish of the Germans to introduce German customs, and German popular festivals and amusements."**

**--*Daily Union*, June 14, 1859, at the dedication of the *Turnhalle*<sup>1</sup>**

Letters and diaries of first-time visitors to Sacramento are filled with descriptions of sin, gambling, vice and chaos. The first impression they had was of confusion and disorder, and, as they wandered through the downtown area, they saw a city of gambling dens, bright lights, blaring music, and crowds in search of excitement. Saloons were open around the clock, seven days a week, enticing miners into losing their new-found fortunes.<sup>2</sup> Visitors did not look beyond the pleasure palaces to discover the efforts both the Anglo-Americans and the Germans were taking to bring a sense of order to the culture of the city. Both turned to fraternal and cultural associations to combat the turmoil in their city, and Germans joined Anglo-based groups, particularly those involved in celebratory activities, but they did not abandon their cultural roots in "the fatherland."

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in McCoy, "Turnverein," 100.

<sup>2</sup> Contemporary descriptions of the chaos are numerous, including Hubert H. Bancroft, J. A. Benton, Isaac Lord, John Morse, Henry Packer and Franklin Street to name only a few. Bancroft, "History of California," 246. Benton, *Pilgrim*, 175-181. Holliday, *World*, 320-1. Morse, "History," 6-7. Rohrbaugh, *Days*, 147, 149. Street, *California*, 46.

The German immigrants joined together and created a strong, active sub-culture throughout the 1850s, led by their *Turnverein* founded in 1854. That association planned many social and cultural gatherings that retained and popularized the German custom of adding frivolity to Sunday outings, picnics, dances, sporting events and Christmas celebrations. Culturally, the boundaries of the Germans' imagined community often extended beyond those of their actual enclave. Sometimes the imagined community included Germans from other California cities; at other times, it included their Anglo-American neighbors; and at other times, just their own enclave. *Turnverein* events could include Turners from San Francisco. Germans joined with the Anglo-Americans in cultural activities involving music and festivals, leading to the addition of frivolity to Sacramentans' mainstream culture. A major objective of the *Turnverein*, however, was always joining together to retain and popularize the German customs of neighborhood and celebration in Sunday outings, picnics, dances, sporting events and Christmas revels.

David Korn in his speech reiterated this overriding priority of the German community. The traditions that he espoused were identical as those other German-Americans in the United States practiced, stretching Sacramento's German-born imagined community from California across the United States to the German area of Europe. Because they came from various political entities not unified until 1871, their cultural ties were extremely important, resulting in their special impulse to practice *Vereinswesen* (associational life) in a unified fraternal community.<sup>3</sup> In the Cincinnati newspaper *Volksfreund*, German immigrants stated that: "we think according to American habits, but

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<sup>3</sup> Kathleen Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth Century German America on Parade." Werner Sollars, ed. *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 49-51. Faust, *Element*, 465, 471.

we hold fast to German morals. We speak English but we think and feel in German.”<sup>4</sup>

The Germans’ particular cultural tradition was a legacy of joyous celebration as they believed that sociability and festivity were basic human needs and that rituals should include public camaraderie and joyful expression. They were critical of the solemnity they saw in American life and sought to alternative ways of celebrating that were more public and sensuous and included more women participants, wine and beer. They criticized the state and local laws that made Sunday a sober day, for example, rather than one of joy, which included wine and beer. Germans changed the character of Christmas from solemnity to gaiety by including the customs of gift-giving and Christmas trees introduced in Germany in the early nineteenth century. They frequently held festivals or gatherings on the outskirts of a city, sometimes in connection with a national event, a *Turnfest*, a *Sängerfest*, a *Maifest*, or just an excursion on a Sunday afternoon. Many were highly educated, knew the classics, and were interested in music and the performing arts.<sup>5</sup>

Believing physical strength was just as essential to their well-being as intellectual pursuits or celebrations, they prized physical exercise, particularly gymnastics and sports such as target-shooting. Urban German immigrants formed *Club Schützenvereine* (sharpshooter groups) and held *Schützenfeste* which often culminated with the crowning of the “king of sharp-shooters,” ceremonies copied from homeland customs and rituals. German-Americans, whether in Sacramento or elsewhere, needed fraternal associations to

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<sup>4</sup> Cincinnati *Volksfreund*, November 13, 1848, quoted in Conzen, “Ethnicity,” 51.

<sup>5</sup> Barney, “Forty-eighters,” 27. Conzen, “Ethnicity,” 49, 51-3, 72. Faust, *Element*, 278, 381, 383, 465, 471. Faust, *Element*, 465, 471. Henderson, *Migrants*, 109. Wittke, *America*, 8, 13. Wright, “Cosmopolitan” XX:1, 68.

offer opportunities gather socially, discuss their individual “freethinking” ideas, and to perform, and observe, gymnastics, the leading form of physical exercise.<sup>6</sup> In Sacramento, however, they did not restrict their cultural practices to their own enclave. They interacted with the Anglo-Americans in the newly organized groups of churches and fraternal groups that both segments of the citizenry saw as a solution to the disorder and lawlessness around them. Rather than a den of gambling and prostitution, they looked to develop Sacramento into a civilized, lawful city with cultural advantages to attract families and law-abiding residents.

David Goodman’s argument that residents of gold-rush generated towns and cities were anxious to bring order to the chaos around them applied to Sacramento’s cultural evolution as well as the citizens’ efforts to build an aura of physical and economic permanence. An example of this impulse is the first fancy dress ball held in the city on July 4, 1849. During the nineteenth century, fancy balls were a common form of entertainment, and the citizens of Sacramento, although mostly men, were going to celebrate the Fourth in style. The occasion was held at the City Hotel, the center of Sacramento fashion and aristocracy, with propriety and decorum, complete with much ornamentation and a sumptuous supper despite the fact that only eighteen women could be found to attend by the men scouring the countryside. Josiah Royce proclaimed: “Despite themselves and out of the chaos of self-interest, the Californians built a society to a civilization.”<sup>7</sup> Dr. John Morse in 1853 emphasized the importance of the religious and fraternal organizations in bringing “civilization” to his Second City and looked to them to

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<sup>6</sup> Barney “Forty-eighters,” 19: “Knights,” 63, 71. Faust. *Element*, 387, 409. Wittke, *America*, 8, 13.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Goodman. *Seeking*, 64.



structure and organize the residents' attempt to bring order.<sup>8</sup> The imagined community of Sacramento that incorporated both the native and German-born recognized the value of formal organizations in civilizing the society around them, especially in the absence of wives and mothers. The first groups were established as early as 1849 and continued throughout the 1850s.

Churches and religious services, always identified with the impulse for order, began as early as April of 1849 when the first service was held in the open air, and by the end of the year, clergy had organized four Protestant churches. Rev. J. A. Benton who had arrived in July in 1848 and was destined to become the religious leader of Sacramento organized the First Church of Christ that same year.<sup>9</sup> The First Methodist Episcopal Church began in July of 1849 with its chapel completed the following October and included Germans Peter Bohl and William Walter in the early 1850s. Organized in 1850, the First Baptist Church included Carl Wolleb in its congregation in the mid 1850s. The Hebrew Benevolent Society, organized in 1852 as an adjunct with the Congregation B'Nai Israel, first met at the home of Mr. M. Hyman. Although the German Methodist Church was organized in 1856, debts forced it to disband in 1866; therefore, its records are lost. The Lutherans present in Sacramento as early as September of 1850 did not formally organize their church until 1861.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Goldman. *Seeking*, 181, 184. Morse, "History," 2, 9, 18; *Sketches*, 6. Reed. *History*, 62. Severson. *Sacramento*, 123.

<sup>9</sup> Rev. Benton carefully omitted the word "Congregational" in order to appeal to as many people as possible. Severson. *Sacramento*, 56.

<sup>10</sup> The German Methodist Church is mentioned in a letter written to the Lutheran Missouri Synod in 1859. Frank Kline Baker, *Souvenir History of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Sacramento, California Written for the Sixtieth Anniversary* (Sacramento: J. M. Anderson, 1909) 36, 77, 79.

Non-religious groups and fraternal associations also prospered in the 1850s. The first Masonic Lodge was chartered in April of 1850, and other lodges were formed throughout the decade. In 1853, the Tehama Lodge included Sol Kohlman as its Treasurer, and three years later, the Sacramento Lodge counted W. J. Kohlmann and H. Greenbaum among its members. The Union Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons, organized in 1854, had the Kohn brothers, Morris and Joseph, J. Wormser, and Solomon Kohlmann in its membership in 1856. The International Order of Odd Fellows El Dorado Lodge organized in 1852 elected Joseph S. Korn as its Secretary in 1856.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to churches and fraternal groups, Germans played a role in the organization of musical societies in Sacramento. Forty musicians organized the Philharmonic society with Carl Wolleb as the pianist and officer and performed forty-five concerts over the ensuing fourteen years.<sup>12</sup> Brass bands also offered concerts for Sacramento's entertainment. Musicians organized the Sacramento Union Brass Band in July of 1857 and elected G. Hesse as their conductor, J. Heidlinger, Ch. York, A. Wetterman, J. F. Wassberg, H. Dierson, and J. Zwicker among its members, and its headquarters in the hall over Zwicker's Saloon. They played regularly at "Parties, Processions, Excursions, Serenades, Funerals, &c." according to their advertisement in the *Sacramento Bee*. They competed for audiences with the American Brass Band, organized in April of the same year, a group of fifteen pieces including Carl York and Alex and

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Berner, "Lutheran," 2, 9. Pierini, "Germans," 66. Reed, *History*, 109. Severson, *Sacramento*, 56, 124. Willis, *Sacramento*, 307.

<sup>11</sup> Colville 1853, 18; 1856, 90. Reed, *History*, 198, 200, 202. Severson, *Sacramento*, 123. Willis, *Sacramento*, 253.

<sup>12</sup> Colville, 1855, xi. Severson, *Sacramento*, 150.

Arnold Heyman.<sup>13</sup> The Swiss Rifle Club, organized in 1853, formalized and elected Carl Wollab as an officer and German-born A. Koppikus, J. Wolf, X. Staffelbach and W. Alexander as members, and the Sacramento Rifle Club included J. Stuber, F. X. Ebner, Wolleb, Koppikus, and Charles Heinrich as members.<sup>14</sup>

By 1854, the number of Germans in Sacramento had grown and coalesced enough to form its own *Turnverein* that would become the center of their social activities.<sup>15</sup> Wherever there was a sizable German population in the United States, they formed *Turnvereine* to offer its members fellowship and support, and Sacramento would follow their example. The history of the American *Turnvereine* begins in Cincinnati in 1848, the first organized by Fredrich Hecker, a political expatriate from the failed German revolutions of 1848, hence the appellation of “48er.” It was the 48ers’ energy which stimulated the formation of the American *Turnvereine*, an “elaborate organization, [with] intense zeal and rigorous discipline...in the unique spirit of Germanic thoroughness and efficiency.” The movement spread rapidly throughout America. By 1856, there were active societies in twenty-six states, and by the end of the 1850s, 157 *Turnvereine* met with a membership of roughly 10,000 Turners, all an integral part of the expression and retention of German culture and consciousness.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Bee*, 2 July 1857, V:751, p. 3, col. 3; 3 October 1857, XIV:2031, p. 3, col. 5. Irwin, *1857-1858*, xxii. Taylor, *1858*, xxi.

<sup>14</sup> *Sacramento Daily Union*, 1 July 1853, V:709, p. 2, col. 6; 6 July 1853, V:712, p. 2, col. 3; 1 October 1857, XIV:2033, p. 3, col. 1; 12 October 1857, XIV:2042, p. 2, col. 4; 20 September 1859, XVIII:2646, p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Pierini, “Germans,” 43.

<sup>16</sup> Barney, “Forty-eighters,” 19-29, 28; “Knights,” 62-63. Wittke, *America*, 8, 12.

The newspaper *Turn-Zeitung*, founded in 1851, stated that the *Turnverein*'s avowed purpose was to be an organization striving for political and social reform with activities emphasizing political and intellectual discourse, ceremonial gatherings and physical exercise. Germans were concerned by the appearance of the Know-Nothings with their attempts to limit economic and political rights to foreigners, placing American citizenship beyond their reach. To address this threat, they attempted to organize individual *Turnvereine* into one cohesive union for political clout. The *Turnbund* would organize national or regional *Turnfests*, exhibitions, demonstrations and competitions. The Turners sought to cultivate "rational" training, both intellectual and physical. They felt "intellectual" training would come through literary and verbal discourse with discussion, debate, argument and persuasion, with the "physical" through organization and implementation of gymnastics instruction and exercise following the large body of gymnastic literature in pamphlets, newspaper articles and books the Turners published. Nationally, social gatherings were important, but these always had to include a component of political and gymnastic activities for mental and physical exercise. The *Turnvereine* were able to neutralize the Nativist movement and retain voting rights, maintain the right to celebrate the Sabbath in the "continental manner," and provide leadership to German Americans to preserve and extend German culture and customs. By the late 1850s, the political influence of the 48ers waned as leadership was passing to the American-born, particularly in the new *vereine* forming in the West with their de-emphasis on political concerns and a rising concern over social and physical policies and activities.<sup>17</sup> The

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<sup>17</sup> Barney. "Forty-eighters." 23, 28-30, 37; "Knights." 37. McCoy. "Turnverein." 11.

evolution of the *Turnverein* in Sacramento mirrored this de-escalation of political activism in favor of social and cultural activities.

Leaders of the German community including businessmen Thomas Steudemann, George Meyer and Jacob Knauth spearheaded the movement for Sacramento to form its own *Turnverein* in 1854. They could turn to the imagined community of German-Americans in San Francisco and across the United States for guidance and advice. The *Turnverein* in San Francisco was already well established, that city published three German-language newspapers, and the national *Turn-Zeitung* newspaper gave specific guidelines for starting a new organization.<sup>18</sup> In the minutes of their first meetings, the Turners stated their purpose of the society:

...is to contribute, through mutual and reciprocal aspirations, to the spiritual and physical improvement of [the members of] the Society, as well as to create and promote a friendly and social atmosphere among the members.

No political or otherwise private purposes and interests shall be promoted by the Society as a Society.<sup>19</sup>

Sacramento's lack of political emphasis was at odds with the national *Turnbund* and San Francisco created a conflict among its members. After a visit from a representative of the San Francisco *Turnverein*, the Sacramento Turners changed their purpose to read, "to

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<sup>18</sup> Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olsom, comps. *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961) 27, 28, 30. McCoy, "Turnverein," 11. The *California Demokrat* was a daily and Sunday paper, published between 1852 and 1944. The *California Staats-Zeitung* was published weekly between 1852 and 1918 with the daily *Tägliche California Staats-Zeitung* published between 1851 and 1853. The *San Francisco Journal* was published between February, 1855 and October 1857. Arndt notes that Julius Korn was editor of the *Journal* in 1856. Perhaps there was a familial connection with the three Korn brothers who operated the hotel in Sacramento and were always active in *Turnverein* activities. The *Sacramento Journal* was not established until 1868, making the likelihood of the Sacramento dependence on San Francisco papers even stronger. Arndt, *Newspapers*, 24, 27-8. Cutter, 1860, 69. Wittke, *Press*, 100.

<sup>19</sup> McCoy, "Turnverein," 23.

further most strongly through word and deed the way of the gymnast and Socialism.” This change, plus a purging of non-dues paying members, caused the membership to drop to 35 in 1856 from a total of 71 in June of 1855. An 1856 compromise demonstrated that the *Turnverein* had become committed to its members rather than to a national cause -- political discussions were permitted only if the membership chose. By May of 1858, the members revised the by-laws so that all religious and political discussions were forbidden at meetings. Reluctant to be regulated by the eastern *Turnvereine*, the Sacramento Turners were “pushed” to resign from the national *Turnbund* in January 1859, acknowledging its commonality with other Western societies and California rather than the eastern United States.<sup>20</sup> After a regional *Turnfest* held in October in 1859 in Sacramento, Carl Wolleb and David Korn initiated discussions about founding a Pacific *Turnbund*, a western-based association that they eventually founded in April of 1860.<sup>21</sup> This internal conflict in Sacramento’s *Turnverein* was largely hidden from the city’s Anglo community. The only notice of the *Turnverein*’s official “business” appeared in the *Daily Union* about its inauguration on June 20, 1854, followed by an announcement of its gymnastic site on June 22. Members were quite upset over the publicity and reprimanded Moses Greenebaum for submitting the news to the paper that may account for the future lack of “organizational news” items.<sup>22</sup> Politically, Sacramento’s Turners may have been quiet, but

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 29, 54, 63, 88, 91. Appendix E, 55.

<sup>21</sup> Sacramento Turn Verein. *100 Years – Sacramento Turn Verein 1854-1954 Fest Schrift* (Sacramento, May 15, 1954, May 23, 1954) 19.

<sup>22</sup> McCoy, “Turnverein,” 24, 26, 54. *Union*, 20 June 1854, VII:1012, p. 2, col. 3; 22 June 1854, VII:1014, p. 2, col. 4.

many of the social activities they planned between 1854 and 1859 received extensive reporting in the *Daily Union* and *Sacramento Bee*.

During the first year of their society's existence, the Turners sought to solidify their new fraternal association by selecting a permanent meeting site, choosing a uniform and seal, and organizing a ball to be held in November. The site for their first meeting was a building containing H. Ehmann's home and barbershop with a vacant lot behind it rented for gymnastics.<sup>23</sup> After the fire of July 13, 1854, destroyed Ehmann's establishment, *Turnverein* headquarters and gymnastic equipment, "their meetings [were] measurably interrupted thereby."<sup>24</sup> After temporarily meeting at member Frank Ebner's Sierra Nevada Hotel, they rented a "*zinkhaus*" as their first *Turnhalle*, complete with a plaque on the door to announce the headquarters' site. A year later, members rented a larger frame building to serve as a gymnasium so members could exercise during inclement weather. To accommodate its rapidly expanding membership, on January 15, 1856, the Turners dedicated an expanded one-story building built on the *zinkhaus* site with a ceremonial *Kränzchen* (private party). In January 1859, at the same meeting at which it resigned from the national *Turnbund*, the Sacramento *Turnverein* decided to invest in a larger, permanent facility to accommodate its many activities and to reawaken interest in those who had fallen away.<sup>25</sup> After Conrad Weil extensively negotiated with the designer and

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. *Turn Verein. 100 Years*, 17.

<sup>24</sup> McCoy, "Turnverein," 27. *Union*, 28 July 1854. VII:1044. p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Colville, 1855, 30. McCoy, "Turnverein," 28. 60-1, 91, 94, 95. *Union*, 9 July 1855. IX:1340. p. 2, col. 3. *Turn Verein. 100 Years*, 17. The *zinkhaus* was located between J and K Streets and Seventh and Eighth Streets and the gymnasium on between Seventh and Eighth on L Street. McCoy, "Turnverein," 28, 61.

landowner, the members chose to raise the initial down payments of \$2,000 and mortgage the remaining \$6,000 cost of a “stripped,” two-story building designed by architect A. F. Eisen.<sup>26</sup> Masons, the Sutter Rifle Company and the Sacramento Brass Band participated in the laying of the cornerstone on June 1, 1859, and David Korn’s dedication speech emphasized that the new *Turnhalle* would not only enable the Germans to enjoy their customs, popular festivals and amusements themselves but also introduce the German community to their Anglo-American neighbors.<sup>27</sup> It was opened on September 5th with a grand inauguration ball with a supper, dancing and carriage rides to and from the party which the *Daily Union* predicted would be “gay and joyous affair” with dancing floor large enough to “afford ample scope for the whirling and stepping of those who pay court to the fascinating waltz.”<sup>28</sup> The *Turnverein* now had a permanent presence in the Anglo community, included the City Directory of 1860 with its address, description, officers and a membership of 80 members.

The *Turnverein*, like other nineteenth-century fraternal associations, deemed uniforms, official insignia, and badges essential to identify members at public functions as well as solidify their own commonality particularly at the processions and parades integral to their celebrations. Like other German-American communities, Sacramento’s Turners used parades and festivals as rituals to solidify the identity of their imagined community

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 95-98. A. F. Eisen is listed in the 1860 Directory. He was not a member of the *Turnverein* and his nativity is unknown. Cutter. 1860, 34. There was some confusion over who performed what function in the *Turnhalle*’s construction. The directory lists the architect as W. F. Knox while the Minutes of the *Turnverein* Society lists Eisen. Since Knox is listed in the directory as a builder and carpenter, perhaps he was the contractor acting under Eisen. Cutter. 1860, x. 69.

<sup>27</sup> McCoy, “Turnverein.” 99-100, 144.

<sup>28</sup> *Bee*, 5 July 1859. VI:805, p. 2, col. 3. The site of the property, on K Street between 9th and 10. was the site of the Senator Theater in 1954. *Turn Verein, 100 Years*, 17.



for insiders and outsiders alike.<sup>29</sup> They chose mandatory attire for all official functions and public processions of gray trousers and jackets, gray hats, red neckerchiefs and special black leather belts called *Gürtel*, incorporating the traditional red and black of the original *Turnvereine* in Germany. During their first and second anniversary celebrations, for example, members paraded and escorted their San Franciscan guests from the docks into town, to Columbus Hall, and to Tivoli Gardens during the two-day festivals.<sup>30</sup> When the *Turnverein* was invited to join the other Sacramento fraternal associations marching after city officials, police and firemen in the fourth of July parades in 1857 and 1859, their uniforms distinguished them from other ethnic clubs and benevolent associations. Spectacular parades marked the Regional *Turnfest* held October 9 - 12, 1859, with delegations from Marysville, Stockton and San Francisco parading to and from the embarcadero, events, and festivals, complete with nine German and American flags the blue and silver *Harmonie* banner picturing a lyre, and the gold-fringed "*Eincracht*" banner showing hands clasped hands, both with German legends. Carl Bouüttger, a gunsmith, created their official seal or insignia with a sword, torch and crossed handshake symbolizing bravery, liberty, and friendship.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Billigmeier. *Americans*. 84. Conzen. "Ethnicity." 71-73.

<sup>30</sup> McCoy, "Turnvercin." 48-9. *Union*, 6 September 1856, XI:1701, p. 4, col. 5. Columbus Hall and Vauxhall Gardens were the same place. Originally, German-born John Anthes owned and operated the facility as the Columbus Hall. When he sold out to Mrs. Minna York in 1856, she renamed it Vauxhall Garden. Colville, 1855, 11. Irwin, 1857-1858, 98.

<sup>31</sup> *Bee*, 2 July 1859, V:751 p. 2, col. 3. Conzen. "Ethnicity." 45-6, 48. McCoy. "Turnverein." 62-3. *Union*, 4 July 1857 XIII:1956, p. 3, col. 5. *Union*, 9 October 1859, XVIII:2663, p. 3, col. 1; 10 October 1859, XVIII:2664, p. 3, col. 1; 11 October 1859, XVIII: 2665: p. 3, col. 1; 12 October 1859, XVIII:2666. p. 3. col. 1.

The *Turnverein* sponsored a fancy ball on Saturday, November 14, 1854, the first of many social gatherings it planned for Sacramento's German community, inviting both the association's members and non-members. Because the newly-formed society had little money, the entire affair was financed on credit -- the hiring of three coaches to transport attendees from their homes, the catering of the meals, and the musicians. The Turners invited members of the San Francisco *Turnverein*, but, because there was no announcement in the *Daily Union* or city license obtained, one can surmise that attendees were solely Sacramentans. They printed 500 admission cards, available at \$5.00 each, and "word-of-mouth" publicity generated ticket sales of 120 and a profit of \$115.63 although the *Turnverein* membership totaled only twenty-nine.<sup>32</sup> During the next five years and despite their small membership, they planned five more grand balls, several "*Kränzchene*," yearly *Turnfahrten* (spring-time Sunday outings), anniversary celebrations, and the large three-day, regional *Turnfest* held in October of 1859.

A committee of wealthier Turners planned the second ball for February 24, 1855, open to both members and the public as well as Germans from San Francisco. The *Daily Union* received free tickets in lieu of advertising and ran a notice of the event appeared in its February 16th. The organizers put advertisements in the San Francisco newspapers *California Demokrat* and *California Staats-Zeitung* for two weeks prior to the event. Unlike the first ball, this one was conducted on a "cash basis" with no credit, raising a profit of \$274.72. The *Daily Union* reported two days later that "taste and liberality were displayed," with a good supper and vocal musical offerings by Turners. Since 250 gentlemen and 150 ladies attended despite a *Turnverein* membership of only 80, the entire

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<sup>32</sup> McCoy. "Turnverein."62-3.

German community seemed to welcome this opportunity to gather socially.<sup>33</sup> For the third, a Christmas Eve ball in 1855, they invited Turners from San Francisco, Nevada City, Dutch Flat as well as the Swiss Rifle Club, again extending their community, and the 150 couples who came heard vocal music and saw a gymnastic exhibition by twenty-five members. Unfortunately, “larceny” motivated the member in charge of the liquor sales so the ball lost money -- he was expelled and his name symbolically crossed through in the membership rolls by a heavy black line.<sup>34</sup> Hamilton Hall, owned by member Melchor, was the site of the fourth ball on August 19, 1858, with a program of gymnastic performances and a “good band” of musicians.<sup>35</sup> The *Daily Union* reported on December 26, 1859, that the fifth ball was a:

Christmas Gift Ball to be held these evening at Turn-Verein [sic] Hall bids fair to exceed any festival hitherto given by the Turn-Verein, it being determined to spare no pains or expense to render it in all respects an unusually pleasant and agreeable affair.<sup>36</sup>

illustrating the German custom of exchanging presents at Christmas.

In 1856, 1857 and 1858, the *Turnverein* planned seven small, intimate, private *Kränzchene* for their own community to augment the large, often public balls. The Turners, their wives, and members’ guests paid a nominal admission charge to cover the cost of the supper and beer spent the evening dining, singing and dancing. Occasionally, a

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 46. *Union*, 16 February 1855, IX:1216, p. 2, col. 2; 26 February 1855, IX: 1225, p. 2, col. 3.

<sup>34</sup> McCoy. “Turnverein.” 76. *Union*, 26 December 1855, X:1485, p. 2, col. 3

<sup>35</sup> *Union*, 16 August 1858, XV:2304. p. 5, col. 3.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 26 December 1859, XVIII:2729. p. 3, col. 1.

grander affair would be held at Vauxhall Gardens with a small group of musicians.<sup>37</sup> In February, 1856, Barbara Bickel attended one and wrote home to her sister:

Three weeks ago I went to the last German Ball with Mr. Drüke, a good friend of Mr. Heinrich. My ball dress was white, too [as was her sister's]. I have a dress of mull that is 'lo näck' or *décolleté*, short sleeves with a white bow in my hair--in a crown--, white boots or slippers and white kid gloves. This all looked very good<sup>38</sup>

Like other young women, her attire was uppermost in her mind, but she must have enjoyed herself -- her escort was her future husband, George Drüke.

During the years 1856 through 1859, members attended annual springtime *Turnfahrten*, more formal renditions of the traditional Sunday outing when German *Hausfrau* would leave the dinner dishes to be washed on Monday and join her entire family, or a party of several families, together for an outing. They would meet at the *Turnhalle* at ten o'clock in the morning and parade to a site outside the city limits for picnicking, informal exhibitions of free gymnastics, some friendly competition and usual group singing, returning by procession back to the city. Like the larger German-American imagined community, they celebrated Sunday in direct contrast to traditions of strictly pious church attendance and somber meditation. In cold weather, they would gather in their own *Turnhalle* for light-hearted merrymaking, moving to the open countryside in warm weather.<sup>39</sup> The *Daily Union* described a typical picnic held on May 31, 1859:

The Sacramento Turners, on Sunday last, held a very pleasant picnic...in a beautiful grove of oaks... There were of the party,

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<sup>37</sup> McCoy, "Turnverein," 74-75.

<sup>38</sup> Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 75-6.

<sup>39</sup> Barney, "Forty-eighters," 27. McCoy, "Turnverein," 13-4, 75-6.

including ladies, about seventy-five persons. Aside from a bountiful supply of edibles and sustaining beverages, the party were regaled with singing and dancing--the music for the occasion being furnished by Lottheimer and Wetterman, and among other incidents to enliven the festival were a footrace between several of the ladies and a bag race...The party left the city for the ground in vehicles about 8 A. M., and started on their return about 5 P. M., well pleased with the trip.<sup>40</sup>

The social highlight every year for the *Turnverein* was the anniversary celebration of its founding. The first anniversary celebration was held on June 18th and 19th in 1855 and was a gala event. Forty members of San Francisco's *Turnverein* came up on the steamer, "Senator" to participate in the event and were escorted by torchlight to Columbus Hall. After the German ladies presented the club with a beautiful banner, Turners paraded to the *Festplatz* at Tivoli Gardens, where they were greeted with cannon firing and other "complimentary demonstrations." After a mid-day dinner replete with toasts and speeches, the festivities continued with music by the band, songs by both the San Francisco and Sacramento *Gesangvereine* (singing societies), gymnastic sports of vaulting, leaping and running in sacks, and a Swiss Rifle shooting tournament. Dancing began after the games "which was sustained with unflagging fervor until 8 o'clock" when the party paraded by torchlight back to the city, stopping at the Indian Queen Saloon for refreshments. The next day, the festivities resumed at Tivoli, with songs and gymnastic exhibitions, culminating, as the *Daily Union* reported, with a "fine ball" with a large attendance, including John Sutter, bedecked in the colorful red and blue souvenir ribbons with the legend, "First Anniversary Festival of the Sacramento Turn Verein [sic]." A "delegation of their brethren of this city, headed by a band of music" escorted the San

Francisco visitors to the docks on June 21st, and the singing of a “glee or two” on parting marked the close of the festivities.<sup>41</sup>

The secondary anniversary festival was also a two-day affair, held September 7th and 8th of 1856. For several weeks, the *Daily Union* advertisements outlined a program similar to the prior years’ celebration: a pre-event Saturday night torch-light procession with music, a parade Sunday morning to Tivoli Garden, a mid-day dinner feast and speech by a prominent Turner from Berlin, followed by a gymnastic exhibition, singing and dancing; and a “grand parade” on Monday to the Garden for a one o’clock bird shooting contest followed with a Grand Ball.<sup>42</sup> Because the third anniversary was a closed affair, the reports in the *Daily Union* only described a Grand Ball at Vauxhall Gardens where “order prevailed,” the music excellent, and the scene “gay and pleasing.”<sup>43</sup> Again, despite its small membership, the *Turnverein* provided many opportunities for the Sacramento German-born imagined community to gather and celebrate.

The culminating social activity of the 1850s for the German community and the Turners had to be the Grand *Turnfest* on October 9, 10, and 11, 1859. As the *Daily Bee* exclaimed, “This is not a mere local affair, but is an ingathering of Turners, from all parts of the State, or on the coast. . . at which a large delegation--probably a hundred persons--will be present from San Francisco, and lesser bodies from other cities and towns,”

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<sup>40</sup> *Union*, 31 May 1859, XVII:2551 p 2. col. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Colville, 1855, 46. McCoy, “Turnverein,” 50-51. *Union*, 19 June 1855, IX:1321 p. 2, col. 3; 20 June 1855, IX:1322 p. 2, col. 4; 22 June 1855, IX:1324 p. 2, col. 4. *Turnverein, 100 Years*, 17.

<sup>42</sup> McCoy, “Turnverein,” 78. *Union*, 30 August 1856, XI:1694 p. 2, col. 5, 30; 6 September 1856, XI:1701, p. 3, col 5.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in McCoy, “Turnverein,” 83.

evidence that the imagined community of Germans spread beyond the city limits of Sacramento. On Saturday, the eighth, visitors were “received at dockside and traditional escorted to the *Turnhalle* for a reception. The next morning, attendees marched in a body “without music,” or “by the tap of the drum,” at nine o’clock to the picnic grounds one mile from Sacramento where they spent the day picnicking, prize shooting, observing and performing gymnastics, listening to songs from the Glee Clubs and dancing under a tent. That evening, the Turners and visitors enjoyed a concert at the *Turnverein*’s new *Turnhalle* and saw prizes awarded for the afternoon’s shooting competition, including a penny whistle awarded to C. Kleinsorge for “having made the worst shot.” On Monday, the Turners and the Rifle Corps processed through several streets to the *Turnhalle* “with banners flying and music sounding, and making altogether a gay and handsome appearance.” Competitions in gymnastics for prizes filled the afternoon. That evening, the hall was “prepared for a grand ball, when delightful music, bright lights and sparkling eyes will give zest to the enjoyment of the dance, so that tripping feet will still be busy in the waltz when the morning star begins to fade.”<sup>44</sup> The German community had matured enough to host a regional gathering and deport itself with honors.

The Sacramento *Turnverein* planned cultural activities valued by the Germans in addition to its many social activities. On May 16, 1855, members completed the organization of their *Gesangverein* which had been started by Carl Wolleb and called it “*Liederkrantz*” (men’s chorus). Its participation in an 1857 inter-*vereine* concert in San Francisco attested to its success. Under the auspices of the San Francisco *Harmonie*, the

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<sup>44</sup> *Bee*, 8 October 1859, VI:833, p. 3, col. 1; 9 October 1859, VI:834, p. 3, col. 1; 11 October 1859, VI:835, p. 3, col. 1; 14 October 1859, VI:837, pg. 3, col. 1. McCoy, “Turnverein,” 54.

*Eincracht* and a section of the San Francisco *Turnverein*, many singers from Marysville, Stockton and Sacramento joined San Franciscans for a concert at the Metropolitan Theater. German vocalists numbering 125 to 150 participated, and the *Daily Union* listed the twelve Sacramento *Gesangverein* attendees led by John Schwegerle.<sup>45</sup> After that concert, Schwegerle left town and the *Gesangverein* was inactive until his return in March of 1859 and the new *Turnhalle* could provide space the singers could use for their meetings.

The activities of the Turner's Rifle Club's were short-lived perhaps because members were already active in the Swiss Rifle and Sacramento Rifle companies. Lotthammer spearheaded an effort to organize the *Turnverein*-sponsored club in July, 1856, but since the rifles took ten months to come, interest waned. Also, when members left Sacramento, they took the rifles with them, leaving none for the society's newer members to use. After 1857, activities ceased until January of 1859 when it became another activity spurred on by the building of the *Turnhalle*.<sup>46</sup>

The *Turnverein* activities would seem to cater solely to the small-sized German imagined community, influencing the Anglo community only by example of festive celebration. Just as influential on the Anglo-based culture, on the other hand, were the German individuals' activities in musical and sporting mainstream groups. The Sacramento Union Band, for example, played for both Anglo and German-sponsored

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<sup>45</sup> McCoy, "Turnverein," 43-4. *Union*, 10 July 1857, XIII:1955, p. 3, col. 2; 23 July 1857, XIII:1968, p. 2, col. 3. *Turn Verein, 100 Years*, 17.

<sup>46</sup> McCoy, "Turnverein," 72-74.



events including regular concerts at John Zwicker's Wiener Coffee Hall.<sup>47</sup> Other prominent musicians included Martin Simondson, the violin soloist in the band playing at the Empire Hotel, and A. Heyman, a musician with the American Brass Band, whose orchestra performed for at least at two of the many Anglo balls held in Sacramento.<sup>48</sup> With grand balls an important part of the Anglo-American culture of Sacramento, Germans, including Heyman and Melchoir, advertised instruction and "*soiree dansants*" where both Germans and Anglos could enjoy learning the latest dance steps.<sup>49</sup> The concerts offered at Zwicker and Hubbard's Garden, Henry Frick's Nolan's Gardens and the Vauxhall Gardens every Sunday gave Anglos as well as Germans an opportunity to joyfully celebrate the end of the week.<sup>50</sup> Newspaper reports disclose the Protestant Churches' adoption of *Maifest* excursions and the German Christmas traditions of trees and gift-giving, probably encouraged by the active participation Peter Bohl and William Walter at the First Methodist Episcopal Church and Carl Wolleb at the First Baptist

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<sup>47</sup> On July 4, 1859, the Sacramento Brass Band was hired to be the main musical ensemble at the celebration for a sum of \$500.00. *Union*, 4 July 1859, XVII:2578, p. 3, col. 1. Advertisements appeared in the newspapers and the City Directories. *Bee*, 3 October 1857, II:209, p. 1, col. 7; 30 April, 1859, V:697 p. 5, col. 4.

<sup>48</sup> The two were the July 4, 1854, Grand Ball at Knight's Landing and the January, 1855, Social Ball at the Western Hotel. *Invitation to the Social Ball at Western Hotel, January 1855. Transcript 24 September 1850*, I:124 p. 2, col. 2. *Union*, 1 July 1854, VII:1021 pg. 2, col 7.

<sup>49</sup> *Bee*, 3 October 1857, II:209 p. 3, col. 5; 10 October 1857, II:216 p. 3, col. 5. *Union*, 4 July 1856, XI:1645 p. 3, col. 1; 30 August 1856, XI:1584 p. 3, col. 5. At Christmas in 1857, for example, both Heyman and Melchoir offered subscription dances through the newspaper. *Bee*, 22 December 1857, II:276, p. 3, col. 1; 23 December 1857, II:277 p. 1, col 7.

<sup>50</sup> *Bee*, 20 June 1859, V:740 p. 3, col. 3. *Union*, 1 July 1857, XIII:1954 p. 3, col. 4. A subsequent newspaper cites Mr. York as an employee at the Vauxhall Gardens at this time. *Bee*, 6 October 1857, II:211 p. 3, col 1.

Church.<sup>51</sup> The newspaper coverage of the Swiss Rifle Club and Sacramento Rifle Club report many competitions, often held in conjunction with balls, with Germans and Anglo-Americans winning many prizes.<sup>52</sup> A *Daily Union* editorial promoted gymnastics as an avenue to good health, reflecting perhaps the *Turnverein's* emphasis on that sport, and Fred Van Vleck was appointed to teach gymnastics to public schools boys and girls at his Gymnasium which he prominently advertised in the *Daily Bee*.<sup>53</sup> Since many Germans were employed as clerks and merchants in Sacramento, it is likely that that the first baseball club in California organized there included a number of them as players. German newcomers, as well as the *Turnverein*, were instrumental in introducing German traditions to the Anglo community that, in turn, gradually adopted them into their own celebrations, repeating a trend happening across America.<sup>54</sup>

The cultural interaction of Anglo-Americans and Germans in Sacramento can lead one to believe that the native-born fully accepted the Germans into their society, but that was not necessarily true. Although there were no nativist Know-Nothing demonstrations in

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<sup>51</sup> An editorial in the *Transcript* promoted "keeping Christmas" particularly including the traditional Christmas tree. *Transcript*, 25 December 1850, II:53 p. 2, col. 1. The *Union* and *Bee* describe the Christmas tree celebrations at the Protestant churches in 1857, 1858 and 1859. *Bee*, 24 December 1857, II:278, p. 3, col. 1. *Union*, 23 December 1858, XVI:2415 p. 3, col. 1; *Union*, 23 December 1859, XVIII: 2727 p. 2, col. 2; 26 December 1859, XVIII:2727, p. 2, col. 2; and 27 December 1859, XVIII:2730, p. 3, col. 1. May day celebrations are described in 1853, 1855, 1857 and 1859. *Union*, 28 April 1853, V:655, p. 2, col. 3; 1 May 1855, IX:1279 p. 2, col. 3; 1 May 1857, XIII:1902 p. 2, col. 4; 3 May 1859, XVII:2527 p. 2, col. 2; and 9 May 1859, XVII:2532, p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Union*, 1 July 1853, V:700 p. 2, col. 6; 1 October 1857, XIV: 2033, p. 2, col. 4; 27 October 1857, XIV:2042 p. 2, col. 4; and 20 September 1859, XVIII:2646, p. 3, col. 1. Charles Heinrich, Barbara Drüke's former employer, was a winner in September of 1859.

<sup>53</sup> *Bee*, 3 October 1857, II:209 p. 3, col. 5. McCoy, "Turnverein," 94. *Union*, 10 May 1856, XI:1592, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Conzen, "Ethnicity," 74. Natalie Vermilyea, "Krank's Delight: California Baseball, 1858-1888," *Californians* 8:6 (1991) 33.

Sacramento as there had been in other cities where Germans lived and the native-born biographers of Sacramento's German-born pioneer settlers described them as honest, persistent, industrious, and respectful of the law, contemporary letters and diaries reveal that their writers harbored some prejudices against the Germans.<sup>55</sup> On the economic side, some Americans resented the foreign-born in the gold fields, feeling that they were taking gold that rightfully belonged to U.S. Citizens. The fact that so many German-born had indeed resided briefly in the United States seemed immaterial to the attitudes of native-born prospectors. The Journal of Elisha Perkins contains an interesting, almost envious, description:

By the by, Dutchmen ["Deutschmen" or Germans], in the minds, are usually very fortunate in their labor. They are industrious and savings [sic]. Some of them seem to find gold by instinct...I mean one of the miserly looking fellows 4 feet 11 inches and three quarters in height, than can live a week upon two Boston crackers and a glass of water, with small dreamy eyes, a low forehead prominent above the eyes: a small sharp nose contracted into wrinkles. . . one who would beg his dinner with a thousand dollars in his pocket, one who would mourn the loss of an half eagle [coin] as he would that of a child. With such a one for my partner I would feel sure of a fortune. He would point on coming upon a rich place, as surely and certainly as a settler dog would on coming upon a woodcock.<sup>56</sup>

This image is certainly not the one of the a bearded patriarch sitting in a tavern or beer garden, listing to a band or orchestra playing familiar tunes and enjoying a lager brew and long pipe. Miners often remarked that Germans had a penchant for monstrous watches and heavy gold chains -- this might have been the source of the story often recounted

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<sup>55</sup> Barney. "Forty-Eighters," 24. Faust, *Element*, 465, 471. Henderson, *Migrants*, 109. Wright, "Cosmopolitan," XX:1, 74.

<sup>56</sup> Clark, *Diary*, 190.

times about the “Dutchman” who, during the Floods of 1850, kept his gold in a belly bank, or money belt, and died when his small boat sank. He could not support both his gold and himself, and “apparently chose to go down with his poke.” German-Jewish merchants experienced overt prejudice when they closed on Saturday for the Sabbath but reopened on Sunday. Sometimes, Germans were quickly arrested on suspicion of committing crimes and released later when authorities could not find evidence of wrongdoing.<sup>57</sup>

Culturally, some of the customs Germans brought with them caused some discord and friction both overt and subtle. The clergy of Sacramento, for example, did not like the “continental Sunday” the Germans practiced, although they did feel that straight-laced traditions loosened over the journey from home.<sup>58</sup> In addition, although the Anglo-Americans seemed to readily accept individual members of the German community, they kept the group as a whole at a distance. Contemporary newspapers, when they reported activities of the *Turnverein*, gave the impression they were talking about “outsiders” rather than fully integrated members of Sacramento’s society. The numbers they reported attending German-sponsored balls and functions would be consistent with the number of Germans living there, leading one to believe that Anglo-Americans generally did not

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<sup>57</sup> Benton, *Pilgrim*, 72. Caughey, *Cornerstone*, 192. Holiday, *Rush*, 128. Joseph B. Marks and Lisa J. Sanders, “The Blue Laws Debate: A Sacramento Shopkeeper’s Story,” *Western States Jewish History* 25:3 (1993) 211. Morse, *History*, 20. Severson, *Sacramento*, 72. Wittke, *America*, 11. *Union*, 1 July 1852. III:399, p. 2, col. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Benton, *Pilgrim*, 140-142. George Willis Read in his journal also bemoaned the lack of celebration of the Sabbath. At the beginning of his travels on May 5, 1850, he critically observed that the pause in the wagons’ journey was merely to do “unlawful work, repairing waggons [sic], fishing, hunting, etc.. etc.” rather than religious services, but, by the Sundays on May 26 and June 2, he did not mention any religious scruples about working, riding or traveling on. Georgia Willis Read, ed. *A Pioneer of 1850: George Willis Read, 1819-1880* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company) 21, 45, 53.

participate in the formal activities of the *Turnverein*. As late as 1859, this negative undercurrent may have influenced the Turners to abandon their colorful uniform in the city's July 4th parade.<sup>59</sup>

Any indications of prejudice against the Jewish members of the German community were manifested in the economic arena, not the social, at this time. During the 1850s in Sacramento, German-born Jews seemed to be as accepted as Gentiles in lodges, clubs and cultural organizations. Members of lodges and clubs included Jewish members Sol Kohlman and Joseph Korn as well as Gentiles Carl Wolleb and J. Wormser.<sup>60</sup> The German Jews took on a double assimilation in the United States – they saw themselves as Germans in America of the “Mosaic persuasion,” differentiating themselves from Jews from Eastern Europe or Poland. Within the enclaves of Germans across America, *Turnvereine* welcomed Jews as members as a way of increasing their membership and support for their group, and, in turn, Jews found *Turnvereine* a means to assimilate and become Germans.<sup>61</sup> Anglo-Americans, however, discriminated against Jews when their business practices conflicted with those of the native-born in Sacramento. At least since 1850, Morris Newman was a Polish clothing merchant who had been closing his store on Saturday and opening on Sunday. In 1858, he was arrested for violating laws restricting commerce on Sunday.<sup>62</sup> In addition, Johann Bickel's journal reveals a strong anti-Jewish

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<sup>59</sup> The twenty-nine participants wore black, slouched hats and light brown linen coats and pants, eschewing their usual red neckerchiefs and black belts. McCoy, “Turnverein,” 48. *Union*, 6 July 1859. XVIII:2581 p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Colville, *1855*, xi; *1856*, 90.

<sup>61</sup> William M. Kramer and Norton B. Stern. “The Turnverein: A German Experience for Western Jewry,” *Western States Jewish History* 16:3 (1984) 227.

<sup>62</sup> Benton, *Pilgrim*, 139. Colville, *1856*, 90-91. Joseph Marks “Blue Laws,” 211, 224.

bias. When he associated with a Jew he liked, he labeled him "Israelite," but he quickly changed that label to "Jew" with derogatory connotations when that person did something of which he disapproved.<sup>63</sup>

In the 1850s, prejudices or discrimination against the Germans were minor, perhaps because the size of the community was small and the Anglo-American majority did not perceive them as threatening. Despite its size, the German community was culturally active and thriving in Sacramento particularly after the mid 1850s, offering many opportunities for the Germans, both *Turnverein* members and non-members, to assemble at social gathering and sporting events. The traditions and rituals had their roots in the larger German imagined community that extended to both German-Americans in cities in the United States and those living in the Germanic areas of Europe. The success of the *Turnverein* demonstrates how the strong the cultural ties were that bound the German-born Sacramentans together in their new home. The Germans also exerted a strong enough influence in the Anglo-American dominated culture to introduce, and have accepted, their concept of joyous celebration. Although some Germans left Sacramento after only a few years, those settlers who remained left a record of a sub-culture in Sacramento that aggressively celebrated their own "German-ness." The presence and influence of this sub-culture is the most visible contradiction to the myth that Germans left their culture behind and quickly assimilated into the dominant Anglo-American traditions and that white residents of Sacramento shared the same customs, traditions and way of

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<sup>63</sup> In Rio de Janeiro, for example, Bickel was favorably impressed by "Israelite" Steeg when Steeg stood up against a particular injustice, but he became "the Jew" later when he later delayed Bickel's plans to continue on his journey. Cosgrove, *Potpourri*, 19, 28-30. Research into Sacramento's history after 1859 would discover if others from Bavaria who settled in Sacramento with similar anti-Semitic prejudices altered the imagined communities encircling Germans or Anglos in the city.

life. That the Anglo-Americans adopted and celebrated *Maifests*, Christmas trees, gift-giving, and Sunday afternoon pleasure excursions were testaments of the strong cultural influence of the German immigrants on their neighbors.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Looking beyond the observations of passing visitors and contemporary historians of Sacramento in the 1850s reveals that its citizens, including the Anglo-Americans and Germans, were struggling to create order and culture out of the chaos the gold rush brought. California's Second City was not a mere sin-ridden and impermanent stopover, supply depot or transportation center for miners. It grew into a social, economic and political hub for its rural Northern California hinterland, expanding its base beyond metals to include agriculture and manufacturing. At the same time as their Anglo-American neighbors, the German immigrants, small in number and previously undocumented, searched for community and self-identity compatible with their new home. They became distinctive, complicated "German-Sacramentans" by forming cultural and economic bonds in a German-oriented enclave while concurrently interacting with the native-born and influencing them to adopt their particular cultural traditions. This phenomenon explains how two members of the same family could have such dissimilar experiences in the same city. Johann Bickel represented members who positively acted and reacted with their native-born neighbors while maintaining their sense of "Germanness," whereas Barbara Drüke represented those who clung to the culture from the "fatherland," unwilling to join with their ethnic community in adding the identity of Sacrametan to their German roots.



When pushed by the political and economic turmoil in their former homes, Germans came to California in search of gold both directly from the “fatherland” and via temporary locations in the American East or Mid-west. Once they arrived in “El Dorado,” those who settled in Sacramento joined together, economically supported each other, and maintained their cultural traditions under the leadership of their fraternal association, the *Turnverein*. That they formed those ethnically based bonds while interacting financially and culturally with the native-born causes one to reconsider the myths of quick and easy assimilation and a homogenized white ethnic population in Sacramento and California. Rather than abandon their cultural roots, the Germans influenced Sacramento’s mainline culture by encouraging the Anglo-Americans to insert joy and frivolity into their rituals. Not all Germans were looking to integrate into the Anglo-American culture – some like Barbara Drüke never abandoned their identification with the “fatherland,” but others like Johann Bickel moved easily in California’s Anglo-American society. That the newcomers reacted in different ways to their migration and adapting to Sacramento demonstrates Walter Kamphoefner’s assertion that “*the* typical immigrant experience does not exist.”<sup>1</sup>

Recounting the adaptation of the German-born to their new homeland suggests a re-thinking of California’s history. When the immigrants arrived in Sacramento, they abandoned the emotional ties they had to specific geographical areas of Europe to transform themselves into “Germans” when they created their new enclave. Beyond forming this cohesive cooperative, they moved in and out of fluidly defined cultural imagined communities as they sought a new identity compatible with their new home, changing from a “German immigrant” to a German-born citizen of Sacramento. Their

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<sup>1</sup>(Italics are Kamphoefner’s.) Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*, 11.

activities sponsored by their *Turnverein* culturally joined them together with other German-Americans across the country, particularly in Northern California while, they joined with Anglo-Americans in their social and fraternal organizations. In order to be as profitable as possible, the immigrants ignored ethnic “roots” and extended their economic boundaries to include customers from all segments of Sacramento’s population as well as suppliers in San Francisco and elsewhere. The borders of their cultural imagined community were stretched when the Anglo-Americans joined them in celebratory occasions as well as when the native-born adopted the German cultural traditions at Christmas and other times of the year. By the end of the decade, many of the German immigrants were no longer just “German,” but “German-Sacramentans” who functioned both with the dominant native-born and within their own German enclave.

This German-Sacramento experience provides an incentive and model for historians to explore both the German-born and other European ethnic groups beyond Sacramento into the Sacramento Valley and other California cities, particularly the smaller ones. By tracing and identifying Germans in those areas, one can discover whether the development of the Sacramento enclave was a common Californian phenomenon. For example, Germans founded both Stockton and Marysville, two economic colonies of Sacramento in its hinterland: how did that influence the development or strength of a German enclave there?<sup>2</sup> Historians have studied individual German-born citizens in these towns, but further study could reveal more about the German communities there, real or

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<sup>2</sup> German-born Charles N. Weber began as an employee with Sutter in 1839, but in 1845 he left and founded Tuleburg, later renamed Stockton, the transportation center for the Southern gold mines. Theodore Cordua organized a trading post of two adobe houses and named it New Mecklenburg after his homeland in Germany -- it was incorporated as Marysville in 1851. Bancroft, “History of California,” 63. Gudde, *Pioneers*, 12, 22. Holliday, *Rush*, 52.

imagined, their presence, their size and strength.<sup>3</sup> Since the Germans seemed tied together through their *Turnvereine*, research could reveal how or if they were also bound together economically as they were in Sacramento and how these ties extended beyond the borders of the towns into other California cities, if at all. Furthermore, since the Anglo-Americans accepted the foreign-born into their own imagined community of Sacramento, study could reveal if any conflicts emerged between the two groups later in the nineteenth century.

Expanding the picture of the German immigrants' experiences and reactions underscores the complexity of California's history because they may not have been the only European-based ethnic group to influence its culture and character.

This expansion of the history of gold rush California demonstrates that ethnic groups used a variety of techniques to assume a "California" identity, and that some members of the groups never assimilated at all. The Germans created their own enclave which simultaneously stood outside the Anglo-American mainstream while interacting and influencing it. By refusing to give up their "Germanness" and continuing to practice the traditions, customs and rituals they learned in the "fatherland," they resisted assimilation into the native-born culture around them, but they did not isolate themselves into a ghetto – they interacted economically and socially with the Anglo-Americans when they saw that working together could best benefit Sacramento as a whole. The result was a dual identity, of both German and Sacramentan, where the members of the German community helped shape the growth and development of the Second City, particularly in the cultural arena. When the Anglo-Americans adopted German customs and traditions, they also

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<sup>3</sup> An example of studies of individual German-born citizens is the two-part article on Stockton pioneer, Charles Haas who arrived in 1858 and started a jewelry enterprise which was to operate for the

became part of an extended imagined community that included Germans in North American and Europe. Because their Anglo-American neighbors did not perceive that community or culture as threatening and because the Germans were small in number, the impact of the German-born was not immediately investigated by historians and remained hidden from study until now. The Germans' quest for an identity and place, like that of other foreigners, continued beyond their first years in their new home, complicating California's history. Although the majority of newcomers coming to California to find new wealth were Anglo-American, the culture and rituals that evolved out of the gold rush were grounded on more than those identified with mainstream America. Foreign-born who came from Europe such as the Germans as well as Anglo-Americans influenced and changed that culture to make it distinctively Californian, and these changes often occurred surreptitiously and without confrontation or resentment. Attention, therefore, should be paid to those traditions and how they changed the character of State and those who made it their permanent home.

This study presents a new approach to the history of Sacramento and to the concept of community. It proves that newcomers to El Dorado did not necessarily react in the same way to the turmoil produced by the rush for riches. Both native- and foreign-born citizens of the Second City looked beyond the chaos of the gold rush and saw how its rapid growth offered opportunities for economic and social prosperity, whereas others left quickly, taking with them their newfound riches or their disappointments in unsuccessful mining ventures. The German's adoption of a dual identity, however, also complicates the idea of what a community is. Sacramento was not just a monolithic

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100 years. Robert Bartlett Hass and Peter Assion, "Charles Haas: A Baden '48er in California," *The*

community into which new cultures quickly assimilated – it contained at least one sub-culture in addition to that of the Anglo-American majority. The history of Sacramento now includes the account of how the Germans were able to successfully become both German and Sacramentan, connected by culture with German-Americans and German-Europeans but connected by residence and economics with the Anglo-Americans of the Second City of California.

## APPENDIX ONE

### OCCUPATIONS OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

1850-1859

**Key:**

**“Family Units”** are unmarried individuals or families consisting of a head of household, spouse and any children. Although several units may live in the same dwelling, they are treated separately in this study.

**“Individuals and Small Enterprises”** are those that might not require a large capital investment in the nineteenth century to operate or could work out of a home. Also included are those that are typically employees

**“Merchants and Large Enterprises”** might require an investment in a factory, building or inventory. A baker might need expensive equipment, for example, whereas a barber could work in his home.

**“Year”** refers to the time period in which the information was gathered rather than that in the title of the Directory. For example, because *Cutter’s City Directory for the year A.D. 1860* was published in 1859, the information from that book is labeled “1859.”

**Sources:** *1860 United States Census, 1852 State of California Census, City Directories for the years 1851-1860, Turnverein membership roster, Biographies in Davis, Sacramento.*

Appendix One. Table 1  
Occupations of German Immigrants. 1850

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Barber	4	Baker	24
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	21	Blacksmith	10
Brickmason	2	Brewery	4
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	8	Butcher	12
Doctor	0	Cigar and Tobacco	5
Drayman/Teamster	8	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	19
Druggist	0	Coffee and Spices	1
Farmer	3	Dry Goods and Provisions	8
Fisherman	0	Eating Houses	12
Gardner	2	Grocery and Produce	10
Gentlemen/Investor	1	Hotel and Boarding House	10
Gunsmith	5	Liquor and Ale Distributor	0
Jeweler	2	Manufacturing	1
Laundry/Washing	1		
Leatherworker	5	Those with identified industries	116
Miner	23	Merchants in unknown industries	24
Musician	1	Merchants and Large Enterprises	140
Peddler	4		
Seaman	9	Clerks	5
Soapmaker	5		
Steward/Porter	5	Laborers	37
Tailor	12		
Tinner	3		
		Unknown or None	44
<b>Individuals and Small Enterprises</b>	<b>124</b>		
<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>350</b>		

Summary of Occupations:	No.	Percent of Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	124	35.4
Merchants and Large Enterprises	140	40.2
Clerks	5	1.4
Laborers	37	10.5
Unknown or "none"	44	12.5
<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: 1850 Federal Census

Appendix One. Table 2  
Occupations of German Immigrants, 1851

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Barber	1	Baker	4
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	8	Blacksmith	3
Brickmason	0	Brewery	0
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	5	Butcher	2
Doctor	1	Cigar and Tobacco	5
Drayman/Teamster	2	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	16
Druggist	0	Coffee and Spices	1
Farmer	1	Dry Goods and Provisions	10
Fisherman	0	Eating Houses	3
Gardner	0	Grocery and Produce	2
Gentlemen/Investor	3	Hotel and Boarding House	7
Gunsmith	3	Liquor and Ale Distributor	1
Jeweler	2	Manufacturing	2
Laundry/Washing	2		
Leatherworker	1	Those with Identified Industries	56
Miner	0		
Musician	0	Merchants in unknown Industries	9
Seaman	1		
Steward/Porter	0	<b>Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:</b>	<b>65</b>
Tailor	1		
Tinner	0	Clerks	5
<b>Individuals and Small Enterprises</b>	<b>31</b>	Laborers	1
		Unknown or "None"	5
		<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>107</b>

Summary of Occupations	No.	Percent of Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	31	28.7
Merchants and Large Enterprises	65	61.1
Clerks	5	4.6
Laborers	1	1.0
Unknown or "none"	5	4.6
<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: *The Sacramento City Directory, January 1, 1851.*



Appendix One, Table 3  
Occupations of German Residents, 1852

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Barber	13	Baker	19
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	23	Blacksmith	20
Bookkeeper	2	Brewery	2
Brickmason	4	Butcher	12
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	27	Cigar and Tobacco	16
Confectioner	2	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	41
Drayman/Teamster	11	Coffee and Spices	0
Druggist	3	Dry Goods and Provisions	11
Farmer	45	Eating Houses	23
Fisherman	3	Grocery and Produce	9
Gardner	3	Hotel and Boarding House	16
Gentlemen/Investor	5	Liquor and Ale Distributor	1
Gunsmith	6	Manufacturing	10
Housekeeper	2	Tinners	4
Jeweler	9		
Laundry/Washing	7	Those with identified industries	184
Leatherworker	18		
Miner	46	Merchants in unknown industries	34
Musician	3		
Painter	2	Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:	218
Physician	7		
Seaman	2	Clerks	23
Steward - Porter	9		
Tailor	16	Laborers	61
Upholsterer	2		
Waterman	4	Unknown or None	79
Architect, Artist, Broker, Miller			
Official, Peddler, Well-digger - 1 ea	7		
<b>Individuals and Small Enterprises</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>662</b>

Summary of Occupations:	Percent of	
	No.	Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	281	43.0
Merchants and Large Enterprises	218	32.4
Clerks	23	3.5
Laborers	61	9.2
Unknown or "none"	79	11.9
<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: 1852 Census State of California

Appendix One. Table 4  
Occupations of German Immigrants, 1853

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Artist	1	Baker	6
Architect	1	Blacksmith	3
Barber	3	Brewery	0
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	1	Butcher	2
Bookkeeper	2	Cigar and Tobacco	8
Bookseller	1	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	21
Carpenter	3	Coffee and Spices	1
Doctor	4	Dry Goods and Provisions	13
Drayman/Teamster	5	Eating Houses	14
Druggist	3	Grocery and Produce	8
Gentleman/Investor	1	Hotel and Boarding House	13
Gunsmith	5	Liquor and Ale Distributor	1
Jeweler	2	Manufacturing	6
Leatherworker	10	Tinware Distributor	1
Miner	2		
Musicians	2	Those with Identified Industries	97
Painter	2		
Policeman	1	Merchants in unknown industries	9
Tinsmith	2		
Upholster	1	Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:	107
<b>Individuals and Small Enterprises</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>Clerks</b>	<b>8</b>
		<b>Laborers</b>	<b>0</b>
		<b>Unknown or None</b>	<b>0</b>
		<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>167</b>

Summary of Occupations:	No.	Percent of Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	52	31.1
Merchants and Large Enterprises	107	64.1
Clerks	8	4.8
Laborers	0	0.0
Unknown or "none"	0	0.0
<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: Information assumed from 1853 as year the Directory was published.

Source: *Sacramento Directory for the Year 1853-1854*.

Appendix One. Table 5  
Occupations of German Immigrants. 1855

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Artist	1	Baker	13
Architect	1	Blacksmith	7
Barber	7	Brewery	0
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	4	Butcher	8
Bookkeeper	2	Cigar and Tobacco	13
Brickmason	1	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	31
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	5	Coffee and Spices	1
Confectioner	4	Dry Goods and Provisions	18
Drayman/Teamster	6	Eating Houses	18
Druggist	3	Grocery and Produce	21
Farmer	1	Hotel and Boarding House	15
Gardner	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	3
Gentleman/Investor	2	Manufacturing	9
Gunsmith	4	Tinware Distributor	4
Jeweler	4		
Laundry/Washing	1	Those with identified industries	161
Leatherworker	16		
Miner	0	Merchants in Unknown Industries	4
Musician	6		
Official	1	<u>Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:</u>	<u>163</u>
Painter	2		
Physician	3	<u>Clerks</u>	<u>6</u>
Printer	1		
Stock Dealer	1	<u>Laborers</u>	<u>2</u>
Tailor	8		
		<u>Unknown or None</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>Total Family Units</u>	<u>258</u>

Summary of Occupations:	Percent of	
	No.	Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	87	33.6
Merchants and Large Enterprises	163	63.1
Clerks	6	2.3
Laborers	2	1.0
Unknown or "none"	0	0.0
<u>Total Family Units</u>	<u>258</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: *Sacramento Directory for the Year Commencing August 1, 1855.*

Appendix One. Table 6  
Occupations of German Immigrants, 1856

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Barber	12	Baker	20
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	7	Blacksmith	19
Bookkeeper	4	Brewery	5
Brickmason	2	Butcher	18
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	16	Cigar and Tobacco	22
Confectioner	7	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	44
Doctor	4	Coffee and Spices	6
Drayman/Teamster	10	Dry Goods and Provisions	22
Druggist	1	Eating Houses	27
Gardner	3	Grocery and Produce	28
Gentlemen/Investors	5	Hotel and Boarding House	22
Gunsmith	6	Liquor and Ale Distributor	5
Jeweler	5	Manufacturing	18
Laundry/Washing	6	Tinware Distributor	2
Lawyer	2		
Leatherworker	20	Those with Identified Industries	258
Miller	2		
Musician	6	Merchants in unknown industries	5
Painter	3		
Pastor	2	<b>Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:</b>	<b>265</b>
Peddler	2		
Printer	2	<b>Clerks</b>	<b>12</b>
Tailor	23		
Tinner	2	<b>Laborers</b>	<b>4</b>
Upholsterer	2		
Artist, Architect, Engineer, Gas Fitter, Miner, Steward - 1 ea.	6	<b>Unknown or None</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Individuals and Small Enterprises</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>444</b>

Summary of Occupations:	Percent of	
	No.	Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	160	36.0
Merchants and Large Enterprises	265	59.8
Clerks	12	2.7
Laborers	4	0.9
Unknown or "none"	3	0.6
<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: *Sacramento Directory for the Year Commencing May, 1856*

Appendix One. Table 7  
Occupations of German Immigrants. 1857

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Artist	1	Baker	12
Barber	7	Blacksmith/Stable	12
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	5	Brewery	5
Bookkeeper	4	Butcher	12
Brickmason	1	Cigar & Tobacco	16
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	10	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	22
Confectioner	5	Coffee and Spices	2
Doctor	1	Dry Goods and Provisions	14
Drayman/Teamster	7	Eating Houses	29
Gardner	1	Grocery and Produce	28
Gentleman/Investor	1	Gymnasium	1
Gunsmith	5	Hotel and Boarding House	19
Jeweler	3	Liquor and Ale Distributor	8
Laundry/Washing	2	Manufacturing	11
Lawyer	1	Tinware Distributor	3
Leatherworker	16		
Miller	1	Merchants in Identified Industries	194
Musician	8	Merchants in unknown industries	1
Painter	1		
Pastor	1		
Peddler	1	<b>Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:</b>	<b>195</b>
Roofer	1		
Stock Dealer	2	<b>Clerks</b>	<b>6</b>
Tailor	8		
Upholsterer	1	<b>Unknown or None</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Individuals and Small Enterprises</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>301</b>

Summary of Occupations:	Percent of	
	No.	Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	94	31.5
Merchants and Large Enterprises	195	64.6
Clerks	6	2.0
Laborers	3	0.9
Unknown or "none"	3	0.9
<b>Total Family Units</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>99.9</b>

Note: Information assumed from 1857 as year the Directory was published.  
Source: *Sacramento Directory and Gazetteer, for the years 1857 and 1858.*

Appendix One. Table 8  
Occupations of German Immigrants, 1858

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Artist	1	Baker	11
Barber	4	Blacksmith/Stable	5
Barkeeper/Cook/Waiter	2	Brewery	8
Bookkeeper	2	Butcher	4
Brickmason	0	Cigar & Tobacco	14
Carpenter/Cabinet Maker	8	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	23
Confectioner	2	Coffee and Spices	2
Doctor	1	Dry Goods and Provisions	10
Drayman/Teamster	7	Eating Houses	23
Druggist	1	Grocery and Produce	30
Dyer of Cloth	1	Hotel and Boarding House	15
Gardner	2	Liquor and Ale Distributor	8
Gunsmith	5	Manufacturing	8
Jeweler	2	Tinware Distributor	2
Laundry/Washing	1		
Leatherworker	9	Those with Identified Industries	163
Musician	4	Merchants in unknown industries	2
Painter	1		
Printer	1		
Stock Dealer	1	<u>Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:</u>	<u>165</u>
Tailor	8		
Tinner	1	<u>Clerks</u>	<u>3</u>
Upholsterer	1		
Waterman	1	<u>Laborers</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>1</u>
		<u>Total Family Units</u>	<u>238</u>

Summary of Occupations:	Percent of	
	No.	Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	66	27.6
Merchants and Large Enterprises	165	69.5
Clerks	3	1.3
Laborers	3	1.3
Unknown or "none"	1	0.4
<u>Total Family Units</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>100.1</u>

Source: *Taylor's Sacramento Directory, for the Year Commencing October, 1858.*

Appendix One. Table 9  
Occupations of German Immigrants, 1859

Individuals and Small Enterprises	Family Units	Merchants and Large Enterprises	Family Units
Artist	1	Baker	19
Assayer	1	Blacksmith/Stable	13
Barber	8	Brewery	10
Barkeeper/Cook	18	Butcher	12
Basketmaker	1	Cigar & Tobacco	18
Bookkeeper	4	Clothing (Hats, Shoes, "Fancy")	25
Brickmason	1	Coffee and Spices	5
Carpenter	15	Dry Goods and Provisions	11
Confectioner	4	Eating Houses	20
Drayman - Teamster	12	Grocery and Produce	36
Druggist - Physician	3	Hotel and Boarding House	18
Gardner	1	Liquor and Ale Distributor	11
Gentleman/Investor	1	Manufacturing	15
Gunsmith	5	Tinner Distributor	3
Jeweler	4		
Laundry - Washing	2	Those with Identified Industries	216
Leatherworker	20	Merchants in unknown industries	2
Miner	1		
Musician	7		
Officials - Pastor	3	<u>Total Merchants and Large Enterprise:</u>	<u>218</u>
Painter - Paper Carrier	2		
Peddler	2	<u>Clerks</u>	<u>8</u>
Steward - Porter	2		
Stock Dealer	3	<u>Laborers</u>	<u>8</u>
Tailor - Dyer of Cloth	15		
Waterman	1	<u>Unknown or "None"</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Individuals and Small Enterprises</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>Total Family Units</u>	<u>383</u>

Summary of Occupations:	Percent of	
	No.	Total
Individuals and Small Enterprises	137	35.9
Merchants and Large Enterprises	218	56.9
Clerks	8	2.1
Laborers	8	2.1
Unknown or "none"	12	3.0
<u>Total Family Units</u>	<u>383</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Note: Information assumed from 1859 and year the Directory was published.  
Source: *City Directory for the Year A. D. 1860.*

## APPENDIX TWO

### SURVEY OF GERMAN-BORN IMMIGRANTS

1850-1859

**Key:**

“Family Unit” is either a single individual or families consisting of a head of household, spouse, and any children. Alternative spellings of the names are given in the parenthesis.

“S” indicates an unmarried individual, “M” indicates a married individual, “MC” indicates children within the Family Unit. “X” indicates that the marital status is unknown.

“Occupation” is the industry or individual enterprise for each family unit as discerned or labeled in the Censuses or Directories.

“Mcht” indicates Merchant, “Prop” indicates “Proprietor,” both labels in the Censuses or Directories.

A family unit listed without any additional data are those members of the *Turnverein* for whom further information is unavailable.

**Sources:** *1860 United States Census, 1852 State of California Census, City Directories for the years 1851-1860, Turnverein membership roster, Biographies in Davis, Sacramento.*



**SURVEY OF GERMANS IN SACRAMENTO  
1850-1859**

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Abrams, David			S							Clothing	
Adams, C. W.			MC		X	MC	X		S	Cabinet Maker - Saddle Tree Mkr	
Adam, Conrad					X	MC	X		M	Musician	
Adolph, Fred			MC							Gunsmith	
Adrianson, Theo			S							Merchant	
Agnker, Chas. W.			S							Baker	
Albany, S.			S							Farmer	
Albert, J.	S		S							Shoemaker - Harness Maker	
Albrecht, A.			S							Farmer	
Alexander J. (Jos.)	S		S								
Alexander, A. W.		X		X	X	S				Cigar - Clothing - Cloth. Cleaner	Merchant
Alexander, B.					X	S	X	X	S	Clothing	Merchant
Alexander, M.					X	S	X	X	M	Clothing	Merchant
Alexander, W. B.			S						S	Gentleman - Butcher	
Almond, John G.			MC							Farmer	
Altsacden, Augustus				X	X	S				Saloon - Grocer - Saloon	Prop.
Amberg, M.	S	X									Merchant
Ancuaman, R.			S								
Andel, Christian	S		S		X	S	X	X		Bookkeeper	
Anderau, John						X				Produce	Merchant
Andran, Jno			S							Washing	
Andrea, Henry	S									Miner	
Andrews, Wm.							X			Laborer	
Anthes, Jno.				X	X					Hotelier	Prop.
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Barder, John			M							Blacksmith	
Barenkamp, Frank				X	X	S				Bottler - Ale & Liquor	Merchant
Barenkamp, Jacob (John)			S	X	X	S	X	X	M	Ale & Liquor	Merchant
Baren, S.											
Barger, Henry	S									Laborer	
Bargevin, L.				X						Hotel	
Barghofer, Fred	S									Miner	
Barkdorf, Chas			S							Harnessmaker	
Barman, John	S									Trader	
Barnes, Francis						MC				Miner	
Baron, Louis						S				Queensware	Merchant
Barranger, A.	S		M							Barber - Baker	
Bartels, F. (Bartols)	S	X	S	X	X	S	X			Coffee House - Dry Goods	
Barth, Fred. K.	S									None	
Basch, W.			S								Merchant
Batcher, John									M	Groceries	Merchant
Batnut, S.			S							Laborer	
Batyer, John						S				Steward	
Batzald, C. F.									M	Carpenter	
Bauer, Jake J.									X	Groceries	Merchant
Baur, Jacob	S									Eating House	
Bayer, A. J.				X		M	X	X	M	Hotelier	Prop.
Bayer, Ulrich									M	Grocery	Merchant
Bayreuther, August (Byerther)					X	MC	X				
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Bayreuther, Reinhold (Byerther)						S				Tailor	
Bear, David			S							Laborer	
Beaver, Adam			S							Farmer	
Beckeret, John (Bechile)			S							Laborer	
Becker, Chas.					X	S				Butcher	
Beck, Morris						S				Tailor	
Bedger, Chas (Bouttger)						S	X	X	S	Gunsmith	
Beecher, A. (Bucher)			S							Carpenter	
Beel, S.						M				Saloon	Prop.
Beer, H.			S							Patient in Hospital	
Behrend, M.					X	X	X			Cigar	Merchant
Beinciker, John						MC				Gunsmith	
Belkorn, T.			S							Carpenter	
Bellmer, John								X	S	Groceries	
Bell, John (Hotel)	S		M	X	X	X				Tailor - Brickmason - Hotel	
Bender, A.	S									None	
Bening, A. H.						S	X			Billard Table Mkr - Stock Dlr	
Bening, George	S									Barkeeper	
Benson, Henry	M	X								Hotelier	
Bercat, Michael			S							Laborer	
Berchtold, A.									S	Blacksmith	
Berdolt, Michael						S				Brickmaker	
Berensten, G. (Bernstein)					X	MC	X	X	M	Clothing	Merchant
Berger, C. A. (Anton)					X	M	X	X		Musician	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Berg, Adam					X	S	X	X	S	Wood Finisher	Clerk
Berkman, Jos. (Bergman)						S	X			Meats - Broker - Butcher	Merchant
Bernardi, Jos.						S				Coffee Stand	Prop.
Bernard, D.			S							Saloon	
Bickel, J.						X	X			Baker	
Bicken, Chas	S									Butcher	
Bickley, Christopher	S									None	
Bills, John	S									Bar-Eating House	
Bills, Martin			S							Cook	
Binninger, Jacob	MC	X	MC	X	X	MC	X	X	M	Hotelier	Prop.
Bin, George	S	X								Barkeeper	
Birringer, Fred			S							Watchmaker	
Bishop, Marten			S							Miner	
Bish, William (Bishke)					X	MC				Carpenter	
Bitay, A. I.	S									Harness Maker	
Blackwell, H.			S							Carpenter	
Blanc, Louis	S									Trader	
Blumenthal, M. O. (Martin)	S	X								Fancy Store	Merchant
Boardes, John			S								
Boas, E. (Bous)			S							Cigar Store	
Bocky, Louis (Bochley)			M							Clothier	
Boehm, Geo. (Bodner)							X			Roofer	
Boehm, John (Behm)						S	X	X	S	Barkeeper - Baker - Grocery	Clerk
Boesenberg, L. (Rosenberg)			S							Saloon	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Breitenstein, Wm	S	X								Grocer - Blacksmith	
Bremer, Heinr.							X	X	X	Cigar Store	
Bremmer, Jno.	S									Baker	
Brendal, John							X		S	Laborer	
Brenkman, F.			S							Miner	
Brenner, Mario			S							Washing	
Breuner, John (Brenner)							X	X	S	Furniture Dealer - Cabinet Mkr	
Brieger, Adolph	S	X								Clothing	Merchant
Briel, Jacob						S				Butcher	
Brieste, Nicholas	S									Butcher	
Bright, Munal	S									Gardner	
Brissel, Wm.						S				Iron Works	
Brock, Morris (J. M.)	S	X								Clothing	Merchant
Brodnitz, Marks	S									Clothing	Merchant
Brody, C.			S							Saloon	
Bronner, George F.									S		Clerk
Broubick, W.	S									Laborer	
Browne, P. O.			M							Hotel	
Brown, Charles							X		M	Musician	
Brown, Fred						S				Saloon	
Brown, George M.			S							Carpenter	
Brown, John			S							Sailor	
Brown, John K.	S	X								Miner	Clerk
Brown, John									S	Laundry	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 131

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Bogh, H.						S			S	Painter - Wagon Maker	
Bohley, John			S							Carpenter	
Bohl, Frederick			MC		X	MC	X			Baker	
Bohl, George				X	X	MC	X	X		Hayyard - Baker - Grocer	
Bohl, Peter				X	X	M	X	X	M	Hay Dealer - Baker	Prop.
Boller, George	S	X	M	X	X	MC	Mrs			Baker	
Bollinger, Rev. G. H.						X	X			Pastor - German Church	
Bookrath, Henry (Bookruth)			S								
Boon, Nicholas			S							Shoemaker	
Boppitis, Chas	S									Carpenter	
Borcher, Wm. (Borchers)						S		X	S	Brewer	
Bores, H.						MC	X		M	Laundry - Drayman	
Borneman, W. G.					X	S	X			Bookkeeper	
Bornholt, C. (Bornhold)	S	X								Butcher	
Borriss, Jos.			S	X						Clothier	
Boschwitz, O.			S							Gentleman	
Bossy, T.			S							Laborer	
Boston, John			S							Laborer	
Bostwith, A.			S								
Bouen, Charles			S							Barber	
Bouton, Hart						X			S	Laundry	
Bowman, Frederick	S						X			Blacksmith	
Braitchenbucher, C.						S	X			Saloon	
Brandies, F.			S							Farmer	
										Continued on Next Page	

Continued from Page 132

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Brown, J.		X	S								Merchant
Brown, Lewis						S	X			Clothing	Clerk
Brown, L.			S							Miner	
Brown, Peter					X	S				Mills	Clerk
Brown, W. H.			S	X	X	X	X			Laborer - Livery Stable	
Bruchardt, Conrad			S							Barkeeper	
Brukhart, M.	S									Miner	
Brunner, D.									S	Cabinet Maker	
Brunning, H.			S								Merchant
Brush, J.			S								Merchant
Brush, M.			S								Merchant
Brust, Nicholas			S		X					Saloon	
Brust, Peter			S							Saloon	
Buchel, F. J.			S							Carpenter	
Bunk, Jno. O.	S									Laborer	
Bunsick, J.								X		Furniture	Merchant
Burdenol, John			S							Tailor	
Burgdorff, Chas.					X	S				Cinches Maker	
Burget, M.									S	Laborer	
Burge, P. (J.)					X	S	X		S	Blacksmith	
Burtran, J.	S									Barber	
Bushnell, Chas			X							Clerk	
Bush, Wm.							X		M	Carpenter - Furniture	Merchant
Butcher, Wm.	S									Farmer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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*Continued from Page 133*

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Butler, Jno. L. M.	S	X								Cook	
Butler, John (Buchler)		X	S			S		X		Saloon - Brewer	Prop.
Caesar, Augustus	S									Waiter	
Cahart, Adam (Caholt)			S							Cook	
Callish, Lewis (Callis)						MC	X	X	M	Tailor	
Calmeyer, C. R.									S	Cigar Dealer	
Camp, John						X				Butcher	
Cannse, T.			S							Laborer	
Cardel, Peter	S									None	
Card, W.	S									Butcher	
Carlin, Volentine	S									Painter	
Carnemans, A.	S									Eating House	
Casselria, John			S							Dressmaker	
Casson, C.									S	Butcher	
Caston, Frederick	S									Clothing	Merchant
Catchet, M.			S								
Caunt, W. (Cannt)			S							Butcher	
Chaffer, Jno	S									Barkeeper	
Chillon, Jno	S									Painter	
Choffee, Geo	S									Baker	
Christian, John			S							Porter	
Christopher, Christy			S							Waiter	
Clarenback, C.									M	Baker	Prop.
Clarke, Wm.			S							Cooper	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



Continued from Page 135

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Crossfield, C.			S							Miner	
Crucy, Mr.			S							Furniture	
Crumsay, William			MC								
Cuiendel, H.			S							Washing	
Culy, Nicolis	S									Hay Yard	
Cuneus, Julius											
Curtis, Sam			S							Clothing	
Curtz, Samuel	S									Prisoner	
Daehunir, John	S									Harness maker	
Dalmaster, G. W.								X	M	Cigars	Merchant
Damon, Jacob			S							Miner	
Danhauzer, Morris						X				Private Boarding	
Daniels, H.		X	S							Undertaking	Clerk
Dariescrecker, W. C.	S									None	
Darraah, A. P.	S									Trader	
Dasher, Jacob						S				Confectioner	
Davelin, John	S									Cook	
Davison, M. G. (W.)									M	Cigar Store	
Davis, Louis					X	S				Clothing	Clerk
Day, George A.									M	Machinest - Windmill Shop	
Deal, Henry			S							Tailor	
Decker, Mathias	S									Barkeeper	
Deetkin, Gustave F.						X				Civil Engineer	
Deichman, H. L.					X	M	X			Barber	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Deidureiter, G.			S							Farmer	
Deitz, L.		X			X	MC	X	X	M	Saddler	
Dekay, L. (Dekatz)			S								
Delger, F.						X				Boot & Shoe Maker	
Dench, Louis						M				Jeweler	
Denckers, C. (Danchers)						X	X	X	X	Liquor - Interpreter	Clerk
Denckis, C.	S	X								Barkeeper	
Denforth, A.											
Deterding, H. F. W.		X	S	X						Carriage & Wagon Maker	Merchant
Dicker, Henry			S							Carpenter	
Dickes, A.							X		X	Tailor	
Dickman, Henry			S							Barber	
Dickman, W.					X	S	X	X	S	Painter-Daguerrotype Artist	
Diederichsen, Charles						S				Cooper	
Diell, Jay					X	S				Painter	
Dierson, H. (Dierssen)						M	X			Saloon	Prop.
Dilman, J.			S							Patient in Hospital	
Dinyer, O. (Dinger)			S							Physician	
Dippel, Philip			MC							Dry Goods	
Dobrowski, A.		X	S		X	X				Jeweler	
Dohn, Charles (Done)							X	X	M	Confectioner - Wash - Paper Carr	
Donolon, John							S		M	Boarding House - Porter	
Doran, James							X		M	Gas Works - Saloon Keeper	
Dosch, Edw. (Dorr)							S			Butcher	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 137

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Douglass, J.								X	S	Shoemaker - Dealer	
Dreman, John F. (Drayman)			MC	X	X	MC		X	M	Sportsman - Boarding - Offical	Merchant
Dressler, M. - F			S								
Driesbach, Peter					X	X				Saloon	
Druke, George			S		X	X	X			Carpenter - Cabinet Mkr - Grocer	
Duck, Nathan (Duke)	S	X									Merchant
Dunler, J.			S							Patient in Hospital	
Durfhott, F.			S							Miner	
Dutch, H			S							Painter	
Dutch, Louis			S							Miller	
Eayer, Augustus			M							Baker	
Eberhaldt, M.						S	X		S	Wagonmaker - Saddler	
Ebner, Chas			S		X	MC	X	X	M	Hotelier - Saloon (Phil. Lager Sal	Prop.
Ebner, F. X.					X	MC	X	X	M	Hotelier	Prop.
Eckel, H.						X			M	Barber	
Eckstein, Solomon			S							Drygoods	
Eder, Daniel			MC							Clothier	
Egl, A.					X	S	X	X	M	Fruit and Confectionery	
Ehlar, Fred						S				Blacksmith	
Ehmann, H. (Erlich)					X		X			Saloon	
Ehnin, A.			S							Farmer	
Ehnin, H.			S							Laborer	
Ehring, C.			S							Mason	
Eichenmenger, Henry			M	X	X	MC	X			Hotelier	Prop.
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 138

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Eichenmenger, Mrs. H.								X	X	Hotelier	Prop.
Eilermore, Henry	S									Tailor	
Eilers, William (Eirles)					X	MC	X	X		Drayman	
Eisenmohl, A.			S							Clerk	
Eitgen, Henry	S									Cigar Seller	
Elias, M.			MC	X		S				Coffee House - Saloon	
Ellis, Wm.	MC									Laborer	
Emer, A.									S		
Endus, Arnson	S									Miner	
Englar, Mathias	S									Grocery	
Engles, M.			S							Laborer	
Ensch, Matthew					X					Saloon	
Eppinger, Isaac					X	S	X		M	Confectioner	Clerk
Erhard, Adam (Ehrard)					X	S				Blacksmith	
Ernstine, Bernard			MC							Cigar Store	
Ernst, Jacob (Earnest)					X		X	X	M	Butcher	Prop.
Estlane, J. E. R.									S	Steward	
Ettling, L.	S	X								Clothing	Merchant
Euler, Charles			S								Merchant
Eutemeier, Martin					X	S				Carpenter	
Evelyn, Theodore	S									Jeweler	
Evers, Aug.							X		S	Grocery Store	
Fachs, Adam						S				Barber	
Fagh, C.			S								
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 139

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Falkenstein, Joseph	S									Unknown	
Fanistock, B. L.			S							Teamster	
Fardoell, John (Farren)				X	X	X			M	Cooper - Blacksmith	
Fatt, Geo	S	M								Carpenter	
Faultman, Martin (Fraulman)			S							Farmer	
Feel, Charles (Fett, Carl)									S	Clerk	
Felker, Henry	MC		MC							Drayman - Trader	
Felker, R.			S								
Feneman, Wm					X	S				Importer	
Fenneman, John						S				Cabinet Maker	
Fernbirgh, Abram (Firnberg)			MC							Jeweler	
Feyl, G. A.						X	X	X		Upholsterer	
Fholtzmann, F.						S					
Fiedler, Julius (Fidel)			S		X	MC				Architect	
Fiege, John (Feige)							X		S	Wagon - Blacksmith	
Fifer, Wm.			MC							Farmer	
Fil, D.								X	S	Saloon - Restaurant	Prop.
Finck, Daniel			M							Watchmaker	
Finkler, Carl C.						X	X			Attorney & Notary	
Finney, Fred			S							Laborer	
Firderer, Wm.						M	X	X		Sitka Ice	Merchant
Fischer, Jos. (Fisher, J.)									S		
Fisch, F. A.									S	Grocer	
Fisch, G.								X	M	Grocer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

*Continued from Page 140*

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Fisher, Albert			S		X	MC	X		M	Blacksmith - Produce Dealer	
Fisher, Charles H.							X		X	Baker - Saloon Keeper	
Fisher, Daniel			S			S				Baker	
Fisher, Jno	S									Brewer	
Fisher, Simon			S							Tanner	
Fleck, Andrew						S	X	X		Tailor	
Fleitner, Geo (Fliedner)						M	X	X	X	Provisions	Merchant
Fletcher, C. A.			S		X	S				Clothing	Merchant
Floberg, J. P.					X	S	X	X	S	Watchmaker - Jeweler	Merchant
Flohr, Andrew (Folke)			S		X	MC	X	X	M	Locksmith - Gunsmith	
Floyd, Henry						S				Boiler Maker	
Foly, Frederick						MC				Miller	
Foney, Fritz			S							Blacksmith	
Fox, Goodlet	S									Baker	
Fox, Jacob M.	S	X		X	X	MC	X	X	M	Bksm-Wagoneer-Carriage Maker	Merchant
Frankel, Fritz			S							Baker	
Frank, Fred							X			Cooper	
Frank, Jacob	S		S	X	X	X				Baker	
Frank, L.			S							Clothier	
Frank, Phillip						MC	X	X	M	Saloon - Peddler	Prop.
Frazier, Geo. H.	S									Miller	
Frederick, Jacob			S								
Fredner, M.									M	Peddler	
Fredricks, L.								X	M	Tailor	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Freeman, Andrew			S							Cigar Store	
Freeman, Sam			S							Cigar Store	
Freidman, T.			S								Merchant
Freip, Joseph				X							Merchant
Frener, Chas (Fromer)			S							Cook	
Frickker, C.								X		Tailor	
Frick, Henry (Heinz)			S	X	X		X	X	S	Cook - Saloon Keeper	
Fride, Henry	S									Tinner	
Friederichs, Charles					X	S	X			Cigar Store	
Friederichs, Joseph			S	X	X	M	X	X	M	Painter - Paper Hanger	Clerk
Friedland, August						M				Tailor	
Friedman, Chas (Friedner)		X	MC	X	X	MC				Auction & Produce	Merchant
Frightler, John (Gruger)			S							Farmer	
Fright, Henry			S							Butcher	
Frinck, Isaac			S							Clothier	
Fritz, Joseph						M	X	X		Grocery	Merchant
Fritz, Joseph			S							Carpenter	
Frolech, John			S							Laborer	
Frotie, Martin			S							Miner	
Frye, George			S							Physician	
Fry, F.									S	Wood Turner	
Fuchies, William					X					Apothecary	
Fuchs, Adam (Fachs)						S		X	S	Barber - Baker	
Funkhouser, P. P.	S									Trader	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Gabber, Wm. H. D.			S							Soda Manufacturer	
Gaiel, F.			S							Miner	
Galant, Benjamin		X								Clothier	
Galant, W.		X									Merchant
Gale, F.			S								
Galland, A.					X	S				Cigar Dealer - Pastor	
Galland, S. M.						S				Fruit, Cigar & Tobacco	Merchant
Galland, S. W.					X	S				Fruit, Cigar & Tobacco	Merchant
Galvin, Henry			M							Harness Maker	
Gann, J.			S							Hospital	
Gardiner, T.			S							Hotel	
Gardner, Wein	S									Butcher	
Garland, Solomon				X						Shoe Maker	
Garmond, Jacob	S									Seaman	
Gatter, Christian			S								Merchant
Gatz, Henry									S	Barkeeper	
Gavel, Martin			S							Laborer	
Gebhart, Fred						S				Blacksmith	
Gehring, Frank K.							X		S	Saddler	
Geiger, Thomas									S	Barber	
Geisse, Louis, Jr	S					S				Law	Clerk
Geisse, Louis, Sr.	S	X								None	
Genth, J.						S				Clothing - Wholesale	Merchant
German, Dominick	S									Upholsterer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Gibhard, Geo	S									None	
Gibson, Thomas			S							Hospital	
Gielhard, John						X				Tailor	
Gilger, J.			S							Laborer	
Gillie, Wm.					X	S	X			Machinest - Blacksmith	
Gillig, John	S	X		X		M		X	M	Tinner - "Office" - Cook	
Gisel, Henry (Geiser)						M			M	Blacksmith	
Gisel, John						S				Blacksmith	
Gloden, Wm.			S							Gentlemen	
Goldberg, A.							X		S	Barkeeper - Clothing	Merchant
Goldschmidt, L.								X		Clerk	
Goldsmith, M.	S									None	
Goldsmith, Solomon			S	X						Fancy Painter	
Goldstein, Morris	S	X		X	X	S	X	X	M	Tailor - Clothing - Tailor	Merchant
Gondy, Abram			S							Blacksmith	
Goodkine, M.			S							Cigar Store	
Goodman, Marks			MC	X			X			Dry Goods	Merchant
Goress, F.			S							Clothier	
Gorns, C.			S								
Goshliner, S.									S	Cigars	Merchant
Goshliner, S.									S	Tailor	
Gosner (Gossner), P. B.						S	X	X	M	Billard Table Maker	
Gosse, Theodore	M					X				None	
Gottfried, Adolph	S									Cook	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Griesel, Jacob A.					X		X	X	X	Saddle and Harness Maker	
Gross, Wm. B.						S				Wagoneer	
Groth, James						M	X	X	M	Hotelier	Prop.
Grow, John			S							Laborer	
Gruhler, Christian						X	X	X	S	Brewer	
Gruhler, Elias						X	X	X	X	Brewer	Merchant
Gruhler, Jacob (Gruler)									M	Saloon	Merchant
Grundel, Herman			S							Gardner	
Gundesreiner, John					X	MC			M	Saloon - Glove Maker & Furs	
Gustaker, Roldolph	S									Eating House	
Gutenberger, William						X	X	X	X	Saloon - Moulder	
Habenicht, Herman				X						Painter	
Haberkorn, H. W.						S	X	X	M	Tailor	
Hagan, Louis	MC	X		X	X	MC	X		M	None - Real Estate - None	
Hagelstein, George					X	MC	X	X	M	Grocer	
Hagel, Mrs.			S								
Hahl, Harriett			S								
Hahn, Jacob (Hann)	S	X	S	X						Carpenter - Architect	
Haines, G.			S	X	X		X		X	Dry Goods	Merchant
Haines, Samuel (Haynes)			S								Clerk
Hallauer, John						M			S	Butcher	Prop.
Hallauer, Wendel						M				Butcher	Prop.
Hamberger, Aaron	S		S	X	X	X	X		M	Dry Goods	Merchant
Hammersmith, I.			S								
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Hanck, D.									S		Clerk
Hand, H.			S								
Hanker, John			S								
Hanker, Wm.	S		S							None - Waterman	
Hanson, Chas			S							Laborer	
Hanson, Christian						X				Mattress Maker	
Happy, N.						X				Cook	
Hardinberger, J.			S							Cracker Baker	
Hardinstein, A. C.		X	S	X						Physician	
Harf, Wm.			S							Miner	
Harges, John			S							Baker	
Harms, F.									M	Laborer	
Harms, Henry			MC								
Harnster, Geo	S									Tailor	
Harp, Casper	S									Eating House	
Harris, A. C.									S		
Harris, B.			S							Clothier	
Harris, D.									S	Wine & Liquor	
Harris, Henry			MC							Farmer	
Harris, Wm.									S	Wine & Liquor	
Hartman, G. P.						S	X		S	Groceries	Prop.
Hartz, Samuel						S				Tailor	
Hart, C.						S				Provisions	
Hart, Louis	MC									Laborer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Hart, Peter			S							Tailor	
Hashit, George			S							Fisherman	
Hasselbeck, T.									M		
Hattler, Jacob (Hahn)			S							Baker	
Hauck, Conrad (Haub)						X				Saloon	
Hauck, F.						S				Coffee Stand	
Hauck, G.						S	X			Coffee Stand	
Hauck, John (Honk, Houk)					X	MC	X	X	M	Hotelier	Prop.
Hauss, Geo.							X	X		Blacksmith	
Hauterkatz, John						S				Carpenter	
Hawk, Fidel (Houk)						S		X		Provisions	Prop.
Hayden, L. Z.								X			
Haynes, N.			S							Officer	
Hays, Geo.			S							Fruit	
Hecht, Fred	S									Miner	
Hector, Jacob					X	S	X			Barkeeper	
Hector, John					X	X	X	X	X	Butcher-Wagonner-Hotelier	Prop.
Hee, John	S										
Hefter, N.					X	S	X			Fruit & Cigar - Confectioner	
Heilbron, August						S	X	X	S	Butcher - Grocer	
Heilbron, Fred'k					X	MC	X			Grocer	Prop.
Heilbron, H.									S	Grocer	
Heilman, H. (Hedeman)	S								M	Soapmaker	
Heinboker, Fred	S									Laborer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Heineken, H. A.					X	S				Grocer	
Heinrich, Charles	M	X	MC	X	X	MC	X	X	M	Boarding House - Grocery	
Heinsort, H.			S							Grocery	
Heisch, A.			MC	X	X	MC	X	X	M	Dressmaker - Coffee & Spices	Merchant
Heisch, C.								X	S	Coffee & Spices	
Heisch, Edward			S			S				Coffee & Spices	Merchant
Heiss, I.			S								
Heitlinger, John (Heidlinger)					X				X	Musician - Barkeeper	
Heitz, Felix			S								
Heke, Henry					X	X				Barber	
Held, Samuel			S	X							Clerk
Heler, Samuel (Hesler)			S								
Hellaman, S.			S							Clothier	
Hemghous, F.			S								
Henning, F. C.					C	M	X	X		Tailor	Merchant
Henschuck, R.									S	Barber	
Henz, August							X			Saloon	
Hepburn, Charles			S								Clerk
Hermann, Chas.						S				Eating House	
Hermann, S. (Heimann)					X	X				Clothing	Merchant
Herman, Moses		X	S							Clothing - Barger	
Hern, Peter			S							Laborer	
Hero, Phillip			S							Laborer	
Herren, Wm.			S							Cook	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Herr, F. G. (Hyer)											
Hersterligh, Wm. (Heisterberg)			S								Clerk
Herzog, G.				X	X	S		X	X	Clothing	Merchant
Herzog, Leopold			S	X	X	X	X	X	X	Clothing	Merchant
Hesley, ?											
Hesser, M.			M							Hotelier	
Hesslebrim, Wm.						X				Upholsterer	
Hess, David (Hesse)			S	X	X	S	X	X	S	Sewing Machine - Clothier	
Hess, John				X		S	X	X	S	Tinsmith	
Hess, Joseph F.				X	X	S	X	X	M	Saloon	
Hess, P.									S	Sewing Machine	
Hetcht, Fred	S									Miner	
Hetzler, Herman	S									Brewer	
Heublin, L.					X	S	X			Saddler	
Hewser, Geo. (Henser)			S							Miner	
Heyman, A. (Hyman)					X	S	X		S	Musician	
Hicker, D.			S								
Hieshrick, Frank (Hirshock)						S	X			Baker	
High, John	S									Peddler	
Hildibrand, A.					X	S			S	Shoemaker	
Hill, C.									S	Brewer	
Hiller, Albert (Heller)			M	X	X	M	X	X		Jeweler	Merchant
Hiller, S.			S	X	X	M	X	X	M	Clothing	Merchant
Hineman, Henry			S							Miner	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Hinterlang, A.			S								
Hirschfield, Philip	S	X								None	
Hirschfilter, Aaron	S	X								Clothing	Merchant
Hirschfilter, Emanuel	S									Clothing	Merchant
Hittinger, John	S									Tailor	
Hobe, Adolph			S								Merchant
Hodes, Francis			S							Bootmaker	
Hodut, Aldolph (Hortner)	S		S							Clothing	Merchant
Hoehn, Jacob						S				Laborer	
Hoeler, Henry	S									Porter	
Hoeling, Chas. (Hoding)			S								Merchant
Hoerger, Saml	S									Laborer	
Hoffman, August					X	MC	X	X	M	Bksmith, Carpenter, Grocer	
Hoffman, Bendix	S										Merchant
Hoffman, Charles			S							Teamster	
Hoffman, Simon	S										Merchant
Hoffman, William			S							Confectioner	
Holfelder, P. (Holfelter)					X	MC		X		Laborer	
Holman Fredrk	S	X								Barkeeper	
Holman, Gilman, C.			MC							Farmer	
Holmes, Henry									S	Waiter	
Homerick, Peter	S									Tinner	
Homich, John			S							Tinsmith	
Honigsberger, J.	S										Merchant
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Honigsberger, Solomon	S										Merchant
Hood, Geo.			S							Carpenter	
Hoos, Stephen	S									Tinner	
Hoover, Joseph			S							Wagon Maker	
Hoover, P.			S								
Hoppy, Wms	S									Laborer	
Horil, George									M	Carpenter	
Horms, J.			S							Patient in Hospital	
Horn, Louis	S									None	
Horstemyer, F. (Horsemeyer)			S				X	X	M	Drayman - Stable Keeper	
Hortner, A.			S							Clothing	
Hostman, F.			S							Laborer	
Hottoman, Fred	S									Confectioner	
Houseman, John			S	X	X	MC	X	X		Carpenter - Tinware	Merchant
Howe, Joseph			S	X						Miner	
Howsen, F. (Hewser)			S							Laborer	
Hoyle, R. C.	S									Hotel Keeper	
Hubbrich, John B.			S							Laborer	
Hupp, D.					X	X				Physician	
Huscher, Christian (Heisher)			S							Peddler	
Hymer, Wm.			S							Farmer	
Ihmels, Christopher		X	S	X	X	S	X	X	S	Merchant/Banker	
Imer, George			S								
Indig, Louis					X	M			M	Tailor - Laborer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 152

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Isaacs, Herman			S							Jeweler	
Isador, L.			S							Clothing	
Ishner, F.			S							Farmer	
Izer, Conrad (Iser)				X	X	S				Saddler	
Jacklots, Joseph			S							None	
Jackson, Fanny					X	X	X	X	S	Hotelier	Prop.
Jackson, Henry	S	X								Rancher	
Jacobs, A. J.		X	S							Clothing	Merchant
Jacobs, Henry			S	S	X	S	X			Cigar & Tobacco	
Jacobs, L. (Lewis)		X			X		X	X	M	Clothing - Tailor	
Jacob, Sam (Wm)					X	S				Clothing	Merchant
Jaffigan, Mr.			S								
Janiship, Michael			S							Butcher	
Janser, F.									X	Waiter	
Janto, Z.			S							Cooper	
Jaqlin, H.			S							Waiter	
Jargons, Henry	S									Baker	
Jasper, G.			S							Farmer	
Jasper, Henry			S							Farmer	
Jefferson, Thomas			S							Patient in Hospital	
Jekelius, Chr. (Janson)			S		X	M	X		S	Watchmaker	
Joer, Conrad			S								
Johnson, Fred			S							Cook	
Johnson, Harrison	S	X								Monte Dealer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Johnson, Harrison, Mrs.				X	X	S	X	X		Saloon - Restaurant	Prop.
Johnson, Peter			S							Seaman	
Johnson, Richard		X	S	X	X					Baker - Farmer - Baker	
Johnson, Wm.	S			X						Cook - Hotelier	Prop.
John, Henry					X		X	X	M	Iron Shutter Mfr - Locksmith	
Jones, Peter			S							Laborer	
Jonghaus, J. C.					X	X	X	X	M	Liquor Distributor	Merchant
Joseph, C.						MC	X	X		Clothing	Merchant
Josey, Theadore	S									Laborer	
Judobs, Joseph (Jakobs)			S								Merchant
Juntman, Saml	S									Miner	
Juton, Dan'l						X				Baker	Prop
Kadar, M.									S	Cigar & Fruit	Merchant
Kadel, T.			MC								
Kalkmann, John					X	S				Clothing	Clerk
Kalkmann, P. (Kalkmaner)	S	X		X	X	X				Dry Goods - Wholesaler	
Kallenberger, Geo			S							Restaurant	
Kallenberger, John A.			S							Barber	
Kalmuck, M.						S				Fruit & Cigars	
Kanar, Peter	S									Cook	
Kanber, Louis	MC									Boarding House	
Kanzelmeier, F.						X				Boots and Shoes	Merchant
Kappez, F. (Kadar)							X			Cigar & Fruit	Merchant
Kapus, Otto							X			Grocery	Clerk
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 154

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Kapus, Wm.											
Karcher, Matt					X	X	X		M	Baker	Merchant
Karl, Jos.					X	X				Livery Stable	Prop
Kasler, Martin					X	M				Wagon Maker	
Kauffman, Fred	S									Eating House	
Keafer, Peter (Keiffer)	S			X						Baker	
Kearning, H.			S							Miner	
Kearth, Jacob					X	M	X		M	Boots and Shoes	Merchant
Keaseberg, James									S	Teamster	
Keef, Patrick									M		
Keggan, Henry						X				Cook	
Kehler, Jacob	S									Seaman	
Kehrer, L.					X	M	X	X		Gardner	
Keifer, J. P.	S			X						Miner	
Keine, C. A.				X						Tinner	
Keiser, George (Keyser)						MC	X	X		Carpenter - Cartman	
Keithler, Chas			S								
Keller, H. D.						S				Baker	
Keller, John			S							Tailor	
Kellinghaus, F. (Hellinghaus)			S							Gunsmith	
Kelly, John					X			X	M	Laborer - Carpenter	
Kempf, J.					X	X				Butcher	
Kendscoph, Simon	S									Trader	
Kensinger, Peter	S									Teamster	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 155

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Keppey, P.			S							Laborer	
Kern, Frederick					X	MC			M	Blacksmith	
Kersten, G. (Gustavus)			S	X						Druggist	
Keseburg, Louis (Keeseberg)			MC				X	X	M	Saloon - Brewer	
Kesler, M. (Kestler)					X				X	Wagon Maker	
Keyser, Henry						MC				Wagon Maker	
Keyser, J. W.						MC				Hotelier	Prop.
Khune, John	S									Laborer	
Kimsel, Theodore	S									Peddler	
Kingling, L.			S							Farmer	
King, Joseph					X	X	X	X	M	Barber	
Kinkel, Adam									S	Bricklayer	
Kirber, Charles			S							Laborer	
Kirchner, Charles			S	X						Physician	
Kirstein, J. E.	S										Merchant
Kisel, Chas	S									Baker	
Kist, August	S									Blacksmith	
Kite, Henry	S									Waiter	
Kitz, Philip			S	X						Grocery	Merchant
Klabe, A.											
Klapple, Philip	S									Shoemaker	
Klasser, Martin			S							Steward	
Klays, H.				X				X	M	Barkeeper - Saloon	
Klebitz, Edward					X	X	X	X	S	Saloon - Beer & Billard	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 156

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Kleer, John									S	Tailor	
Kleinsorge, Chas					X	S		X	S	Grocery - Liquor & Cigar	Clerk
Klein, A.					X	S				Saddler	
Klein, Peter	S									Carpenter	
Klein, Solomon (Kline)					X	S	X	X	S	Grocery - Liquor	Clerk
Kliner, Philip	S									None	
Kline, Aaron						X	S			Hotelier	Prop.
Kline, Chas (Klein)					X	MC	X		M	Laundryman - Carpenter	
Kline, John						X				Carpenter	
Klingelhofer, C.									S	Butcher	
Kling, Herman			M							Farmer	
Klippel, Jacob									M	Cartman (Drayman)	
Klopsock, Curtis							X	X	S	Cigar	Merchant
Klopstock, Davis							X	X		Cigar	Merchant
Knauth, Jacob								X	S	Gardner	Prop.
Kneib, Frederick				X			X		M	Hotelier - Grocery	Prop.
Knephler, Simon	S									Trader	
Knobloch, Christian (Knopnog)							X	X		Saloon	Prop.
Knop, Henry	S									Porter	
Knowltenberg, Henry			S	X						Soda Manufacturer - Bottler	
Koch, John George				X		MC	X		M	Bookkeeper	
Koegel, B.						S				Sewing Machine	
Koehn, Adolph						S	X	X	X	Grocery	Clerk
Koehn, H.						M	X	X	X	Grocery	Clerk
										Continued on Next Page	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Koenig, Louis						X	X	X	S	Saloon - Hotelier	Prop.
Koen, L.									M	Grocer	
Kohler, E. F.	S									Tailor	
Kohler, Herman			S	X	X	X	X	X	M	Hatter - Boots & Shoes	Merchant
Kohlmann, Jacob	S	X		X						Clothier	
Kohlmann, Solomon	S	X		X						Clothier	
Kohl, John B.							X	X	M	Hotelier	
Kohner, John		X	MC			MC			M	Laundry	
Kohn, David					X	S	X	X	X	Clothing	Merchant
Kohn, George	S	X	S	X	X					Clerk - Dry Goods	
Kohn, I.			S							Dry Goods	
Kohn, Joseph		X		X	X	X				Dry Goods	Merchant
Kohn, Morris				X	X	X				Dry Goods	Merchant
Kohn, S.						M		X		Clothing	
Koing, Frederick			S							Locksmith	
Koneman, August			S	X	X	S	X	X	S	Grocery	Clerk
Kopka, Louis			MC							Jeweler	
Koposty, D. (Kopesty)			S							Farmer	
Koppikus, Adolphus	S		S	X	X	MC	X	X	M	Gunsmith	
Kormmeyer, J.											
Korn, David						X		X	S	Grocery - Hotelier	Merchant
Korn, Jacob			S			S			M	Grocery - Hotelier	Clerk
Korn, Louis			S		X	M	X	X	M	Grocery - Hotelier	Prop.
Koshland, M.					X	X				Clothing	Merchant
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Koshland, N.					X	X				Clothing	Merchant
Koshland, Simon					X	MC				Clothing	Merchant
Kotzh, H.			S							Barber	
Kowsky, David						MC					Merchant
Kozminsky, Bernard					X	S			X	Grocery - Clothing - Cigar	Merchant
Kozminsky, H.					X					Grocery - Clothing	Clerk
Kradesman, I			S								
Krager, Ferdinand	S									Butcher	
Krager, Julius (Krakor)						S				Tailor	
Kraider, Thom			S							Miner	
Kramer, John	S									None	
Kramer, P. H. (Philip)	S	X	S	X						Clerk	
Kratsmire, Joseph			S							Tailor	
Kravinkle, John					X	M				Dry Goods - Cigar & Fruit	Merchant
Kray, Frank K.	S									Laborer	
Krebs, C. H. (Krebes)					X	S		X		Printer - Paper Hanger	
Kreps, Henry							X			Confectioner	
Kreunzberger, Fabian								X	X	Laborer - Grocer	
Kreunzberger, Lucas								X	S	Grocer	
Krim, George						MC				Gas Fitter	
Krings, Michael	S									Laborer	
Kritschmer, F.	S									Trader	
Krondhler, H. (Krondhall)		X	S	X	X	S				Clothing	Merchant
Krue, M.			S							Laborer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Krune, Seth (Kruse)	S									Miner	
Kruse, Henry			S							Carpenter	
Kucher, Amel (Kullan, M)						S			M	Baker	
Kuenerlee, T.							X		S	Baker	
Kullman, Lewis (Kumble)						X				Cigar & Tobacco	Merchant
Kunz, Peter						X				Gardens	Merchant
Kurritzky, A.							X				
Lach, Baptiste			S							Miner	
Laghmeyer, F.			S							Steward	
Lahman, Joseph	S										Clerk
Lamb, F.	S									Hay Yard	
Lamb, F. A.			S							Farmer	
Landerberger, J.	S									Trader	
Landers, F. (Lande)						MC				Liquor	Merchant
Lander, Berger	S										
Langbeth, Chas (Lagenbeth)						S	X			Hotel	Clerk
Lansom, Peter			S							Saloon	
Lapel, Chas			S								
Laubin, C.			S							Carpenter	
Laufkotter, John	MC		MC		X	MC	X		M	Board Hs - Stock Dealer - Grocer	
Lavine, J.			S							Clothier	
Lawrence, George						MC	X			Butcher	
Lawrence, George R.							X			Saloon	
Leay, A.			S							Drayman	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Leer, Francis	M									Peddler	
Leffler, George	S									Steward	
Legion, H.			S							Miner	
Lehman, Charles					X	MC	X	X	M	Butcher - Grocer	Merchant
Lehman, C. A.					X	S		X	S	Barkeeper - Baker - Barkeeper	
Lehman, Wm (I. W.)					X	S		X	X	Baker	
Leiders, W.						X				Clothing	Clerk
Leidle, J.			S							Gunsmith	
Leinbach, Fred			S							Miner	
Leis, Louis	S									Steward	
Leitzinger, M. (Letcherling)			S	X	X	S	X	X	S	Saddler	
Lenner, John			S							Saloon	
Leonard, James									S	Drayman	
Leonard, James									X	Drayman	
Lesseur, Henry (Leseur)							X		S	Barkeeper	
Lester, Jacob			S							Clothier	
Levy, Jacob (James)			S	X						Carpenter	Clerk
Levy, Joseph			S							Carpenter	
Levy, S. A. (Levi)					X	X			S	Fruit - Cigar	Prop.
Leway, Wm.			S	X						Bookseller & Stationer	Clerk
Lewis, I.						S				Clothing	Merchant
Lewis, John			S							Baker	
Lewis, Wm.									M	Laborer	
Leybert, C.			S							Patient in Hospital	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Libke, Christian						S				Hats & Caps	Merchant
Lichtenstein, N. H.			S							Broker	
Lideanstreper, Fred			S							Restaurant	
Lier, F.						X				Lithographer	
Lightfield, Emmanuel	S									Baker	
Limbach, H.			S							Farmer	
Lind, Ed. O. (Lynde)								X	X	Produce Dealers	Prop.
Linebaugh, Jos. B. P.	S									Trader	
Lipp, Wm.			MC							Farmer	
Lisso, M.								X			Clerk
Lochner, John (Locher)							X	X	S	Liquor Store	
Lochs, Fredk.	S									Police	
Loden, Francis	S									Steward	
Loeb, Bernard			S	X	X	S				Clothing	Merchant
Loeb, Nathan				X	X	M				Clothing	Merchant
Loesser, Albert						M				Shoemaker	
Loheide, Wm.						S				Drayman	
Lohse, Louis									S	Tinner	
Loretz, S. B.	S										Merchant
Lorow, Henry	S										
Lotthamer, L.					X		X	X	X	Musician - Beer Sal. - Billard Sal.	
Louder, W. L.	S									Miner	
Loutell, Wm.			S							Miner	
Louterback, Edwd.	S									Cook	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Lowey, H.			S								Merchant
Lowey, Wm.			S								Clerk
Lubbersenger, L.									M		
Ludwig, J. A. (John)			MC	X						Clothing	Merchant
Lulay, C.			S								
Lundquist, Ed											
Lund, A.			S							Mason	
Lund, H. T.			S							Mason	
Lusc, Heinrich					X					Farmer	
Lutz, George Michael			S	X		X		X	S	Butcher - Police - Butcher	
Luvick, Heyman	S									Bar & Eating House	
Lyons, Julius				X	X	MC	X	X		Police - Variety Store	
Maack, Harmon						S				Blacksmith	
Mackfessel, Fred								X	M	Waterman	
Mackhart, Chas						X				Laborer	
Madison, Jacob			S	X	X	S				Saddler - Saddle Importer	
Mahler, Gustavus			S							Tailor	
Mahrt, G. M.						S				Saloon	Prop.
Manner, L.			S							Gardner	
Manning P.								X	M	Laborer	
Mans, Henry			S							Tinner	
Mantels, Louis						S				Barkeeper	
March, C.			S							Tinner	
March, Henry	S									Tailor	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Marker, M. (Mear)			M							Farmer	
Marks, Alex				X						Cigar & Tobacco	Clerk
Marks, Francis			S	X						Baker - Cook	
Marks, Julius					X	S				Cigar & Tobacco	Merchant
Marks, M.		X	S	X	X	S	X	X	M	Cigar & Tobacco	Merchant
Marks, S.									X	Cigar & Fruit	Merchant
Maroni, Fred			S							Clothier	
Martin, George	S	X		X						Laborer - Carpenter	
Martin, John	S	X									Merchant
Martle, Peter			S							Laborer	
Marzen, Joseph						MC	X			Butcher	
Mashberger, Michael	S									Laborer	
Mash, Berger	S										
Master, Wm.	S										
Mast, Wm.	MC									None	
Math, M.			S							Miner	
Maurer, H.						S					Clerk
Maus, Henry			S							Laborer	
Mazers, Lewis (Myers)			S								Clerk
Meddiendorf, H.			S							Miner	
Megerle, P. (Majerlee)				X	X	MC			S	Saddler - Drug Clerk	
Meier, W.									S	Baker	
Meileer, H. J.								X	X	Stable Keeper	
Melchoir, J. P.					X	S	X	X	S	Saloon - Dancing Academy	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Mellar, Anton (Miller)						M	X	X	X	Brewer	
Menke, A.					X	MC			X	Basket Maker - Groceries	
Merker, John (Meeker)						MC	X	X	M	Hotelier - Official - Hotelier	Prop.
Metcalf, J.						X				Livery Stable	Clerk
Metzker, Jacob									S		
Meutgens, P.											
Meyers, Chas			S							Laborer	
Meyers, F.			S							Laborer	
Meyers, H.			S							Miner	
Meyers, L.			S							Laborer	
Meyer, A.			S		X	MC		X		Dry Goods	Merchant
Meyer, A.			MC								Merchant
Meyer, A. P.	S									Tailor	
Meyer, Chas. H. T.					X	X				Dry Goods	Merchant
Meyer, C.			S							Farmer	
Meyer, David							X			Clothing	
Meyer, F.			S							Saloon	
Meyer, Geo. (Myer, Meier)	S	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	Grocery	Prop.
Meyer, J. (Mayer)				X							Merchant
Meyer, P.H.				X	X	M	X	X	M	Clothing	Merchant
Meyer, R.								X		Saloon	
Meyer, W.			S	X						Clothing	Merchant
Michelhausen, R.											
Michild, H.							X			Tailor	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Mier, Abraham	S									Clothing Store	
Mier, Frangott						X	X	X		Grocery	
Mier, Fred (Meir)	S				X	X	X	X	X	Butcher - Grocer	
Mier, J. T.									X	Grocer	Merchant
Mier, P.									X		
Mier, Stephen	S									Brickmaker	
Milatowich, C.						X				Confectioner	
Miller, Andrew			S							Miner	
Miller, August	S									None	
Miller, Charles						S	X	X	X	Grocerk - Baker	
Miller, Christopher			S							Baker	
Miller, Conrad			S							Blacksmith	
Miller, D.			S							Blacksmith	
Miller, D. W.						X		X	M	Wholesaler	
Miller, E. H., Jr.			S	X	X	S		X	S	Wholesaler	
Miller, Frederick			X	X	X		X			Saddler	
Miller, F.			S							Laborer	
Miller, George			S							Fisherman	
Miller, George (Gustav)						X	X	X		Wheelwright - Wagon Maker	
Miller, Jacob	S									None	
Miller, Joseph				X	X	S		X	S	Trader - Brewer	
Miller, Louis			MC							Fisherman	
Miller, Mary			S							Musician	
Miller, Max			S							Butcher	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Miller, Michael			S							Shoemaker	
Miller, Mina			S							Housekeeper	
Miller, M.								X	M	Stable Keeper	
Miller, Peter			M							Laundry	
Miller, Wm.	MC		S							Laborer - Farmer	
Miller, Wm.						M	X			Butcher	
Millman, N.									M	Variety & Fruit	
Mitchell, John G.		X		X	X	S				Livery Stable - Drayman	
Mitch, Geo	S		S							Blacksmith	
Mitch, Geo.			S							Laborer	
Moffat, M. F. (W. F.)					X	S		X	S	Clothing - Tailor - Cloth Dyer	Merchant
Moffit, Charles									X	Silk Dyer	
Mohner, John			MC							Laundry	
Mollenhauer, Geo						X				Hatter	
Moltar, Henry			S							Carpenter	
Molter, A.									S	Hog Dealer (Stock Dealer)	
Monke, C. J.									M	Basket Maker	
Moore, Kate - F.			S							Dressmaker	
Moran, Jos. H. (Morath)					X	X	X			Beer Saloon	
Moritz, Gabriel						S	X			Barber	
Morrison, Joseph	S									Miner	
Morris, H.						MC	X		M	Shoemaker	
Morris, L.			S								Merchant
Morris, Robert			S							Miner	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

Continued from Page 167

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Morriss, L.			S							Clothier	
Muck, John			MC							Barber	
Muhlek, A.									S	Saddle Tree Maker	
Muhlenfels, F. A.								X	S	Saloon	
Muller, Anton (Mueller)					X		X		M	Beer Saloon	
Muller, Chas			S							Miner	
Muller, John	S		M		X	X	X	X	M	Saloon - Liquors	Merchant
Muller, John			S								
Mummies, J.			S							Patient in Hospital	
Musser, C.			MC							Farmer	
Myer, Geo (Meier)	S	X								Butcher	
Myer, Henry	S		S							Teamster	
Myer, J. F.			S	X							Clerk
Myer, Otto	S									Miner	
Myer, P. H. (Phillip)			S	X						Clothing	
Myer, Wm.			M								Clerk
Myers, Chas			S								Merchant
Myers, Henry			S							Farmer	
Myers, H.			S							Farmer	
Myers, L.									S	Cigar Dealer	
Nahl, Charles			MC							Artist	
Naumann, P. (Henry)							X			Wagon Maker	
Nay, Sebastian			S							Farmer	
Neagle, Peter	S									Seaman	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Nisky, J. J.			S								
Nittendorf, J.			S							Miner	
Noble, R.					X	S	X	X	S	Grocery	Merchant
Nold, F.							X		M		
Noll, Louis											
Novak, Carl											
Oberdorfer, A. (Obereandorf)	S	X	S								Merchant
Obersteiner, Fredk.	S	X								Seaman	
Ochsner, Jas (Oxner)	S	X	S							Blacksmith - Grocer - Waiter	
Offerdinger, C.					X	S				Physician	
Oldhamsteiner, J. H.	S		S							Trader	
Oleman, Aaron	S										Merchant
Olmstead, Henry			S								Merchant
Oncolo, John (Enold)			S								Clerk
Onity, F.									S	Baker	
Opdenwegor, J.			S							Barber	
Oppenheim, Godfrey			S							Carpenter	
Oppenheim, Lewis			M	X	X	S				Cigar Store - Variety	Merchant
Oppenheim, Mark			S	X						Cigar Store - Variety	Merchant
Oppenheim, R.			MC	X	X	MC	X	X	M	Cigar Store - Variety - Leather	Merchant
Oppenheim, S.			S	X	X	S	X			Variety	Merchant
Oror, John	S									Laborer	
Orth, John			MC							Butcher	
Oschwold, J. (Oschnalt)			S	X	X	MC	X	X	M	Liquor - Grocery	Merchant
										Continued on Next Page	

Continued from Page 170

Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Osterhein, T.			S							Clothing	
Osthun, J. (Osthein)			S							Miner	
Ottenheimer, A.			S							Cigar Store	
Otto, G.				X	X	X	X	X	M	Physician	
Ott, Martin			S								
Overhouse, Wm.			S							Waterman	
Oxner, Joseph	S									Blacksmith	
Ox, Geo.									M	Brewer	Prop.
Page, F. (G)				X	X				X	Baker - Barkeeper	
Parker, H.			S							Saloon	
Pasnanspy, N.									S	Tailor	
Peck, John									S	Butcher	
Peck, N.			S								
Peck, Samuel									X	Pastor	
Peer, P. (Prin)			S								
Peltz, Conrad	S									Laborer	
Perchke, W.			S							Steward	
Peterson, Theodore			S							Harnessmaker	
Pethin, Peter			S							Farmer	
Petring, H.			S							Waterman	
Pfeiffer, Wm. (Phyfer)	S	X								"Office" - Stock Dealer	
Phillips, Jacob							X		S	Barkeeper	
Phiskey, W.						M			S	Cabinet Maker	
Phyfer, Martin	S									Mariner	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Pier, Harris (Peir)						MC	X			Tailor	
Pincentiti, J.									S	Hotelier	Prop.
Pinnerman, Wm.			S							Laborer	
Pinshower, R. (Pinshover)						M	X		M	Clothing	Merchant
Pittman, Charles			S							Confectioner	
Pitzer, Aug.						X				Baker	
Plaser, Andrew			S							Cook	
Platch, W.			S								
Platte, John			S							Miner	
Platto, Morris			S							Clothing	
Platt, John			S							Butcher	
Pledge, L.								X		Hatter (Tailor)	
Ploschke, Wm.						X				Merchant	
Plusha, Wm.			S							Miner	
Pogliono, M.									S	Barkeeper	
Poite, Robert			S							Waiter	
Politz, Julius (Polites)	S	X	S						M	Coffee House	Merchant
Pomen, Fritz									S	Barkeeper	
Pommer, Chas							X	X	X	Barber - Baker	
Pope, Lewis			S							Butcher	
Popper, Bernard	MC									Laborer	
Pracht, Henry			S							Merchant	
Praslow, J.			S	X						Physician - Druggest	
Prediger, Geo (Predmore)					X	M				Capitalist	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Price, Charles L.			S	X	X					Hotelier - Wholesalers	Clerk
Prichowan, Jacob	S									Tailor	
Pringle, Jas.	S									Laborer	
Punsack, John						MC				Saloon	
Pupp, Jno (Pugh)	S	X								Laborer	
Pusanoff, Alex			S							Laborer	
Putzman, Fred							X	X	S	Liquor Store	
Pwisky, Jacob	S									Clothing Store	
Racher, Andreas			S							Laborer	
Radczewski, Jacob						S	X		X	Blacksmith	
Ralph, A.			S							Farmer	
Rampon, Anthony	S									Baker	
Ranch, G. (Rauch)			S							Laborer	
Rankin, Thos. W.	S									Seaman	
Rank, Andrew				X		S			S	Hotelier - Saloon	
Rauff, Danl (Ruff)	S	X								None	
Ravel, Francis			S							Tanner	
Rave, Christian H.				X	X	M	X	X	X	Gunsmith - Locksmith	
Redman, W.			S							Patient in Hospital	
Reibnitz, D.								X	X	Cigar Store	
Reicho, Chas (Reichi)			S							Mason	
Reim, Jacob				X	X	X	X			Hotelier	Prop.
Reinart, Thos.			S							Miner	
Reincke, G. (Reinicke)					X	S	X	X	X	Importer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Reine, Chas.			S							Tinsmith	
Reitchwagener, Wm.						X				Hatter	
Renbaucher, Godfrey	S									Barkeeper	
Rendhard, Jacob	S									Cabinet Maker	
Renke, Wm.			S								Merchant
Reuff, Jacob (Roeth Rueff)			S		X	MC		X	S	Hatter	Merchant
Rhodes, Francis			S							Shoemaker	
Rhody, A.			S							Welldigger	
Rice, Andrew			S							Hotel	
Rice, George			S							Laborer	
Rice, John			S							Laborer	
Richards, John	M									Saloon	
Richard, Conrad	S									Laborer	
Richard J.			S							Clothing	
Richard, Wm.	MC									Hotelier	
Richter, H.					X					Saloon	Prop.
Rickford, Joseph (Richart)			S							Tailor	
Rickmins, P. - F.			S							Dressmaker	
Rider, Wm.	S									Laborer	
Riedmann, M.			S							Blacksmith	
Rieser, Chas.			S								Clerk
Ring, Wm.			S							Laborer	
Rinherelapp, A.			S							Miner	
Rinyoung, Paul	S									Miner	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Ripley, L.			S							Steward	
Risdell, P.			S							Miner	
River, G.									S	Baker	
Roberts, Chas									M	Cook	
Roberts, M. L.								X	S	Coffee Saloon	
Robinson, G.			S								
Robinson, Henry			S							Laborer	
Rodgers, Nathan			S								Merchant
Rohrs, J.									M	Barkeeper	
Roon, Jacob			MC							Blacksmith	
Rosenbergh, Henry			S							Steward	
Rosenberg, E.	S									Tailor	
Rosenfeld, S. (-feldt,-field)					X	MC	X	X	M	Cigar Dealer	
Rosenheim, Joel			S	X	X	S	X			Clothing	Merchant
Rosenheim, Morris			S	X						Cigar & Tobacco	Merchant
Rosner, Sam (Rosener)							X			Clothing	Clerk
Ross, H.						S	X		S	Tailor - Clothing Store	
Rothfeld, Solomon						X	X	X	M	Dry Goods	Clerk
Rothschild, Fanny - F.			S								
Rothschild, L.						X				Clothing	Clerk
Roth, Simon			S	X	X	X	X	X	M	Shoemaker - Saddler	
Roue, F.	S									Eating House	
Rousseau, Charles			S							Miner	
Rowse, Henry	S									None	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Rucker, P. H. (Rumler, F.)					X					Banker	
Rumph, J.											
Ruoff, Christian (Ruff)	S	X								Boarding House - Hotelier	
Ruplau, Wm.			S							Hotelier	
Rupling, Ed.									S	Assayer	
Rusdictcher, Peter			S							Laborer	
Russell, George			S							Hotelier	
Rustians, Alfred			S							Cook	
Ruthardt, Julius						S				Apothecary	
Ryan, Peter			S								
Ryder, Wm.			S							Miner	
Saal, George									S	Laborer	
Sabbed, Chas	S									None	
Salenger, Julius					X	S				Clothing	Merchant
Salsburg, S. (Sawbury)								X	M	Barber	
Sarcamp, F.			S							Drayman	
Saul, F.			S							Laborer	
Scadhe, George						S		X		Tailor	
Scenner, John						MC				Carpenter	
Schaar, Adolph (Scarr)			S							Miner	
Schacht, Wm.					X	X				Drayman	
Schade, J. (Schwab)	S	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	Gunsmith	
Schaefer, Fred (Louis)						X				Saloon	Prop.
Schaefer, H. (Schaffer)									S	Tailor	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Schaefer, Eugene							X	X		Brewer	
Schafer, J.	S	X								Eating House - Hotelier	
Schahowe, Wm.			S							Carpenter	
Schammel, Henry					X	S				Cooper	
Scharper, Herman	S									Laborer	
Scheld, Peter (Schild)						S		X	M	Baker	
Scheld, Phillip							X	X	M	Brewer	
Schemer, John			S								
Schenckendick, Julius			S							Gardner	
Schenk, H.			S							Farmer	
Schenk, P.			S							Farmer	
Schindler, C. (Shindler)			S	X	X		X	X	X	Sash & Blind Manufacturer	Merchant
Schirmer, George (Schemer)					X	MC				Baker	
Schlachter, Wm.					X	S				Grocer	
Schlanker, John				X						Cooper	
Schliver, Michael	S									Grocery	
Schlosser, August (Schaler)	S	X	S							Barber	
Schlosser, Chas (Slosser)			S	X		S	X			Barber	
Schloss, Jacob	S									Tailor	
Schmailzb, Louis			M							Barber	
Schmertz, Louis (Schmaelze)				X	X					Restaurant	
Schmidt, E.				X		X				Saddler	
Schmidt, George				X		S	X			Cigar & Tobacco-Shoemaker	
Schmidt, H.							X			Baker	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Schmidt, Michael							X			Barber	
Schmidt, O.				X						Apothecary	
Schmite, Wm.	S									None	
Schmith, John	S									Locksmith	
Schnable, F. A.								X	M	Grocer	
Schneider, Efa			S							Chambermaid	
Schneider, John J.				X						Hotelier	
Schnelle, Geo (Schaene)					X	X				Barber	
Schnelle, H.					X	S				Barber	
Schniner, Doctor			S								
Schnitter, Lewis			S							Hotel	
Schoff, Wm.						MC				Coffee Stand	Prop. Clerk
Schrader, R.			S								
Schraeder, H.			S							Laborer	
Schrall, G. H.			S							Laborer	
Schriever, Fred			S							Laborer	
Schriver, A.			S							Shoemaker	
Schroeder, H.								X	S	Drayman	
Schroeder, H.					X	S	X	X	S	Confectioner - Produce	Merchant
Schroeder, John			S							Waterman	
Schroeder, Peter (Shroder)			S	X		S				Saloon - Dry Goods	Clerk
Schroer, Henry						MC	X		S	Baker	
Schroth, Geo. (Schrotts)					X	S		X	X	Baker	
Schuffer, Henry (Schaffer)	S	X	S							Gunsmith	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Schultz, B.									S	Cook	
Schultz, Geo	S									Grocery	
Schultz, Herman						X	X			Bootmaker - Billiard Saloon	
Schultz, H. Mrs.								X	X	Billiard Saloon	
Schultz, Jno A.	S									Grocery	
Schureman, John						X				Drayman	
Schute, Louis	S									Laborer	
Schutte, Sm.			S							Mill Wright	
Schutzlear, M.						S				Billiard Table Maker	
Schwab, J.											
Schwartz, Charles						S	X	X	S	Butcher	Prop.
Schwartz, Simon	S	X								Trader	Merchant
Schwegerle, John						X	X	X		Saloon	Prop.
Schwenn, Carl (Sheck)									S	Saddler	
Schwithelm, Ernest						X				Shoemaker	
Scott, George			S	X						Musician	
Seaman, Henry			S	X	X	X	X			Eat. House - Hotelier - Saloon	Prop.
Sebold, Sebastian					X	S	X	X	S	Boot & Shoe Maker	
Seeger, Robert							X	X	S	Vinegar Maker	
Seeleman, Samuel						S				Clothing	Merchant
Seiberg, Geo			S							Miner	
Seibirt, H.			S							Farmer	
Selborn, Ely (Weiborn)	S									Tailor	
Selger, Wm.	M									Trader	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Seltz, Chas	S									Boarding House	
Shaffer, Geo (Schoeffer)		X	S		X	M	X	X		Baker	
Shaffer, H.			S							Gunsmith	
Shaler, Wm.	S									Miner	
Shaneel, C.	S										Merchant
Shannon, Wm.	S									Laborer	
Shaper, Henry						MC				Laundryman	
Shawl, Frank			MC							Clothing Store	
Shawl, Lewis (Showl)	S		S				X	X		Clothing Store - Cigar Store	
Shawl, Morris			S	X						Clothing Store	
Shelnckebier, Wm									S	Wagon Maker	
Sheperd, Adam	S									Laborer	
Shepherd, Adam	S									Laborer	
Sherman, Wm.			S							Farmer	
Shick, D.			S								
Shieldknight, R.			S							Physician	
Shiers, Solomon			S							Tailor	
Shindler, E.			S							Joiner	
Shirkin, W.			S								
Shoots, L.	S									Clothing Store	
Shouhs, Peter			S							Miner	
Shrader, Chas						X	X			Wagonmaker	
Shuelrin, M.									S	Clothing	Merchant
Sievers, Anthony								X	S	Druggist	Clerk
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Simansen, D.											
Simendren, Martin	S									None	
Simermacher, Ch.						S	X			Grocer	
Simmons, John			S							Barber	
Simondson, Martin	S		S							Musician	
Simons, Henry	S	X					X			Clothing - Liquor	
Simons, Simon	S	X								Clothing	Merchant
Simon, Abraham						X				Clothes Cleaner	
Simon, A.			S							Laborer	
Simon, Wm.									S	Dry Goods	
Sims, J.			S							Laborer	
Slanson, A.			S								
Slick, Phillip			S							Baker	
Sloss, L.	S	X	S	X		S	X	X	M	Dry Goods	Merchant
Smith, Anderson			S							Trader	
Smith, A.			S							Miner	
Smith, Chas.					X	X	X	X	S	Harness - Wagon Maker	
Smith, Chas.				X	X	X	X			Grocer	Merchant
Smith, C.									S	Tailor	
Smith, E.	S	X	S	X	X					Goldwasher - ?	Merchant
Smith, George			S							Farmer	
Smith, H.			S							Steward	
Smith, H.			S								
Smith, Jas	S										Clerk
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	



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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Smith, Jeremiah					X	S	X	X	S	Barber	
Smith, Jno.	S									Seaman	
Smith, Jno.	S									Laborer	
Smith, Jno. C.	S	X	S	X						Blacksmith	
Smith, John	MC	X		X						Laborer - Gunsmith	
Smith, John			S								Clerk
Smith, Marc			S							Miner	
Smith, O.									M	Coachman	
Smith, Samuel			S							Miner	
Snider, Anderson			S							Trader	
Snider, Chas			S	X						Apothecary	Clerk
Snider, Geo	S									Stable	
Snob, D. J.			S							Cook	
Snyder, H.			S								
Sockmore, Fred	MC									None	
Soinger, F.			S								
Soinis, Jacob			S							Hotel	
Soult, Chas.			S							Cook	
Sowker, Mace (Louker)	S									Soapmaker	
Spitz, John (Speir)						S				Cooper	
Spohn, Peter				X	X	MC	X	X	S	Butcher - Baker	
Spohn, Wm.						S				Wagon Maker	
Spoon, Gerhart	S			X						Butcher	
Spotts, S.	S	X								Carpenter	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Staffelbach, Xavier	MC	X								Hotelier	
Stalberg, W.									S	Harness Maker	
Stanley, Anton (Stangle)		X	MC	X						Saloon	Prop.
Stanley, Charles			S							Clerk	
Stanley, G.	S									Baker	
Stanley, J. C.			S							Night Clerk	
Stannic, Martin (Stanrick)			S							Butcher	
Stark, Asa			S							Clothier	
Steckler, Issac (Stickler)			MC							Clothier	
Steen, Wm. (Stein)			S							Mechanic	
Stehlinger, John	S									Cabinet Maker	
Steinberger, H. H.			S								
Steinbower, John			S							Waiter	
Steiner, Arnold							X			Cigar Stand	
Steinle, G.	S									Baker	
Steivengen, F.			S								
Stemire, Ferman (Stimire)	S										Clerk
Stemm, Chas.			S								
Stenly, P.			S								
Stephen, J.			S							Miner	
Sternfels, Simon			S							Cigar Store	
Stesser, D.									S	Barber	
Studman, T. (Studemann)			S	X	X	X	X	X	S	Hats & Shoes	Merchant
Stick, Wm.			S							Laborer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Sticly, Anthony			S							Baker	
Stimmerman, C. (Stem.)	S	X								Carpenter	
Stinock, Martin	S									Butcher	
Stirges, A. (Stinger)	MC									Eating House	
Stockfield, Theo	S	X					X			Dry Goods	
Stollberg, Wm. (Stonesifer)							X			Saloon	
Stoltz, J.			M							Miner	
Stossbuck, Wm.			S							Blacksmith	
Stout, F.	S									Blacksmith	
Stout, Geo	S									Gardner	
Strawback, Henry			S							Drayman	
Straw, Leopole	S										Clerk
Strein, Andrew	S									Miner	
Stremming, C. (Strumer)					X	X	X	X	M	Hotelier	Prop.
Strutz, Julius			S	X		X		X			Clerk
Stuart, A.			S							Teamster	
Stuber, John			S	X		X				Saloon - Gardens	Prop.
Stultz, Louis			S								Clerk
Stumpy, H.			S								
Summerman, J. E.			S							Laborer	
Sumner, Jake								X	S	Baker	
Sunderman, Fred	S										
Surbich, Wm.			S							Steward	
Surcamp, C.H. (Sunkump)			S			X				Grocer	Clerk
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Suercrop, John					X	S	X			Dry Goods	Clerk
Swartz, J.			S								Merchant
Swinterton, Geo. H.		X	S	X	X	M	X	X	M	Cook - Stoves & Tinware	Merchant
Switzer, J.			S							Laborer	
Swop, H.			S							Miner	
Syler, Adam	S									Miner	
Sylvester, Wm.			S	X							Merchant
Tausman, Henry						S	X			Miller	
Taylor, Thomas L.			M	X		S	X	X	S	Bookkeeper	
Tedamyne, H.			S							Laborer	
Tenker, Francis B.			S							Baker	
Tepet, F. M.			S							Drayman	
Thebold, Martin	S									Tinner	
Thiaddon, George	M									Laborer	
Thiele, Henry (Thiell)			MC		X	MC		X	M	Tailor - Newspaper Agent - Sheep	
Thomas, John									S	Butcher	
Thomas, K.					X		X			Grocer	
Thomas, K., Mrs							X	X	M	Grocer - Provision Dealer	
Thomas, Luther		X	S							Hotelier	Prop.
Thomas, Michael	S	X								Hayyard-Grocer-Blacksmith	
Thoulinen, R.			S							Blacksmith	
Tietjears, Peter (Teitgues)							X	X	M	Saloon	
Tillman, Henry			S							Farmer	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Tillman, Henry J.	S		S		X					None-Farmer-Hotelier	
Tinkle, Augustus	S									Gunsmith	
Tonghans, Carl			S							Legwork	
Trapp, Nicholas			S							Cooper	
Tratman, L.			S							Farmer	
Trautman, Andrew							X	X		Hotelier - Grocer	
Treaner, Wm. (Trainor)						MC		X		Butcher	
Trebald, F.			S							Farmer	
Trimber, J.			S							Farmer	
Trimper, Jno (Chas)	S		MC							Butcher	
Trudlander, Louis (Freidlander)			S								Merchant
Trumpley, John			S							Butcher	
Trunke, M.			S							Carpenter	
Tschumi (Ischumi) J	S		S	X						Shoemaker - Saddler	
Turnin, Jacob			S							Iron Worker	
Ubegho, Chas.			S							Cook	
Uber, Fred			S								
Uchlinger, P									S	Harness Maker	
Uhl, George							X			Cooper	
Unz, J.			S								Merchant
Unz, Oscar			S							Merchant	Merchant
Upham, Henry (Upver)	S		S							Waiter	
Van Vleck, Fred							X			Gymnasium	
Vanderburgh, L. B. (Jno	MC	X			X			X	M	Provision Store - Wholesale	Merchant
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Vanhorn, C. B.	S									None	
Venglehen, Fred			S							Laborer	
Vertimer, P. (Vulmire)	S			X	X	S	X	X	S	Wholesaler - Groceries	Merchant
Virnegas, Geo			S							Steward	
Vogelsang, Geo	S									Blacksmith	
Vogle, Adam						X				Blacksmith	
Vogle, C.									S	Bakery	
Voigt, J. (Virgo, J. H.)				X	X	S	X	X	X	Hotelier - Saloon - Hotelier	Prop.
Voigt, (Chas B. F.)					X	X				Saloon	Prop.
Vulmire, Edw.	S									Miner	
Wachost, Herman (Watchorst)	S	X	S	X					S	Jewelry Store	
Waeint, Theodore	S									Laborer	
Waggoner, Michael			S							Wagonmaker	
Wagner, Anton							X	X	M	Cabinet Maker	
Wagner, C. (Wagener)			S	X		S	X	X	S	Saddler	
Wagner, Michael					X	S	X	X	X	Saloon	Prop.
Wainwright, Henry						MC	X			Peddler	
Waitewardenberg, J.	S									Vinegar Mfg	Mcht
Waldin, Chas	S									Eating House	
Waldire, Chas	S									Peddler	
Wall, L.			S								
Waltemath, Louis W.					X	S				Saloon	Prop
Walter, Chas			S							Saloon	
Walter, L.									S		
										Continued on Next Page	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Walter, Wm. (Walker)					X	S	X		S	Barkeeper	
Wand (Saul/Saml)	S	X		X	X	X	X			Dry Goods	Merchant
Wangman, F.			S							Doctor	
Wappich, Max					X	X	X		S	Cigar Stand - Machinest	
Warner, Fred			S							Butcher	
Wassberg, J. F.							X		S	Musician	
Watt, John							X		S	Blacksmith - Musician	
Waver, Mr.			S							Upholsterer	
Waye, Christein	S	X								Baker	
Weas, John	S									Laborer	
Weaver, Madas			S							Brass Foundry	
Webber, James			S							Patient in Hospital	
Webber, J.						X	X	X	M	Carpenter	
Weber, Augustus	S									Soapmaker	
Weddich, John	S									Miner	
Weicer, John (Weicel)						X	X	X	M	Horse Shoer	
Weidenbach, John			S								Merchant
Weidhaas, Q.									X	Saloon Keeper	
Weigert, T.											
Weil, Conrad (Wiel)					X	S	X	X	M	Wine & Cider - Vinegar - Grocery	Merchant
Weil, Henry		X	S							Clothier	
Weil, John					X	X				Wine & Cider	Merchant
Weiman, Daniel (Wiman)					X					Tinsmith	
Weisel, C. (Weiser)					X		X		S	Butcher	
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	





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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Wilks, J.	S									Miner	
Williams, W. F.		X	S							Cook - Eating House	
Willing, L.			S							Miner	
Wilson, J.						X	X		X	Butcher	
Windan, Aug.											
Windrich, F.						X				Saloon	Prop.
Winkle, Henry	S	X	S	X	X					Baker	
Winter, Lewis			MC	X	X	M	X	X	M	Barber - Bath House	
Wiseman, Frank							X			Shoemaker	
Wiser, Geo	M									Brewer	
Wisley, J.			M							Gentleman	
Wisley, G.			S							Gentleman	
Witch, George			S							Laborer	
Witkousky, E.					X	MC				Clothing	Merchant
Witkousky, Harris					X	S	X		S	Tailor - Clothing	Merchant
Witkousky, Morris					X	S	X	X	S	Clothing	Merchant
Witkowsky, Simon							X	X		Clothing	
Witte, John							X	X	S	Blacksmith	
Wolf, F. (Woolf)								X	S	Wines & Liquors	Merchant
Wolf, G. (Woolf)				X		X		X	M	Tailor - Clothing	Merchant
Wolf, J. W.							X	X	M	Producer Dealer	
Wolleb, Carl				X	X	X	X	X		Music Teacher - Notary	
Wollenbeck, Ant.			S							Laborer	
Wormser, Isidore (Israel)			M		X	S	X	X	X	Clothing	Merchant
										<i>Continued on Next Page</i>	

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Family Unit	'50	'51	'52	'53	'55	'56	'57	'58	59	Occupation	Position
Wormser, Saul						S	X	X	X	Clothing	Merchant
Wright, Fred			S							Teamster	
Wycoff, Henry			S							Clerk	
Wyman, D.				X		MC				Saloon	Prop.
Yates, Henry	S									Grocery	
Yates, Jacob	S									Grocery	
Yates, Mather	S									Grocery	
Yerger, Philip	S									Brewer	
York, Carl							X	X	S	Saloon	Prop.
York, Mrs. Minna (Young)			S	X			X	X		Saloon - Gardens	Prop.
Young, Louis									M	Saloon	
Zabhasa, G. H.			S							Farmer	
Zaff, Geoffrey	S									Cutter of Garments	
Zapp, Henry			S							Laborer	
Zebolt, E.									M	Teamster	
Zier, John					X	S	X	X	M	Cigars and Tobacco	
Zimer, John				X						Barber	
Zimmerman, Fred	S									Laborer	
Zimmerman, Jno	S										
Zimmerman, Philip			S							Farmer	
Zims, J.			S							Laborer	
Zins, Geo. (Zinns)	MC		MC							Brickmaker - Saloon	
Ziss, Henry							X			Groceries	
Zitting, Fred	S									Barkeeper	
Zoller, Leopold					X	X	X		M	Butcher	
Zwicker, John							X	X	M	Coffee House & Saloon	Prop.

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